SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 196

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS

Numbers 75–80

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U.S.

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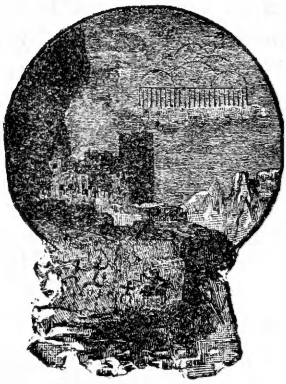

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Smithsonian Institution,
Bureau of American Ethnology,
Washington, D.C., September 30, 1964.

Sir: I have the honor to submit the accompanying manuscripts, entitled "Chronicles of Wolftown: Social Documents of the North Carolina Cherokees, 1850–1862," by Anna Gritts Kilpatrick and Jack Frederick Kilpatrick; "The Gift of Changing Woman," by Keith H. Basso; "The Wahnenauhi Manuscript: Historical Sketches of the Cherokees, Together with Some of Their Customs, Traditions, and Superstitions," edited and with an introduction by Jack Frederick Kilpatrick; "The 'Principal People,' 1960: A Study of Cultural and Social Groups of the Eastern Cherokee," by Harriet Jane Kupferer; "The Ramah Navaho," by Clyde Kluckhohn; and "Eastern Cherokee Folktales: Reconstructed from the Field Notes of Frans M. Olbrechts," by Jack Frederick Kilpatrick and Anna Gritts Kilpatrick; and to recommend that they be published as a bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Very respectfully yours,

Henry B. Collins,
Acting Director.

Dr. S. Dillon Ripley,
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.

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SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
Bureau of American Ethnology
Bulletin 196

Anthropological Papers, No. 75

CHRONICLES OF WOLFTOWN: SOCIAL DOCUMENTS OF THE NORTH CAROLINA CHEROKEES, 1850–1862

By Anna Gritts Kilpatrick and Jack Frederick Kilpatrick

CONTENTS

CHRONICLES OF WOLFTOWN: SOCIAL DOCUMENTS OF THE NORTH CAROLINA CHEROKEES, 1850–1862

By Anna Gritts Kilpatrick and Jack Frederick Kilpatrick

INTRODUCTION

THE INOLI LETTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

"Very little information is available for the Eastern Cherokee from 1848 until the outbreak of the Civil War," write Fogelson and Kutsche (1961, p. 103). A considerable amount of information has actually existed, but it has not been available to scholarship owing to its having remained in the Cherokee language, in the Sequoyah syllabary, in which it was written by the Cherokees themselves.

An imposing corpus of these data is contained in a file of manuscripts in the archives of the Bureau of American Ethnology known as "The Inoli Letters," No. 2241-a. Many of these documents are undated, but those that bear dates establish a time range of from 1849 to 1884. The bulk of this material falls within four broad categories: (1) documents pertaining to the civic affairs and cultural climate of Wolftown, the easternmost of the communities of the North Carolina Cherokees, 1850–62; (2) documents pertaining to the participation of the North Carolina Cherokees in the War Between the States, 1862–65; (3) documents pertaining to the affairs of the tribal government of the Eastern Band adopted in 1870, 1871–84; and (4) miscellaneous documents such as personal letters, reports of Christian activities, and trivia. A few of the manuscripts, rather consistently those of small interest, are in English.

In addition to the material filed under The Inoli Letters, No. 2241-a, there are in the Bureau of American Ethnology archives three small collections that are cognates—Nos. 2241-b, 2279-a, and 2280.

The Inoli Letters were acquired by James Mooney in the autumn of 1888, when he was a member of the staff of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Mooney (1891, pp. 314–316) records the circumstances:

> In the course of further inquiries in regard to the whereabouts of other manuscripts . . . we heard a great deal about Inâlĭ, or "Black Fox," who had died a few years before at an advanced age, and who was universally admitted to have

been one of their most able men and the most prominent literary character among them, for from what has been said it must be sufficiently evident that the Cherokees have their native literature and literary men . . . . [He] . . . was a full-blood Cherokee, speaking no English, and in the course of a long lifetime he had filled almost every position of honor among his people, including those of councilor, keeper of the townhouse records, Sunday-school leader, conjurer, officer in the Confederate service, and Methodist preacher, at last dying, as he was born, in the ancient faith of his forefathers.

On inquiring of his daughter she stated that her father had left a great many papers, most of which were still in her possession, and on receiving from the interpreter an explantation of our purpose she readily gave permission to examine and make selections from them on condition that the matter should be kept secret from outsiders . . . .

Having placed chairs for us in the shade Inâlĭ's daughter brought out a small box filled with papers of various kinds . . . . The work of examining these was a tedious business, as each paper had to be opened out and enough of it read to get the general drift of the contents, after which the several classes were arranged in separate piles. While in the midst of this work she brought out another box nearly as large as a small trunk, and on setting it down there was revealed to the astonished gaze such a mass of material as it had not seemed possible could exist in the entire tribe.

. . . it was with a feeling akin to despair that we viewed the piles of manuscript which had to be waded through and classified. . . . but the woman was not done yet, and after rummaging about inside the house for a while longer she appeared with another armful of papers, which she emptied on top of the others.

. . . A large number of letters and other papers were selected from the miscellaneous lot, and these . . . are now deposited . . . with the Bureau of Ethnology.

The notations for the purpose of identification that Mooney made upon the documents apparently were not all made at the same time, for they exhibit two distinct styles of handwriting: a carefully formed script as beautiful as engraving, and a baffling scrawl, replete with eccentric abbreviations and spellings, that at times merely approaches legibility. One of these captions is dated 1911, proof that Ino:li's pack-rat propensities created a long task for Mooney. The initials "WW" appended to many of the annotations indicate that Will West Long, Mooney's informant and friend, probably upon the occasion recorded above and at other times, supplied information.

Certainly Mooney and Long worked hurriedly; for a specific caption may be misleading or downright in error, indicating a too hasty perusal on the part of Long or a misunderstanding of Long's exposition on the part of Mooney. Some of the documents bear no identification.

THE AUTHOR OF THE DOCUMENTS

There was a Chief Inali, or Black Fox, who signed the Washington Treaty of 1806. The name "Ino:li," although rare, is not unknown in Oklahoma. It appears, for example, on a roll of a meeting of the Gidu:hwa Society held at Honey Springs, A:mó:hi District, Cherokee Nation, on September 5, 1874 (Cherokee Nation Papers, MS.,

1874). Several living individuals in Sequoyah County are named Ino:li. We have never encountered an Oklahoma Cherokee, however, to whom this name was meaningful. The black fox is said to be but a mutation of the common red fox. Apparently it is so rarely seen in the Oklahoma Ozarks that it has no special designation. If at one time the black fox was called *ino:li* by all the Cherokees, those in the West have forgotten the fact. Be that as it may, the Ino:li of "The Inoli Letters" was known to the Whites as "Black Fox."

Only in one document in the collection do we obtain any clue as to when Ino:li was born, and nowhere do we learn where he was born, although from his dialect it is safe to assume that his parents lived in southern North Carolina. The entries upon it constitute a jumble of demographic data, with dates ranging from 1861 to 1870; from them, however, one can deduce that Ino:li was born in May 1817. This is sadly at variance with the Terrell Roll (MS., 1860, p. 6) upon which one finds the age 31 given for "No. 159 Eno-la or Black Fox." If this be correct, and "Eno-la" be our Ino:li, 1829 was the year of his birth. Since Ino:li's own statement is not clear, and inasmuch as every roll that was ever made of the Cherokees contained inaccuracies, we leave the question an open one.

That Ino:li knew and remembered the horrors of Removal and the heroism of defiance is evidenced in documents not incorporated into this study. And while, as we see, he recorded the petty debts and personal animosities of Wolftown with a plodding pen, he could rise upon wings in recalling the fugitive days of death upon the mountains and the spirit of camaraderie that was "a column of flames."

The date of Ino:li's death, July 5, 1885, is hardly subject to doubt; it is recorded in a ledger book of sacred formulas collected by Mooney (Gadigwanasti, MS., p. 95). It will be seen that no matter which date of birth we accept, Ino:li by no means died "at an advanced age"—not by Cherokee standards.

That Ino:li occupied various public posts among his people is strongly indicated in The Inoli Letters, and we know for a certainty that for a number of years he was clerk of Wolftown. A much more complete picture of what his duties in this position were no doubt can be obtained if his lost record ledger, at one time in the archives of the Bureau of American Ethnology and described by Pilling (1888, p. 185) as "Council records of the Cherokee settlement of Painttown [sic for Wolftown]," is ever recovered.

Among his papers we find documents that record some of Ino:li's activities as a Methodist preacher and as a noncommissioned officer (he appears to have been a sergeant) in the Confederate service. He was also a medicine man, but the documents that pertain to this facet

of his personality were extracted by Mooney from the bulk of his papers and filed separately. The father-figure of the minister-medicine man is a familiar one to the Cherokee who have long been disposed to institutionalize that individual who heals the soul through Holy Writ, the body through appropriate conjurations.

As a whole, The Inoli Letters are a testimony to a life largely spent in the service of the Cherokee people at a particularly sad and difficult juncture in their history.

TRANSLATION NOTE

The Sequoyah syllabary, as astonishing an accomplishment as it intrinsically is, nevertheless is a relatively imprecise and therefore ineffective device for the transference of oral values to paper. One of its chief defects is its inability to designate which vowels are to be voiced and which are to be unvoiced. It does not indicate the length nor the pitch of syllables, crucial consideration in Cherokee. There is but a feeble provision made for the aspirate and none at all for the glottal stop; some symbols must stand for several consonantal and vowel qualities; and several symbols bear unfortunate resemblances to each other. Moreover, many of the symbols lend themselves to idiosyncratic variations of the most fanciful nature. Rarely does one, no matter what degree of reading facility he may possess, attempt a manuscript in Sequoyah syllabary without first taking note of what personal opinions the writer may have harbored in regard to the formation of certain symbols (see Chafe and Kilpatrick, 1962, passim).

By and large, The Inoli Letters and the other above-mentioned documents present a formidable task in mere decipherment itself, not to speak of the determining of specific meanings. In general, the calligraphy is inferior to that of Western Cherokee manuscripts of the same period. We suggest that this is due to less familiarity with printed Cherokee. The presses were in the Cherokee Nation, not Qualla, and it is likely that the Western publications had a relatively restricted distribution in North Carolina. But it is interesting to note that Eastern Cherokee calligraphy of Ino:li's day more closely resembled the original concepts of Sequoyah than did the Western which was patterned upon the type faces that were in all instances simplifications, and in some cases gross distortions, of the Sequoyah designs.

Some of the spellings in The Inoli Letters place one in the difficult position of having to decide whether one is dealing with errors or with faithful representations of pronunciations current at the period under investigation. And, in obedience to some law that decrees that those individuals not overly skilled in the craft of writing must

bolster their failings with self-conscious mannerisms, The Inoli Letters abound in clumsy pomposities that conceal what they attempt to reveal.

The Inoli Letters are rich in evidence that those Cherokees who escaped the dragnet of the military did not all speak the same dialect, just as those who came West did not, nor do their descendants today. One of the pressing needs on Cherokee research is a study designed to lay at rest the fallacy that there is an "Eastern" dialect and a "Western" one.

The system of notation employed in the literal translations in this study is one that was devised by Floyd G. Lounsbury and Jack Frederick Kilpatrick in March 1963.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We acknowledge with deep gratitude the grant from the National Science Foundation that made this study possible.

We are much indebted to archivists and library officials who made materials available and provided necessary services: Margaret C. Blaker, Bureau of American Ethnology; A. M. Gibson, University of Oklahoma; Mattie Russell, Duke University; Richard H. Shryock, American Philosophical Society; and Max Trent, Southern Methodist University.

Valuable suggestions and information were contributed by Wallace L. Chafe and William C. Sturtevant, Bureau of American Ethnology; Raymond D. Fogelson, University of Washington; Floyd G. Lounsbury, Yale University; Albert C. Outler and Claude Albritton, Southern Methodist University.

John D. Gillespie provided an index to the material, and several Cherokee relatives and friends contributed to the solution of problems in translation: Lois Ishcomer, William Jumper, Jack and Mary Nofire, George Owl, and Jack Wolfe.

THE WOLFTOWN CHRONICLES

The nugget in the sands of The Inoli Letters and the other aforementioned collections is to be found in those documents falling within the first of the categories subsumed above (documents pertaining to the civic affairs and cultural climate of Wolftown), for these contain the data that do much toward enriching our knowledge of Eastern Cherokee society in that ethnographically impoverished era, 1848–61, referred to by Fogelson and Kutsche (1961, p. 103).

It is true that they do not tell us all that we would like to know; in certain respects they raise more queries than they answer. We wish we knew, for instance, what the titles and exact duties of the Wolftown officials were. How were these officials selected and for what length of time did they remain in office? We do not learn of the precise relationship of the Gadu:g(i) to the Township Council; and although they tell us of crime, they are silent upon the subject of punishment.

But we discover that the Eastern Cherokee were much more highly acculturated than we had surmised, that township government was a flourishing organism, and that economic problems were solved with much ingenuity.

If through wobbly spelling and scratchy calligraphy the documents that comprise The Inoli Letters have sometimes grievously extended their fellow Cherokees, the translators, they have also provided new proof that there is something immutable in Cherokee psychological makeup. That legalistic turn of mind, with its tenacity for proprietary and monetary rights, is fully present and accounted for in the civic records of Wolftown. That favorite Cherokee word *duyu:gh(o)dv* ('right,' 'just') binds the documents together with a living thread. And there are unexpected flashes of a wry humor that stir up the dust that clings to all legal instruments. This, too, is typically Cherokeean, as is the curious concept of what is systematic and what is not, and as is that gift for synthesis.

The Terrell Roll is a moving document, recording as it does the ghastly price the Eastern Cherokee had to pay in human life to maintain a precarious hold upon their native soil. Over the Wolftown documents there hang the unspoken distrust of the White man and the constant fear of eviction. No great spiritual wind sweeps across these pages; rather is there a stubborn, grubbing tenacity to persevere and endure.

NO. 1.—NOTICE CONCERNING ILLEGAL CUTTING OF TIMBER

(ON RECTO, IN ENGLISH)

All persons—are forewarned from entering the Indian Boundary for the purpose of cutting saw logs—or wood of any kind—as the law will be put in force against those offending—The Indians claim the right of pay for timber cut—and it must be done

Oct 2d "1850 W H Thomas agt
per G. T. Mason

(ON VERSO)

hi?a?sgini [1] this, in particular		a?da? wood	digan(a)di:nv:di to be sold, they
nige:sv́:na not	ge:sv́:i it is	ino:li Ino:li	u:sgwanigo:do?di to keep it, he
gesé:sdi it will be		hi?a? This	gohwe:li [2] paper

FREE TRANSLATION

This wood is not to be sold. This paper will be for *Ino:li* to keep.

COMMENTARY

Timber was one of the principal cash crops of the 19th-century Eastern Cherokee. There are some 143 varieties of trees in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park which abuts their lands (McCall, 1952, p. 12). Timber thievery has always engendered much of the interracial friction existing in the Cherokee country of Oklahoma. It must have been quite prevalent among the denser and more valuable stands at Qualla.

This document must have been Will Thomas' draft of what he wanted stated upon signs to be erected at the boundaries of his Cherokee land. The endorsement in the handwriting of *Sdhi:wi* (Steve) summarizes Thomas' proclamation for someone, perhaps *Ino:li*, who could not read English.

Both *Sdhi:wi* and *Ino:li* served as clerk of Wolftown. If *Sdhi:wi* were the clerk at this time, *Ino:li* must have been some other official of the township; the reverse, however, could have been the case.

There is a numeral (?) upon the verso: "72[1]/c," the significance of which is not apparent.

Mooney did not caption this document.

NO. 2.—PROCEDURE FOR BORROWING MONEY (I)

(FIRST NOTATION)

a?nv:yi	7	i:ga	dago:we:la:ni	103	ade:lv [3]	3
March	7	day	I will write it	103	money	3

ani:se:n(i)si [4]	a?sdé:hl(v)di	niga:hl(i)sda	aye:hli [5]
cents	to help one, it	it just became	central

[1] Neither capital letters nor punctuation marks are ordinarily used in Cherokee manuscripts.

[2] Also employed for 'letter' or 'book.'

[3] This word aboriginally was for 'bead(s).' It has no plural form. In the published literature it is writen *ade:la*, and in some dialects so pronounced.

[4] In Cherokee there are relatively few loanwords from European languages. This word is chiefly confined to North Carolina.

[5] The meaning here is 'central authority' of any sort—civic, tribal, State, national, etc.

a:ʔv́:i [6]	ade:lv	1852	tsa:li	ade:lv
it(hard) is there	money	1852	Tsa:li	money
agh(a)dhí:ya	aye:hli	a:ʔv́:i	ghi:lo	
he watches it	central	it (hard) is there	someone	
ade:lv	adho:hl(a)sgé:sdi	gohwe:li	uhnó:[hi]sdí	
money	to be borrowing it, one	paper	to bring it (flex.), he	
aye:hli [7]	di:sghwanigó:di:sgí	wa:sidaʔni	gohwe:li	
central	keeper of them, one	Wa:sidaʔni	paper	
agh(a)dhí:ya	niga:hl(i)sda			
he watches it	it just became			

(SECOND NOTATION)

dunolv́:dhaní [8]	4ne [9]	i:ga	1853	hudedhiyv́:sadi:sv́	
January	4th	day	1853	this year	
[?] [10]	ani:se:n(i)si	ghan(e)ʔgwó:gi	aʔnv:yi	4	i:ga
?	cents	it increased	March	4	day

(ON VERSO)

wa:sidaʔna [11]

FREE TRANSLATION

(FIRST NOTATION)

I write this on March 7th. $103.03 was on hand in the Township [*Gadu:g(i)*?] Aid Fund for 1852. *Tsa:li* is the township [*Gadu:g(i)*?] treasurer. If one wishes to borrow money, he must bring a letter to the township [*Gadu:g(i)*?] keeper of the money. *Wa:sidaʔni* has become Inspector of Letters.

(SECOND NOTATION)

On January 4, 1853 they counted [?] as interest up to March 4th

(ON VERSO)

Wa:sidaʔna

COMMENTARY

There is nothing here that permits us to be certain of the money-lending organization in reference. So far as we know, the Eastern Band of Cherokee had no formal tribal organization prior to 1870; but there is some evidence to indicate that some of the townships, and perhaps all of them, possessed township governmental machinery.

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[6] The form *a:ʔhv́:i* has a wider distribution than that encountered here

[7] The final syllable is incorrectly written *a*.

[8] More commonly *unolv:dhani*.

[9] An abbreviation for the termination—*i:ne* ('-th,' '-rd').

[10] Indecipherable.

[11] This written variant possibly represents a spoken variant.

Certainly Wolftown did. But it also had a *Gadu:g(i)*,[12] distinct from but interlocking with the township organization. Whether this document pertains to the town council or the *Gadu:g(i)* is an open question. It is in the handwriting of *Sdhi:wi* who served as Wolftown Clerk for a period within which the date of this document falls, but he may have been clerk of the *Gadu:g(i)* concurrently.

Wa:sida?ni, who was still living at the time of James Mooney's first visits to the Cherokees, was the youngest son of *Tsa:li* (whose name, like that of the treasurer mentioned above, was the Cherokee equivalent of Charley), the Removal martyr whose touching story is retold every summer at Cherokee, N.C., in Kermit Hunter's historical drama, "Unto These Hills." Being but a child at the time of *Tsa:li's* surrender, he was not executed with the other members of his family. Although the Whites knew *Wa:sida?ni* as 'Washington,' his name, as Mooney (1900, p. 546) states, is derived from the term for ". . . a hollow log (or other cylindrical object) lying on the ground at a distance; the root of the word is *asíta*, log, and the *w* prefixed makes it at a distance."

The variant *Wa:sida?na* written upon the verso is probably merely a filing aid.

Mooney's caption, "Working Company—Record WW," may be accurate.

NO. 3.—PROCEDURE FOR BORROWING MONEY (II)

(FIRST NOTATION)

a?nv:yi March	gha?lv month	9 9	i:ga day	1852 1852	unde:dhiyv́:sadi:sv́ year
hi?a?sgini this, in particular	ade:lv money	a:n(a)?se?ga they just counted it	aye:hli central		
uni:hv they have (hard)	wahhyó:[hi] wolf-place	ga:du:hv town	90 90		
ade:lv money	tso:ga?li [see Commentary below]	3 3	ani:se:n(i)si cents	niga:gi then it just totaled	
aye:hli central	60 60	ani:se:n(i)si cents	a:hv it (hard) there		
tsa:lié:gwa [13] Tsa:lié:gwa	agh(a)dhí:ya he watches it	ghiló:hno: someone, and	udu:li:sgé:sdi he will be wanting		
udho:hl(i)sdi [14] to borrow, he	udho:hl(i)sge:sdi he will be borrowing	hi?a? this			
uhnó:hisdí [15] to bring it (flex.), he	hi?gesé:sdí this it will be	da:n(a)da:dho:hl(a)sdisgv́:hno: they are lending them, and			

[12] Defined by Fogelson and Kutsche (p. 87) as ". . . a group of men who join together to form a company with rules and officers, for continued economic and social reciprocity."

[13] 'Big Charley.'

[14] The unvoiced vowel is *a* in some forms of the verb, *i* in others.

[15] The third syllable is erroneously written *he*.

so:gwo [16]	nv?ghi	iyanv́:do	igo:[hí:]dv	10
one	four	months	as long as	10
ani:se:n(i)si	u:hnegwó:isdí	igé:se:sdí [17]	a:nadv	
cents	to increase it, one	it will be (cond.)	they just said	
ani:sgaye:gv́:sda	dhadl(a)du [18]	iya[nv́:]do		
leaders	twelve	months		

(SECOND NOTATION)

dehalu:yi	22ni:se [19]	i:gó:hi	1852	ude:dhiyv́:sadi:sv́:i [20]
June	22d	daytime	1852	year
a:n(a)?se?ga	ade:lv	100 24 [21]		
they just counted it	money	$1.24		
ade:lv́:hi	3	ani:se:n(i)si	niga:ga	ani:sgaye:gv́:sda
dollars	3	cents	then it totals	leaders
a:n(a)?se?ga	ayv	sdhi:wi	go:wé:la:gá	100
they just counted it	I	Sdhi:wi	I just wrote it	$100
ade:lv́:hi	nv:hw(a)sdé:sdigwó	aye:hli	gv:dhó:hl(i)sdigwó	
dollars	it must remain	central	one can borrow it	
nige:sv́:na [22]	gesé:sdi			
not	it will be			

(THIRD NOTATION)

unolv́:dhaní	4ne	i:ga	1853	hude:dhiyv́:sadi:sv́	
January	4th	day	1853	this year	
a:n(a)?se?ga	ghan(e)?gwo:gi	a?nv:yi	4	i:ga	
they just counted it	it just increased	March	4th	day	

FREE TRANSLATION

(FIRST NOTATION)

March 9, 1852

They counted the money in the Wolftown Council treasury, $90.03 in all. If someone wants to borrow $0.60 for 4 months, let us say, from *Tsa:liê:gwa*, the treasurer, he is to bring a written request. He will be permitted to borrow it, and he will repay $1.00. The councilmen said that for 12 months the interest is to be $0.10.

(SECOND NOTATION)

June 22, 1852

The councilmen counted $124.03. I, *Sdhi:wi*, wrote this. Of this amount $100.00 is to remain in the township treasury, and one can not borrow it.

---

[16] The first syllable of this numeral is either *sa* or *so*, depending upon the dialect of the speaker or writer. It is *sa* in the printed literature.

[17] In this form, a condition is implied.

[18] The conventional spelling, *dhal(a)du:*, is almost invariably pronounced as we have taken the liberty to write it.

[19] One would expect this abbreviation to be *li:ne*. The *ni:se* here may be an error.

[20] Variant of *ude:dhiyv́:sadi:sv́*. There is a connotation that the year is in progress.

[21] One rather frequently encounters this fashion of writing numerals above one hundred in 19th-century Cherokee manuscripts.

[22] This word is garbled in the manuscript.

(THIRD NOTATION)

January 4, 1853

They counted the interest from March 4.

COMMENTARY

If the document preceding this one pertains to the moneylending regulations of the Wolftown Council and not the *Gadu:g(i)*, then the difference between the $103.03 on hand on March 7th and the $90.03 on hand on March 9th, as recorded here, must be due to loans extended. But the two documents may relate to two funds. They embrace the same approximate period of time, and this may be of significance. *Sdhi:wi* and *Tsa:li* may have been clerk and treasurer, respectively, of both the *Gadu:g(i)* and the Wolftown Council.

The moneylending activities of the councils of the townships of the Eastern Cherokee prior to the formation of a tribal government have been neglected in the published literature. Here we find detailed the technique employed, and in the second notation we gain a good view of the conservative banking philosophy that prevailed. Since the third notation is a duplicate of one found in the preceding document, one wonders if January 4th were an official date for auditing.

Clerk *Sdhi:wi* underlines the word *tso:ga?li* twice, as if he were quoting a term not in common usage. Mooney's caption and note upon this word are somewhat illegible, but apparently the reading is: "Wolftown Money Acct tsâ-gali gâli & tsan: an old exprion [expression ?] formerly usd in Countg [Counting], as tsâl-gali tsâ-gali etc WW 8–3–11."

We hypothesize that the word is a contraction of *tso:la* ('tobacco') and *ga?li* ('in it,' flex.). *Ga?li* (*ga?la* in *Itso:di* and some other dialects) signifies that the tobacco leaves repose in some container such as a pouch. Conceivably this archaism relates to the use of tobacco as a medium of exchange, the 'tobacco is in it' in counting equating with 'all there,' or 'true value.'

NO. 4.—*GA:L(U)SADI:HI* REQUESTS A LOAN FROM THE WOLFTOWN COUNCIL

(ON RECTO)

dehalu:yi	22	i:ga	1852	ude:dhiyv́:sadi:sv́			
June	22	day	1852	year			
a:n(a)?se?ga	100	24	ade:lv	3	ani:se:n(i)si		
they just counted it	$124		money	3	cents		
i:gá:i	u:wa[s]dé:hl(i)di		niga:ga	ani:sgaye:gv́:sda			
in all	to help him, it		then it totals	leaders			

a:n(a)ʔse?ga	ayv	nv:tsiwi [23]	100	u:wasdé:[hl(i)]digwó [24]
they just counted it	I	I just then said	$1.00	to help him, it, just

ye:li	gv:dhó:hl(i)sdi	nige:sv́:na	gesé:sdi
can	can borrow it, one	not	it will be

(ON VERSO)

dehalu:yi	22	i:ga	1852	ude:dhiyv́:sadi:sv́
June	22	day	1852	year

gha? [25]	hiʔaʔsgini	a:se	hitsvyalv́:sv:há [26]
now	this, in particular	must	this I think about you (pl.)

ade:lv	aye:hli	hitsi:v:ga [27]	$5	ade:lv
money	central	this you (pl.) have put (hard)	$5.00	money

ayv	ga:l(u)sadi:hi	iyú:hno	ge:sgiyadhó:hl(a)sdoʔdí
I	Ga:l(u)sadi:hi	if, and	to lend me, you (pl.)

gesé:sdi	ghilagwo:	iyv́:dv	50	ani:se:n(i)si
it will be	now, just	right	50	cents

á:gwaghuy(v)dí	gesé:sdi	na:sgihno:	sgi:yadhó:l(a)sdanv́
to pay it, I	it will be	that, and	you(pl.) having lent me

iyaná:dv [28]	ge:sv	6	ade:lv́:hi
month	it is	6	dollars

dí:gh(i)di	gesé:sdi
to put them down (hard), I	it will be

(ON LEFT-HAND BOTTOM CORNER OF PAGE)

dhi:gi	dige [word not finished]
you get them (hard) (imp.)	[?]

FREE TRANSLATION

(ON RECTO)

June 22, 1852

The councilmen have counted $124.03 in all. What the councilmen counted is to help one.

"Add a dollar," I said, "and that is not to be borrowed."

(ON VERSO)

June 22, 1852

Now! This is what I am thinking about you: You have $5.00 in the township treasury. If you can lend it to me, *Ga:l(u)sadi:hi*, I will pay $0.50 right now, and what you will have lent me for a month I will repay as $6.00.

---

[23] There are several verbs in Cherokee that roughly equate the English 'to say.' The qualities in which they subtly differ from each other defy practical translation.

[24] Idiomatically to 'add' to or 'to enlarge.'

[25] Interjection: 'Attention!'

[26] One would expect this form to be *hitsvyelí:se:há*, but what is written may have been regionally current in 1852.

[27] Although the third syllable is written *v*, it may have been pronounced *hv*, as is generally the case today.

[28] An acceptable variant, as is *iyanv́:da*.

(ON LEFT-HAND BOTTOM CORNER OF PAGE)

Take it. [?]

COMMENTARY

One side of this document bears the formal request of *Ga:l(u)sadi:hi* for a loan from the Wolftown Council with the proposal to pay half of the interest in advance. (We learn elsewhere that it was the practice of the council to demand all of the interest in advance.) The message on the recto is possibly a personal note to someone, perhaps *Sdhi:wi* or *Ino:li* (who very likely was a councilman at this period).

The name of the importuner presents a fascinating etymological puzzle. Tribal designations (Chickasaw, Tasgigi, Catawba, etc.) plus *-di:hi* ('killer') constitute fairly common Cherokee personal names; but the only tribal appellative that in sound resembles *Ga:l(u)sa* is 'Calusa.' The distance from the Cherokee country to the historic seat of the Calusa in the vicinity of Tampa Bay adds a complicating factor to the analysis of this name—one that at one time might have been a familial tradition.

The condition of the manuscript is such that one cannot be certain of the endorsement 'Take it.' If such be the correct reading, however, it is probably by the treasurer.

Mooney's caption reads: "Gûlûsutihi wants borrow 5^{00} from Council—WW."

NO. 5.—WILLINGNESS OF THE TREASURER TO RESTORE MONEY LOST

gha?	hi?a?sgini	ade:lv	gv:wani:[yo]hu:sé:lv
now	this, in particular	money	been lost by them, they
tshune:la	ade:lv	tso?asgo:	iyadá:n(v)dhe?dhí [29]
eight	money	thirty	cents (successive)
i:gá:? [30]	gho:hí?sgini	udvnv́:isdigwó	tsu?di:yi
in all	now, in particular	ready, he	to put them down (hard), he
aye:hli	tsa:li		tsuwe:dha?ni [31]
central	Tsa:li		Tsuwe:dha?ni
28	a?nu:yi	1853	ayv	ghanohi:yadv
28	March	1953		Ghanohi:yadv
go:wé:lv:gá [32]			
I just wrote it			

FREE TRANSLATION

Now! This money that they lost, $8.30 in all, *Tsa:li Tsuwe:-dha?ni* is now ready to repay to the council.

---

[29] 'Thoughts,' dominant in Oklahoma.

[30] Alternate with *i:gá:i.*

[31] 'He-Has-Poles-Sticking-in-the-Ground.'

[32] Rather generally alternate with *go:wé:la:gá.*

I, *Ghanohi:yadv,* just wrote this March 28, 1853.

COMMENTARY

The careless or defalcating treasurer is institutional in all societies. There can be little doubt that the *Tsa:li Tsuwe:dha?ni* here and the *Tsa:li* and *Tsa:lié:gwa* of previous documents are all the same individual. The identity of the intermediary who wrote this letter is never established. The name, although untranslatable, appears to be masculine. The writer may have been a clansman of the treasurer; the addressee was almost certainly a council official, perhaps *Ino:li* himself.

The 'they lost them' is probably in reference to *Tsa:li's* household.

The Mooney annotation reads: "Charley Tsuwĕtûnĭ lost $8.30."

NO. 6.—EXPLANATION OF THE TREASURER

(ON RECTO)

gha?	na:gwo [33]	hitsv:niwe?	di:tsilawi:gi
now	now	this I say to you (pl.)	you (pl.) meeters
ú:tsadhigwó	tsagiwó:nisv:gí	adí:na	v́:dla [34]
much, just	which I did talk	but	not
yitsigá:dhahé:i	nu:hl(i)sdanidó:lv	ade:lv	tso?i
I knew not (w.p.k.)	then it happened	money	three
ná:dodagwá	dha?li	yelí:da	uni:[há]gwo
weeks	two	or	they have it (hard), just
na:gwu [35]	nv?ghi	di:gwada:n(v)dhv	gho:hi [36]
now	four	my thoughts	now
na:sgini	tsigi	iga:hi:yu	higi
that, in particular	it is	clear, quite	this it is
hi?ge:lia	agwo:hiy(u)dí:sgi	u:nanugó:tsv	
this I think	my witness	he appeared	
na:sgihye:hno	nu:sdi	ghilo	yá:gh(a)dhahá
that, for	the way	someone	if he knows
go:hú:sdi	a:hni	gahl(i)tso:de	hi:sgi
something	here	house	five
ade:lv	uni:yo:hu:sv:gi	agayv:ligé:i	gane:lv [37]
money	have been lost, they	old woman	her home
v́:dla	yigadhv́:dasdisgé:i	duyu:gh(o)dv́hno:	
not	I was not listening to her (w.p.k.)	true, and	
gesé:i	goli:gv	adí:na	a:se	ó:sdvgwó
it was (w.p.k.)	I understood	but	perhaps	good, just
nvdv:anv́:ne:lí	ge:li?a	ú:tsadhigwó		
then they will make it	I believe	much, just		

[33] 'At this time.'

[34] This form is now almost universally the accepted one for the Western dialects, although there exists some evidence to support the postulate that *ó:tsv* was once standard in some of them. The latter form was, and is, dominant in North Carolina.

[35] Alternate with *na:gwo* and *hna:gwo* in both the East and the West.

[36] Upon this occasion.

[37] The manuscript has *ghane:gv,* which we assume to be an error.

agilidá:sdisgé:i	ayv	gha?	na:sgigwo
I was mistaken (w.p.k.)	I	now	that, just

igá:i	go:wé:lv:gá	ayv	tsa:li	wa:huhu
all	I just wrote it	I	Tsa:li	Wa:huhu

tsagolí:ye:dí
to read it, you

(ON VERSO)

hi?a?sgini	gohwe:li	tsa:li	utse:lí:ga
this, in particular	letter	Tsa:li	his

FREE TRANSLATION

(ON RECTO)

Now! This I say to you members: I talked a great deal. I did not know what happened to the money 2 or 3 weeks ago. They now have $4. It is quite clear in my mind now. My witness has appeared. That is the way it is when someone knows something. Five dollars were lost here at the house—the home of the old woman. I did not listen to what she was saying, but I understand it was the truth. Perhaps they will make it right. I believe I was much mistaken.

Now! This is all that I, *Tsa:li*, just wrote for you, *Wa:huhu*, to read.

(ON VERSO)

This is *Tsa:li's* letter.

COMMENTARY

Although it is undated, this letter must surely have been written within weeks of the preceding document since it conveys *Tsa:li's* somewhat muddled explanation of his loss of council funds. Speck and Schaeffer (1945, p. 175) mention a chief and a body of 12 men (councilmen) who administered the affairs of a Cherokee township. That there was also a judge, an individual who fulfilled a function distinct from that of the chief, is evidenced by the consistent manner in which the two terms *digu:gh(o)di:sgi* ('the one who decides them') and *u:gvwiyu:hi* ('the principal one') are employed. This letter was addressed to *Wa:huhu* ('Screech-owl'), whom we know from other documents to have been the Wolftown judge at the approximate date of *Tsa:li's* communication.

The verso notation is in the handwriting of *Ino:li*, who at this time must have been serving as Wolftown clerk.

Mooney's identification is: "Letter from Tsali for Wáhuhú."

NO. 7.—EXTENSION OF TIME IN WHICH TO REPAY A LOAN

nv:dáde:gwá	18ne	i:ga	1853	ude:dhiyv́:sadi:sv́ [38]
November	18th	day	1853	year

[38] The first syllable is erroneously written *i*.

gha?	hi?a?sgini	tsa:li	udho:hl(a)sv	ale
now	this, in particular	Tsa:li	he borrowed it	and

gvwayohu:sé:lv	uni:tsadhv [39]	uni:hne?gwo:tsv	tsú?di
been lost by him, they	many	they increased	to put them down (hard), he

iyanv́:do	ido:hi:dv
month	let you (pl.) and me extend it

gesv́:i	$17 20	ani:se:n(i)si	niga:ga	uni:hne?gwo:tsv
it is	$17.20	cents	then it totals	they increased

igv:yí:yi	$13	ade:lv	gesv́:gi	na:sgihno:	6
first	$13	money	it was	that, and	6

iyanv́:do	ga:ghahnv́:hi	niga:hl(i)sda	nigá:dv
months	set, it	it just became	all

datse:[hi]sdí:sgv [40]	uni:hne?gwo:tsv́:hi	unihné:tsvdí [41]
being renewed by him, they	the increased, they	to tell him, they

$18 15	ani:se:n(i)si	wige:s[di:]lv́:di
$18.15	cents	to put them (flex.) in over there, you (dual)

FREE TRANSLATION

Now! Upon what *Tsa:li* borrowed and upon what he lost the interest he is to pay has greatly increased. Let us extend the time for a month. It has increased from what at first was $13.00 to $17.20. It was set at 6 months. In renewing it all, they are to tell him that what the two have to repay will increase to $18.15.

COMMENTARY

The above mentioned *Tsa:li* is indubitably the same individual as the unreliable treasurer of previous documents. One doubts that he was still incumbent when he was granted the loan under discussion, but nevertheless he appears to have been considered innocent of criminal intent: after all, he was granted a loan, either by the Wolftown Council or the *Gadu:g(i)*, and a very substantial one at that by Wolftown standards. Very likely a part of the money borrowed was for the purpose of restoring that lost. At any rate, on November 18 *Tsa:li* was much in arrears, and we see that a dispensation was made. The 'what the two have to repay' indicates that *Tsa:li* and some other person, perhaps the "old women" (*Tsa:li's* mother?) mentioned in the preceding document, were considered to be jointly responsible for the missing sum of money.

From many documents in The Inoli Letters we receive the impression that the Eastern Cherokee were hard pressed to obtain ready cash. They traded such products as pelts, herbs, dried fruit, feathers, and wool at the Will Thomas post at Qualla for coffee, sugar, calico, and other commodities that they could not produce (Russell, MS., 1956, p.

[39] The second syllable is erroneously written *ne*.
[40] The second syllable is erroneously written *tsa*.
[41] The second syllable is erroneously written *na*.

188), but cash itself was hard to come by. The sale of ginseng appears to have been one of their chief sources of revenue, and Russell (ibid., p. 185), informs us that in the year 1834 alone the Qualla trading post accepted in excess of 4,300 pounds of this root.

The handwriting of this document is that of *Sdhi:wi*. Since there is no internal evidence that would assist us in determining whether *Tsa:li's* debt was to the Wolftown Council of the *Gagu:g(i)*, Mooney's caption may be correct: "Record of Company Loan WW."

NO. 8.—*SDHI:WI* WRITES ON WOLFTOWN POLITICS

hi?a?sgini	dagowé:la:ní	guyé:gwo:ní	8	i:ga
this, in particular	I will write	July	8	day

hi?a?	asdanv:naní:da:sdí	aye:hli	ó:hi	na:gwó:sginí
this	to scribble, one	central	it belongs	now, in particular

agwv:nv́:ga [42]	ayv	sdhi:wi	nú:lagwó
I am in a hurry	I	Sdhi:wi	hurry, you (imp.), just

sgíde:lv:há	a:yvhye:hnó	agh(a)sdanv:naní:da:sdí
give it (long) to me, you (imp.)	I, for	to scribble, I

a:hni	tsádi:sdí	gesé:sdi	ale	nú:lagwó
here	to leave it (long), you	it will be	and	hurry, you (imp.), just

agwv:nv́:ga [42]	na:sgi	á:ghw(a)do?dí [42]	agh(a)sdanv:naní:da:sdí
I am in a hurry	that	to use it, I	to scribble, I

ge:sv́:i	gha?	na:sgigwo	i:gá:i	go:wé:lv:gá
it is	now	that, just	all	I just wrote it

ayv	sdhi:wi	ino:li	tsago:lí:ye:dí	gesé:sdi	ghilo
I	Sdhi:wi	Ino:li	to read it, you	it will be	someone

di:si:ná:sdv [43]	gohwe:li	gesé:sdi	ago:li:yé:?v
proficient, one	letter	it will be	let him read it

na:gwo	ino:li	wiganv́:di	gesé:sdi	ale
now	Ino:li	over there to send it (flex.) one	it will be	and

ghanitsu:hwá:yagwó [44]	hí?lu?tsv́	na:sgi	tsago:lí:ye:dí
fishinghawk-place, just	when you come (cond.)	that	to read, you

gesé:sdi	na:sgigwo	ghilo	atshú:tsagwó
it will be	that, just	someone	boy, just

wunv́:di	gesé:sdi	hi?a?	gohwe:li
over there to send it (flex.), he	it will be	this	letter

ino:li	ugo:lí:ye:dí	na:sgihno:	i:gátsv:sv́ [45]
Ino:li	to read, he	that, and	when I turn back (cond.)

agihnv́:sdi	gesé:sdi	na:sgi	i:ga	í:tsiwó:niá
to carry it (flex.), I	it will be	that	day	you (pl.) talk

wahhya	ga:dú:v	gé:i	wahhyó:hi	digo:we:lí:sgi [46]
wolf	town	I belong	wolf-place	clerk, I

agiye:lv:ha	gada:nv:dhe:sgv́:i	gége:sdisgini:di:ná [47]
I believe	I was thinking	to go I, in particular, surely

---

[42] The second syllable is erroneously written *wv*.

[43] Inasmuch as proficiency is conceived to be expressed in multiple actions, this word takes a plural form.

[44] This spelling possibly reflects a dialectal divergence from what is accepted as standard, and it stands here as written by *Sdhi:wi*.

[45] The first syllable is erroneously written *hi*.

[46] 'The-one-who-writes-them.'

[47] The penultimate syllable is erroneously written *de*.

gha?
now

uní:tsadhí
many

gvgilv́:ghw(o)dhanv́
they loved me

geniyv:wi [48]
our people

ani:sgayegv́:sdasginíhye:hnó
leaders, in particular, for

gvghiné:tshe:lv́
they chose me

nasgwó:di:ná
also, surely

v́:dhla
not

nigá:dv
all

yige:sé:i
if it were (w.p.k.)

nv:w(a)sdv:gi
then it did appear

alé:no:hnv́
and, furthermore

nigá:dv
all

yigi
if it is

iyu:sgini
if, in particular

ani:sgayegv́:sda
leaders

ani:sgwádi:hlv́
when they finish (cond.)

a:yvle [49]
I, and

na:sgwo
also

hi?tsi:sgwádi:hlv́ [50]
this, when I finish (cond.)

degó:we:li:sgv́
writing them, I

anino:hna
they tell

niga:hl(i)sdi:sgv
happening, it

nu:dale
different

digo:hwe:lí:sgí
clerk, he

iyú:hl(i)sdo?dí
to become, it

hi?gesé:sdi
this it will be

adi:na
not

o:gin(a)dagó:nadhv:n(e)dí
to race, he and I

gesé:sdi
it will be

alé:no:hnv́
and, furthermore

a?se:ga:tsv:
by accident

hi?agigo:na:dh(v)dhanv́ [51]
this, he outran me

na:sgísgíni
that, in particular

idi:gadv́:n(e)di
to do, we

hi?gesé:sdi
this it will be

wahhyó:[hi]
wolf-place

ga:dú:v
town

ale
and

v́:dhla
not

duyu:gh(d)dv
right

yino:gádv:hné
if he does to us (cond.)

aneli:sv
when they think (cond.)

na:sgigwo
that, just

hi?ya:gwadv́:[n(e)]di
this, if to do, I

hi?gesé:sdi
this it will be

adí:na
not

a:se
perhaps

ghilo
someone

o:gin(a)dagó:nadhv:n(e)dí
to race, we

gesé:sdi
it will be

a:yv́hye:hnó
I, for

tsíga:dhahna:[í]
informed, I

yigi
if it is

ase:gwó:gwo
in vain

ghv́:nisginí
unless

uní:tsadhí
many

gv[gi]go:hwa:dhv:di [52]
to see me, they

gesé:sdi
it will be

udo:hiyu
truly

ye:li
quite a bit

nogadv́:hnisí
he just did for us

aneli:sv
when they think (cond.)

ná:yo:gó
then

o:si
good

agiyé:hl(v)di
to feel, I

gesé:sdi
it will be

v:gádv
I said

gha?
now

na:sgigwo
that, just

i:gá:i
all

tsiwó:ni:hí
I just talked

wahhyó:hi
wolf-place

gé:i
I belong

ayv
I

sdhi:wi
Sdhi:wi

ino:li
Ino:li

tsago:lí:ye:dí
to read, you

gesé:sdi
it will be

hi?a?
this

gohwe:li
letter

guyé:gwo:ní
July

8
8

i:ga
day

go:wé:lv:gá
I just wrote it

ayv
I

sdhi:wi
Sdhi:wi

FREE TRANSLATION

I will write this on July 8th.

I, *Sdhi:wi*, am in a hurry for the pencil that belongs to the township. Hurry and give it to me to scribble with. Leave it here—and hurry: I am in a hurry to use it to scribble with.

---

[48] This is an interesting archaism.

[49] An elision of *ayv* and *ale*.

[50] The penultimate syllable is erroneously written *do*.

[51] The spelling is somewhat garbled, *ga* standing for *agi*.

[52] The last syllable is erroneously written *dv*.

Now! That is all that I, *Sdhi:wi,* just wrote for you, *Ino:li,* to read. Let someone proficient in letters read it. Now, *Ino:li,* it will be sent over there to Fishinghawk Place, and when you come, you will read it. Some boy will take this letter over there for *Ino:li* to read, and when I come back, I will bring it, that day when all of you talk in Wolftown where I belong and am the clerk. In my mind I believe that I will go over there.

Now! Many of our people loved me, for the leaders chose me—not all of them, it appears, but it might have been all of them—and if the leaders finish, I will also finish my writings. They tell about that there is going to be a different clerk. He and I are not to have a race, and, furthermore, he could accidentally beat me. This is what we will do in Wolftown, and when they think he does not do the right thing for them, then this is what I will do: I won't run against anyone. I am informed uselessly unless many can see me, and when they think, "Truly he did quite a bit for us," I said, "Then I will feel good."

Now! That is all that I, *Sdhi:wi,* from Wolftown have just talked about for you, *Ino:li,* to read.

I, *Sdhi:wi,* just wrote this letter July 8th.

COMMENTARY

Although *Sdhi:wi* does not state the year in which he was writing, we surmise that it was 1854 or earlier. *Ino:li* appears to have been clerk in 1855.

Sdhi:wi's letter, replete with verbal posturing, drops engrossing hints of the political structure in Wolftown. The following aspects are suggested:

1. There was an option as to the clerk being appointed or elected, or what is far more probable, *Sdhi:wi* was appointed to fill an unexpired term: ". . . for the leaders [i.e., members of the Council] chose me. . . ."
2. The terms of some, perhaps all, of the officials expired simultaneously: ". . . and if the leaders finish, I will also finish. . . ."
3. There were formal contests for office: ". . . he could accidentally beat me," and ". . . I won't run against anyone."
4. Officials could succeed themselves.

We cannot identify Fishinghawk Place. It may have been where *Ino:li* lived, perhaps on Soco Creek. Cherokee place names are apt to be plentiful and specific.

One might be amused at the concept of the official township pencil were it not for the economic condition connotated.

Mooney's caption is a problem, but it may be: "*Meth. mission* Stiwi wants return of Lead Pencil—WW." If this reading be correct, the reference to Echota Methodist Mission is obscure.

NO. 9.—LETTER FROM *SDHI:WI* TO *INO:LI* CONCERNING SCHOOL AND FODDER-PULLING

(ON RECTO)

duli:sdi [53] — September
13ne — 13th
i:ga — day
1854 — 1854
hude:dhiyv́:sadi:sv́ — this year

gha? — now
hi?a?sgini — this, in particular
ino:li — Ino:li
gvyowela:si — I just wrote you
gha? — now

hi?a? — this
nuwe:sv:gi — he did say
u:gvwiyu:hi — chief
digé:hyo?dí — to teach them, one
tsinu:hl(i)sdanv — which it became

sdhi:wi — Sdhi:wi
dila:sge:sgi — Dila:sge:sgi
dighuyí:sgihno: — Dighuyí:sgi, and
na:sgi — that

udo:hiyú:hi — truly
hi:tsihné:tshe — this you (pl.) spoke (w.p.k.)
ginú:d(v)di — one-fourth

da:nigv:wahl(o)da — they priced them
u:sgwaniyé:[dv]hyehnó: — U:sgwaniyé:dv, for
ditsé:hyo?dí — to teach you (pl.), he

udv:hnvgi — he did state
yitsihné:ga [54] — if you (pl.) spoke
hi?a?hno: — this, and

u:sgwaniyé:dv — U:sgwaniyé:dv
wa:sdé:l(v)di — over there to help him, one
se:lu:gwo — corn, just

digal(a)sdhuwó:hedí — to pull off the leaves for him, one
hi?gesé:sdi — this it will be
a:nadv — they said

udv:hnvgi — he did state
ghila — then
ho:wa:gwo — all right, just
agwadv:hnvgi — I did state

na:sgigwo — that, just
gesé:sdi — it will be
agwadv:hnvgi — I did state
gha? — now
gho:hihno: — now, and

tsigi — it is
hi?a? — this
nu:sdi — the way
hi?gá:dhv:gihá — this I hear
u:sdi — small
galogé:sv — field

gasdhadhú:e?dí — to pull fodder for him, one
hi?a? — this
tsa:di:sgv — what he was talking about
higi — this it is

hi?ade: — this one
nuwe:sv:gi — he did say
tsusdí:gwohyehnó: — small ones, just, for
do:gi:lo:gi [55] — fields, we have (plane)

un(a)dv:hnv — they stated
un(a)dv:hnvgi — they did state
tsigo:hno — I wonder
nigá:e? — that much

hagilidá:sdhané? — this I mistook (w.p.k.)
tsino:gisé:lv — I told him
hi?a?hno: — this, and

naniwe:ha — now they say
v́:dhla — not
digó:dhv:sdí — to burn them, one
yigi — if it is

yiga:l(a)sdhuwó:v — if one pulls off the leaves
an(a)di:sgoi — they say (hab.)
gha? — now

ho:wagwo [56] — all right, just
duyu:gh(o)dvgwo — right, just
da:sgihí?se:lí — you (pl.) will kill it, mine

a:se — I suppose
na:sgi — that
nvda:sgiyá:dhv[gá:]ne:lí — then you (pl.) will hear about it from me

iyú:hno — if, and
wi:tsalé:nv:hnv́ — over there when you (pl.) begin
hi?a?hno: — this, and
aye:hli — central

di:gwo:hwe:la:nv́:hi — my writings
dvtsiné:ts(v)dhaní [57] — you (pl.) will speak of it
nigá:dv [58] — all

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[53] There is a superfluous *i* after the second syllable, probably a device to prolong the vowe lin *li*.
[54] The last syllable is erroneously written *ge*.
[55] The spelling of this word, *du:ge: logi*, appears to be garbled.
[56] The first syllable is written *ha*. This is acceptable, but *ho* is standard.
[57] The second syllable is erroneously written *tsa*.
[58] Of a quantity.

nitsv:ne:hahnv
then you (pl.) make it (imp.)

na:sgigwo
that, just

gesé:sdi
it will be

hi?tsa:n(e)tsvdhé:sdigwó:hyehnó
this to remember you (pl.), just, for

sginé:tshe:lv́
you (pl.) asked me

dagwade:hyo?nv́:i
there I taught

da:gwo:hwe:la:nv́:hno
there I wrote, and

gha?
now

ino:li
Ino:li

gohwe:li
letter

dísginv:ne:lv:há
you must send it to me

gho:higwo
now, just

tsa:hlí:ye?lí:[59]
this week

na:sgi
that

tsadv́:n(e)di
to do, you

gesé:sdi
it will be

na:gwóhyehnó
now, for

u:sgwalv:hv
the time

ga:l(a)sdhuwosdí:yi
to pull off the leaves, one

hitsiyó:isdanv́
this you (pl.) stopped

udó:dagwadv́ [60]
all day

na:gwohno:
now, and

usv:hiyé:gwo
late afternoon,

detso:dvlv
mountains, your

na:sgigwo
that, just

gesé:sdi
it will be

gha?
now

ino:li
Ino:li

tsagolí:ye:dí
to read, you

hi?a?
this

gohwe:li
letter

ayv
I

sdhi:wi
Sdhi:wi

go:wé:lv:gá
I just wrote it

(ON VERSO, FIRST NOTATION)

gha?
now

hi?a?sgini
this, in particular

tsi:sgwaní:da
Tsi:sgwaní:da

nigá:v [61]
all

gohú:sdi
something

gv:né?di
to give you (hard), I

(ON VERSO, SECOND NOTATION)

hi?a?
this

ino:li
Ino:li

higoliyé:v:há
this you must read

go:hl(i)tsv:
understood, it

iyú:hno:
if, and

getsó:hli:sdí
to understand it (cond.), you

gesé:sdi
it will be

FREE TRANSLATION

(ON RECTO)

September 13, 1854

Now! *Ino:li*, I wrote you this letter.

Now! This is what the chief said: "It has become time for him to teach them. *Sdhi:wi*, *Dila:sge:sgi*, and *Di:ghuyí:sgi*, it is true that you have set the fee at $0.25. *U:sgwaniyé:dv* is to teach all of you, if all of you say so," he stated. "This *U:sgwaniyé:dv* will have to be helped with his corn fodder-pulling," they say he stated.

"All right, then," I stated. "Let it be this way," I stated. "Now! Now I hear that it is this way: that it is a small field that we are to pull fodder in." This is what he was talking about.

This is what he said: " 'We have just small fields,' they have said that they said."

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[59] There is a superfluous final syllable *i* (see footnote 53, p. 24).

[60] The second syllable is erroneously written *go*.

[61] Of several quantities of intrinsically different natures.

"I wonder how I made such a mistake," I told him. "This is what they say: 'When one pulls the fodder he doesn't have to burn it,' they always say. Now! All right! I suppose all of you will kill my doing the right thing."

All of you over there will hear about it from me. When all of you over there begin, you will speak to the Council of my writings. All of you make it that way. Let it be thus. All of you remember that you asked me. I taught and I wrote.

Now! *Ino:li,* this week you must write me a letter. That you must do. But now it is time to pull the fodder.

"All of you have stopped all day, and now it is late afternoon in your mountains."

Now! *Ino:li,* this letter that I, *Sdhi:wi,* just wrote is for you to read.

(ON VERSO, FIRST NOTATION)

Now! *Tsi:sgwaní:da,* I am to give you everything.

(ON VERSO, SECOND NOTATION)

You must read this, *Ino:li.* If you can understand it, let it be understood.

COMMENTARY

Sdhi:wi's gossipy letter is replete with confidences difficult to enter into by an outsider over a century later. The three individuals addressed by the township chief—*Sdhi:wi, Dila:sge:sgi* ('One-Who-Tramps'), and *Di:ghuyí:sgi* ('One-Who-Pays')—may be the personnel of a school board of sorts. If the teacher, *U:sgwaniyé:dv* ('He-Observed-It-With-Amazement'), could not begin his tutorial duties until he had his farm work done, it is not clear why it became the duty of *Sdhi:wi* (and probably the other two aforementioned) to assist him. That there was such an obligation is attested to by: "All of you [councilmen] made it that way."

Certainly *Sdhi:wi* is not happy with the arrangement, and he prompts *Ino:li* to air the matter in the Wolftown Council. And one gathers that *Sdhi:wi* was *U:sgwaniyé:dv's* predecessor as teacher: "I taught and I wrote (i.e., I was also the clerk)," he states.

The "All of you have stopped all day, etc." appears to be a quotation from an equally disenchanted *U:sgwaniyé:dv.* The verso reference to *Tsi:sgwaní:da* ('Young Birds') is entirely obscure.

The literature gives us no information as to what sort of school was maintained on Qualla Boundary in 1854, and we add very little knowledge from The Inoli Letters. We may be sure that it did not measure up to the standards of the Western Cherokees. Since it is quite unlikely that many of the children knew much English, the

principal instructional materials may have been such portions of the Bible that had been printed and the "Cherokee Primer," available in Park Hill editions of 1839, 1840, 1845, 1846, and 1854 (Hargrett, 1951, p. 59).

Sdhi:wi does not state from where he was writing, but it was doubtlessly at some distance from where *Ino:li* lived, perhaps from some township other than Wolftown.

Mooney's identification reads: "Steve to Black Fox School Should Begin after Fooder Pulling."

NO. 10.—TAX ROLL AND RECORD OF LOANS

ude:dhiyv́:sadi:sv́		hi?a?	aghuyv:hv	anaghuyí:sgi [62]
year		this	paid, it	those who pay
naní:hv́	1855	hi?a?	nusdv́:gi [63]	naní:hv
in number, they	1855	this	the way it was	in number, they

hi?i:ga:?	anaghuyi:sgv́:gi		45
this all	they were paying		$0.45
yo:núwo:hlá	a:si	u:ni:lú:la [64]	45
Yo:núwo:hlá	still	they do not finish	$0.45
tsuna:sdala			45
Tsuna:sdala			$0.45
ul(i)se?go:gi:dv			45
Ul(i)se?go:gi:dv			$0.45
de:nili			30
De:nili			$0.30
dalo:níge			45
Dalo:níge			$0.45
dihye:lidó:hi			15
Dihye:lidó:hi			$0.15
tsumi			[?]5
Tsumi			$0.[?]5
ne:wadv			35
Ne:wadv			$0.35
da:gwadi:hi			45
Da:gwadi:hi			$0.45

hi?a?hno:	u:l(i)sgwalv́:di	aghuyv:hv	hi?a?
this, and	the time	paid, it	this

ude:dhiyv́:sadi:sv́	1856	naní:hv́	a:nihv:sgv	
year	1856	in number, they	put down by them, it (hard)	
hi?a?	i:ga:?	geho:gi	80	ani:se:n(i)si
this	all	usual amount	80	cents
da:gwadi:hi	a:si	ulu:la		55
Da:gwadi:hi	still	he does not finish		$0.55

a:ghuyv [65]	a:?ghali:?
he just paid	in full

[62] The last syllable is erroneously written *gv*.

[63] A superfluous *wi* follows the proper final syllable.

[64] The "they" possibly refers to the whole household of *Yo:núwo:hlá*.

[65] This form of the "recent past" tense is consistently spelled with a final *yv* instead of *ya*, as one would expect. It must have been so pronounced.

de:nili						2[?]
De:nili						$0.2[?]
tsa:li						80
Tsa:li						$0.80
hi?a?	ade:lv	udho:l(a)sv	duli:sdi [66]	llne	i:ga	1858
this	money	he borrowed	September	11th	day	1858
u:wa:wo:sidi [67]						95
U:wa:wo:sidi						$0.95
tsv:datsi		udho:l(a)sv				85
Tsv:datsi		he borrowed				$0.85
du:nawi	adho:la		ade:lv			35
Du:nawi	he just borrowed		money			$0.35
dihye:lidó:hi [68]						45
Dihye:lidó:hi						$0.45
	a:ghuyv		a:?ghali:?			
	he just paid		in full			
gu:la:tsi						86
Gu:la:tsi						$0.86
	a:ghuyv	a:?ghali:?		85		95 [69]
	he just paid	in full		$0.85		$0.95
ga:gama						5 [70]
Ga:gama						$0.05
u:dan(i)du:da						45
U:dan(i)du:da						$0.45
	a:ghuyv	a:?ghali:?				
	he just paid	in full				
gano:hiyá:dv						90
Gano:hiyá:dv						$0.90
dayunó:hyv:lí						95
Dayunó:hyv:lí						$0.95
wi:l(i)sini	sga:tsi					100
Wi:l(i)sini	Sga:tsi					$1.00
wa:guli						5 [70]
Wa:guli						$0.05
tso:tsaga	adho:la		ade:lv			30
Tso:tsaga	he just borrowed		money			$0.30
u:wa?nv	a:ghuyv	udho:l(a)sv	hi?ade:lv			100 [70]
U:wa?nv	he just paid	borrowed, it	this money			$1.00
a?hw(i)daya:[i]	adho:la	ade:lv	guwo:ni			24ne
A?hw(i)daya:i	he just borrowed	money	April			24th
	i:ga	1857				100
	day	1857				$1.00
wahhyaní:da	adho:la	ade:lv	guwo:ni			24ne
Wahhyaní:da	he just borrowed	money	April			24th
	i:ga	1857				100
	day	1857				$1.00

[66] There is a superfluous *i* following the second syllable.
[67] There is a superfluous *ha* following the third syllable.
[68] This name is crossed out.
[69] The significance of these numerals is conjectural.
[70] This entry is crossed out.

di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi
Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi

adho:la
he just borrowed

ade:lv
money

de[ha]lu:yi [70a]
June

2ne
2d

i:ga
day

1857
1857

100 30 yi [71]
$1.30

u?hnegwo:tsv
it increased

hi?a?
this

[illegible]
[illegible]

adho:la
he just borrowed

ade:lv
money

de[ha]lu:yi
June

[illegible]
[illegible]

i:ga
day

1857 [72]
1857

tsv:datsi
Tsv:datsi

a:si
still

ulu:la
he does not finish

agwali:hehnó:hiya:sí
I just had this left over

dehalu:yi
June

21
21st

gha?
now

hi?a?
this

wi:l(i)sini
Wi:l(i)sini

adho:la
he just borrowed

ade:lv
money

aye:hli
central

a:?hv [73]
it (hard) there

$[?].15
$[?].15

duni:n(o)dhi
October

6ne
6th

i:ga
day

1858
1858

a:ghuyv
he just paid

wi:l(i)sini
Wi:l(i)sini

a:ghuyv
he just paid

a:?ghali:?
in full

a:si
still

hi:sgiani:se:n(i)si [74]
five cents

ga?lohni
August

gha?lv
month

24ne
24th

i:ga
day

5
$0.05

hi?a?
this

gha:tsi
Gha:tsi

adhlo:la
he just borrowed

ade:lv
money

2
$2.00

nv:dáde:gwá
November

10ne
10th

i:ga
day

1858 [75]
1858

gha?
now

hi?a?
this

sa:ladi
Sa:ladi

ade:lv
money

adho:la
she just borrowed

96
96

ani:se:n(i)si
cents

nv:dáde:gwá
November

gha?lv
month

20ne
20th

i:ga
day

ayv
I

ino:li
Ino:li

go:wé:la:gá
I just wrote it

gha?
now

hi?adho:la
this he just borrowed

ade:lv
money

250
$2.50

u:l(a)sdu:hi
U:l(a)sdu:hi

vsghi:yi
December

16ne
16th

i:ga
day

1858
1858

a?nv:yi
March

gha?lv
month

u:ghuy(v)di
to pay, he

20ne
20th

i:ga
day

1859
1859

ayv
I

ino:li
Ino:li

go:wé:la:gá [76]
I just wrote it

70a This entry is crossed out.

71 The meaning of this abbreviation is not known to us.

72 This entry is crossed out

73 Variant of *a:?hv:i* and *a:?v:i*.

74 This word and the preceding one are crossed out.

75 This entry is crossed out.

76 All of this entry except the first two words is crossed out.

FREE TRANSLATION

In the year 1855, this was the amount paid by the taxpayers: $0.45. This is the amount that they all were paying.

Yo:núwo:hlá (still not finished paying) $0.45
Tsuna:sdala $0.45
Ul(i)se?go:gi: dv $0.45
De:nili $0.30
Dalo:níge $0.45
Dihye:lidó:hi $0.15
Tsumi ..... $0.[?]5
Ne:wadv $0.35
Da:gwadi:hi $0.45

At the time for paying this year, 1856, they all paid the usual amount, $0.80.

Da:gwadi:hi (still not finished paying) $0.55

He just paid in full.

De:nili ..... $0.2[?]
Tsa:li ..... $0.[?]

This money he borrowed September 11, 1858.

U:wa:wo:sidi $0.95
Tsv:datsi. He borrowed $0.85
Du:nawi. He just borrowed money $0.35
Dihye:lidó:hi $0.45

He just paid in full.

Gu:la:tsi $0.86

He just paid in full. $0.85 $0.95

Ga:gama $0.05
U:dan(i)du:da $0.45

He just paid in full.

Gano:hiyá:dv $0.90
Dayunó:hyv:lí $0.95
Wi:l(i)sini Sga:tsi $1.00
Wa:guli $0.05
Tso:tsaga. He just borrowed money $0.30
U:wa?nv. He just paid. He borrowed this money $1.00
A?hw(i)daya:i. He just borrowed money, April 24, 1857 ..... $1.00
Wahhyaní:da. He just borrowed money, April 24, 1857 ..... $1.00

Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi. He just borrowed money, June 2, 1857. With the interest it was this___ $1. 30
[illegible]. He just borrowed money, June [illegible], 1857
Tsv:datsi (still not finished paying)
I had this left over, June 21st_____ $[?]. 21
Now! *Wi:l(i)sini* has just borrowed money from township funds_____ $[?]. 15
On October 6th *Wi:l(i)sini* just paid in full.
Wi:l(i)sini has just paid in full the $0.05 he still owed, August 29th.
Gha:tsi just borrowed money November 10, 1858_ $2. 00
Now! *Sa:ladi* just borrowed money November 20th_____ $0. 96
I, *Ino:li,* just wrote this.
Now! *U:l(a)sdu:hi* just borrowed this money December 16, 1858_____ $2. 50
He is to repay it March 20, 1859.
I, *Ino:li,* just wrote this.

COMMENTARY

The present document, much crossed out and blotted and therefore quite difficult to read, is in the handwriting of *Ino:li* and deals with debts of two categories: those to the State of North Carolina (land taxes), and those to what would appear to be the Wolftown Council (personal loans chiefly incurred, one surmises, for the purpose of paying State taxes).

Inasmuch as no Indian could legally own land within the State of North Carolina until 1866 (Mooney, 1900, p. 159), all of the lands of the Cherokees there were recorded in the name of their benefactor and unofficial head, Will Thomas (*see* Russell, MS., 1956, passim). Although the legal fiction of Thomas' ownership had to be maintained, with their own money some of the Cherokees had bought their holdings. *Ino:li* acted as the agent of Thomas in collecting taxes from the Indians that resided in Jackson County.

The hodgepodge of memoranda here, with entries spanning the years from 1855 to 1859, is typical not only of *Ino:li's* bookkeeping but that of Cherokees in general. It is not without systematic organization, as might appear. Olbrechts (Mooney and Olbrechts, 1932, p. 157) marvels at the ability of the medicine man to find a needed formula in a book that was a jungle of ". . . notes of historical interest, not to speak of tribal records, such as births, deaths, accidents, etc." as well as a depository for curing charms.

Mooney's caption: "Old Money Payments," although accurate, is subject to misinterpretation.

NO. 11.—NOTE CONCERNING SOME PIGS

hi?a?	wa:gigu [77]	we:tshahyanv	gho:hi	i:ga
this	Wa:gigu	over there he sent for you	now	day
12	i:ga	duni:n(o)dhi	gha?lv	si:ghwa
12	day	October	month	pig
ghanó:he?dí	tsughanv:sda?li		gv:hnage	ayó:hli
to discuss, one	boar		black	small
a:di:ha	wa:gigu	gé:hya?dhahí		a:di:ha
he says	Wa:gigu	wild		he says
udedhiyv́:dvgwo		só:hihnó:		u:dv:hnv
year-old, just		another, and		he stated
tsughanv:sda?li		dha?li		iyúdedhiyv́:dv
boar		two		years old
a:di:ha	wa:gigu	uhlv:n(i)dhv		na:yó:go
he says	Wa:gigu	he caught it		that one
na:sgi	gho:hi	ge:li?	ga:na?li	higi
that	now	I believe	gelding	this it is
na:sgi		a:di:ha		
that		he says		

FREE TRANSLATION

Wa:gigu sent for you today, October 12th, to talk about a pig—a small black boar, *Wa:gigu* says. He says it is wild, just a year old. Another boar, 2 years old, *Wa:gigu* says he caught.

"Now I think that one is a gelding," he says.

COMMENTARY

Ino:li was evidently writing for *Wa:gigu* who could not write. The addressee is not designated. It is not clear whether *Wa:gigu* is attempting to sell the pigs to the addressee or to get the latter to come and identify pigs taken up by *Wa:gigu*. He may be offering the 1-year-old animal for sale and may be trying to determine ownership of the 2-year-old.

Although this note is not dated, we hypothesize that circa 1855 would be a likely dating for it.

Mooney's annotation is wrong: "Unsigned Note to Wagiku-Gahunis [Gahuni's] Br. [Brother] to Come WW."

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77 'Gourd.'

NO. 12.—ROLL OF ECHOTA METHODIST MISSION

1856

1856

ani:tsa
Ani:tsa

digh(a)dhí:ya
he watches them

da:hyvho
he hunts them (hab.)

uniyv:sdí:yi
to enter, they—place

u:naligó:hi
joined together, they

tsa:ni de:hw(i)si [78]
Tsa:ni De:hw(i)si

ani:tsa
Ani:tsa

da:yv:ha
Da:yv:ha

wa:di
Wa:di

ne:ni
Ne:ni

do:yaní:da
Do:yaní:da

gelayi:ni
Gelayi:ni

tsi[ni]lv:gi
Tsi[ni]lv:gi

gho:latsusdí:ga [79]
Gho:latsusdí:ga

ada:sude:gi 10 [80]
Ada:sude:gi 10

amatsv:na
Amatsv:na

hv:gi
Hv:gi

ghola:ha
Ghola:ha

ne:tsili
Ne:tsili

adi:se
Adi:se

gadola:ha
Gadola:ha

v:wo:diyó:hi
V:wo:diyó:hi

da:li
Da:li

me:li
Me:li

ali:sa 21
Ali:sa 21

---

[78] Marks of several patterns (the dash, the cross), probably attendance tallies, we have omitted.
[79] The last syllable is erroneously written *a*.
[80] The purpose of these numerals is unknown. Some appear to be cumulative totals, others do not.

tse:gi tsi [81]
Tse:gi [?]

i:yátsagá tsi
I:yátsagá [?]

ne:si u:yohu:sv guwo:ni 5ne i:ga 1858
Ne:si she died April 5th day 1858

diganv:wedi:sgi tsi
Diganv:wedi:sgi [?]

tsi:gh(i)sv tsi a:yohu:hi de[ha]lu:yi 25ne i:ga 1858
Tsi:gh(i)sv [?] he just died June 25th day 1858

sa:li ali:tsa [82] tsi unalí:go:hv́ ga?lohni
Sa:li Ali:tsa [?] they joined together with them August

11 i:ga 1856
11 day 1856

gado:yoe tsi 25
Gado:yoe [?] 25

ulv:hnawo:da u:yohu:sv
Ulv:hnawo:da he died

tsuniyo:hu:sv: 3
which died, they 3

16 100 56 [83]
16 100 56

29
29

hi?a? gho:lanv́:yi [84] na:ní:hv unali:gó:hi
this raven-place in number, they joined together, they (hab.)

45 [85]
45

12 [86]
12

ani:wahhyó:hi 33
wolf-place, they 33

11
11

ani:wo:di 55
paint, they 55

ani:tse? [87] 26
new ones 26

ani:tse? 1
new ones 1

tsuniyo:[hu:]sv: 2
which died, they 2

---

81 This syllable, here and elsewhere, is probably an abbreviation of some word of significance to the writer, but we cannot conjecture as to what the word is.

82 The "they" that predicated the form of the verb following were seemingly *Sa:li* and *Gado:yoe*. *Sa:li Ali:tsa* (Sally Leech) is the full name of one individual, not two persons.

83 These numerals, here and in similar places elsewhere, are obviously totals of some sort.

84 This township is now known to the Whites as Big Cove.

85 Probably the total number of adult members from *Gho:lanv́:yi*.

86 Probably the total number of child members from *Gho:lanv́:yi*.

87 Here, and in the line immediately below, the final syllable is erroneously written *tsa*.

21 10 3
21 10 3
4
4
u:hli 5
U:hli 5
ali:sa
Ali:sa

hi?a? unalí:go:hv́ tsun(a)dehl(o)gwa:sdí
this they joined together with them which to learn, they

uniyv:sdí:yi [88]
to enter they, place

lu:yi digh(a)dhí:ya
Lu:yi he watches them

tsa:n(i)sini
Tsa:n(i)sini

se:li 72
Se:li 72

e:ni
E:ni

wi:l(i)sini
Wi:l(i)sini

sa:dayi
Sa:dayi

wa:guli
Wa:guli

gvyu:tse a:yohu:hi ga?lohni 27 1858
Gvyu:tse she just died August 27 1858

ila:gwi
Ila:gwi

ni:gutse:gi 10
Ni:gutse:gi 10

sa:li
Sa:li

di:gini
Di:gini

sina:sdv
Sina:sdv

ne:li
Ne:li

sa:ladi [89]
Sa:ladi

wini u:yohu:sv
Wini she died

tsini
Tsini

sa:li
Sa:li

---

[88] The sibilant is erroneously written *sa*.

[89] *Sa:ladi*, *Sa:lada*, and *Sa:ladu* are variant spellings, found in The Inoli Letters, of the same name: the Cherokee form of 'Charlotte.'

wa:huhu 60
Wa:huhu 60

a:yigi
A:yigi

e:ligi 20
E:ligi 20

u:yohu:la u:yohu:sv
U:yohu:la he died

tsiwe:li:si 4 40 20
Tsiwe:li:si 4 40 20

o:hni
O:hni

de:gi
De:gi

a:hyv́i:ní u:yohu:sv
A:hyv́i:ní he died

u:l(i)sdu:hi
U:l(i)sdu:hi

so:ʔgini
So:ʔgini

ne:n(i)si u:yohu:sv
Ne:n(i)si she died

u:dan(i)du:da
U:dan(i)du:da

du:na:yi u:yohu:sa
Du:na:yi dead, he

li:si u:yohu:sa
Li:si dead, she

e:wi u:yohu:sa
E:wi dead, she

u:lu:tse
U:lu:tse

ne:n(i)si u:yohu:sv
Ne:n(i)si she died

tsi:naʔde:i u:yohu:sv
Tsi:naʔde:i he [she?] died

tseni:si u:yohu:sv
Tseni:si she died

go:hisdi:sgi
Go:hisdi:sgi

tsi:nayi
Tsi:nayi

du:na:yi 30
Du:na:yi 30

tsi:lawi:se
Tsi:lawi:se

tsu:we:lu:ga
Tsu:we:lu:ga

da:gi
Da:gi

ge:hida
Ge:hida

we:gi
We:gi

la:yi:si
La:yi:si

sa:ladu
Sa:ladu

wa:lení:da [90]
Wa:lení:da

ayv̌:adhu:gá
Ayv̌:adhu:gá

a:li 40
A:li 40

wa:ligini
Wa:ligini

de:wi u:yohu:sv
De:wi he died

lu:wáyi:sá
Lu:wáyi:sá

sa:dayi
Sa:dayi

ge:hyádho:gí u:yohu:sv
Ge:hyádho:gí he died

ne:tsini
Ne:tsini

a:li wi:l(i)sini
A:li Wi:l(i)sini

e:tsini
E:tsini

tse:gwádi:hí
Tse:gwádi:hí

wahhyaní:da
Wahhyaní:da

tsa:li
Tsa:li

sga:hliló:sgi 50
Sga:hliló:sgi 50

yi:si
Yi:si

tse:si 10
Tse:si 10

e:lígi:saní:da
E:lígi:saní:da

lu:wáyi:sá 10
Lu:wáyi:sá 10

lusi:n(i)di
Lusi:n(i)di

gvwahyú:daá 55 de[ha]lu:yi 27ne i:ga 1858
Gvwahyú:daá 55 June 27th day 1858

da:hw(i)sini
Da:hw(i)sini

---

[90] This name is crossed out. This member may have been expelled from the church.

ali:sa
Ali:sa

gudagi:sgi 59 30
Gudagi:sgi 59 30

lu:si duli:sdi [91] 23ne i:ga 18 [??]
Lu:si September 23rd day 18 [??]

ge:hyahi [92]
Ge:hyahi

e:lini
E:lini

tsi:guwi
Tsi:guwi

gv:sgali:sgi
Gv:sgali:sgi

tsini 6
Tsini 6

tsini gho:higi [93] si:olí:go:hnv́
Tsini now, this it is still a part of, she

wahhyó:hi unalí:go:hv́ a:ne:hv
wolf-place they joined together with them living, they

tsu:na[né]l(o)di [94]
Christians, they

ino:li ahl(i)tsidó:hv:sgí
Ino:li one who preaches

tsa:li digh(a)dhí:ya 20
Tsa:li he watches them 20

gawo:hílo:sgí digh(a)dhí:ya
Gawo:hílo:sgí he watches them

tso:tsaga
Tso:tsaga

a:tsi
A:tsi

ne:ni
Ne:ni

vyanu:la [u:]yohu:sv
Vyanu:la he [she?] died

o:hni
O:hni

hv:gi [95]
Hv:gi

tse:gi u:yohu:sa
Tse:gi dead, he

e:gi
E:gi

e:gi [u:]yohu:sv
E:gi she died

du:ni 10
Du:ni 10

---

91 There is a superfluous *i* following the second syllable.
92 The second syllable is erroneously written *hyo*.
93 A contraction of *gho:hi higi*.
94 No truly satisfying translation of this word for 'Christians' is possible.
95 The final syllable is erroneously written *di*.

de:nili
De:nili

saya
Saya

si:gawi
Si:gawi

ali:sa
Ali:sa

tsini u:yohu:sv
Tsini she died

usae:dv u:yohu:sv 20
Usae:dv he [she?] died 20

goyí:ne?
Goyí:ne?

galv:da?yi
Galv:da?yi

anúwe:gí
Anúwe:gí

a:yéle:í
A:yéle:í

a:ni
A:ni

dvdi:sdi [96] 20
Dvdi:sdi 20

idígv:n(e)dí
Idígv:n(e)dí

si:li
Si:li

dayunó:hyv:lí
Dayunó:hyv:lí

danv́:n(i)galv:hí
Danv́:n(i)galv:hí

a:li da:dayi
A:li Da:dayi

nigawi
Nigawi

o:l(u)tsegi [97]
O:l(u)tsegi

[s]dhi:wi u:yohu:sv
Sdhi:wi he died

[tsu]niyo:hu:sv: 6 18 28
which died, they 6 18 28

ulí:go:hnv́ gha:ga?li gha?lv 1855
he [or she] joined February month 1855

tsu:dasi
Tsu:dasi

gwe:dh(i)si 30
Gwe:dh(i)si 30

guwo:ni 12 analí:go:hv:gá 1857
April 12 they just joined 1857

---

[96] We assume this name to be a variant of *Dhlvdi:sdi*.

[97] The second syllable is erroneously written *li*.

nv:tsi
Nv:tsi

saligi:ni
Saligi:ni

lo:si
Lo:si

do:tsi:lá:wi:gí	de[ha]lu:yi	27ne	i:ga	1858
we just met	June	27th	day	1858

da:sgigidi:hi	alí:go:hv:gá
Da:sgigidi:hi	he just joined

e:l(i)si
E:l(i)si

do:tsu:lé?hnv
Do:tsu:lé?hnv

wa:dv [98]	36	ino:li [99]
Wa:dv	36	Ino:li

a:ghuya	10
A:ghuya	10
sa:mi	30
Sa:mi	30

tsuló:gilá
Tsuló:gilá

ne:n(i)si	40
Ne:n(i)si	40

tsá:n(i)la:tsí
Tsá:n(i)la:tsí

duli:sdi [1]	23	i:ga	1858
September	23rd	day	1858

wini
Wini

aligi:ni
Aligi:ni

e:ni
E:ni

ne:tsili
Ne:tsili

ga:su:dhé:sgi
Ga:su:dhé:sgi

tsa:ts(i)
Tsa:ts(i)

gho:lanv́:yi	u:naligó:hi	6
raven-place	joined together, they	6
	tsu:n(a)sdi	12
	small ones	12
[ani:wo:di:hi ?]		7
[paint-place, they ?]		7
	[tsu:n(a)sdi ?]	10
	[small ones ?]	10

[98] This is a variant spelling of *Wa:di*, a feminine name that in conversation would be pronounced with the final vowel unvoiced.

[99] We do not know why *Ino:li* wrote his name here. Perhaps he was in charge of the meeting on June 27

[1] There is a superfluous *i* following the second syllable.

		12	83		
		12	83		
		100	3		
		100	3		
		10			
		10			
tsuniyo:hu:sv:	10			903	
which died, they	10			93	
adí:na	iyv́:digegawo:v́:hi			21	
not	been baptised, they			21	
		31	02		
		31	02		
		43			
		43			
11111111111111111111111					
11111111111111111111111					
11111111111	tsu:n(a)sdi		11	7	23
	small ones		11	7	23
		6			
		6			

FREE TRANSLATION

1856

Ani:tsa—Deacon (he hunts those who belong, to get them to come to church).

Tsa:ni De:hw(i)si
Ani:tsa
Da:yv:ha
Wa:di
Ne:ni
Do:yaní:da
Gelayi:ni
Tsinilv:gi
Gho:latsusdí:ga
Ada:sude:gi 10
Amatsv:na
Hv:gi
Ghola:ha
Ne:tsili
Adi:se
Gadola:ha
V:wo:diyó:hi
Da:li
Me:li
Ali:sa
Tse:gi

I:yátsagá
Ne:si—she died April 5, 1858
Diganv:wedi:sgi
Tsi:gh(i)sv—he just died June 25, 1858
They joined the Church August 11, 1856
Sa:li Ali:tsa
Gado:yoe 25
Ulv:hnawo:da—he died

Those who died—3
16 100 56
29

This is the number of members from Raven:

Adults	45
Children	12

From Wolftown:

Adults	33
Children	11

From Painttown:

Adults	55
Children	6

New members:

Adults	26
Children	1

Those who died 2
21 10 3
4
5

U:hli
Ali:sa
These are the members of the Sunday School:
Lu:yi—Deacon
Tsa:n(i)sini
Se:li 72
E:ni
Wi:l(i)sini
Sa:dayi
Wa:guli
Gvyu:tse—she just died August 27, 1858
Ila:gwi
Ni:gutse:gi 10
Sa:li
Di:gini
Sina:sdv
Ne:li

Sa:ladi			
Wini—she died			
Tsini			
Sa:li			
Wa:huhu	60		
A:yigi			
E:ligi	20		
U:yohu:la—he died			
Tsiwe:li:si	4	40	20
O:hni			
De:gi			
A:hyví:ní—he died			
U:l(i)sdu:hi			
So:ʔgini			
Ne:n(i)si—she died			
U:dan(i)du:da			
Du:na:yi—dead			
Li:si—dead			
E:wi—dead			
U:lu:tse			
Ne:n(i)si—she died			
Tsi:naʔde:i—he [she ?] died			
Tseni:si—she died			
Go:hisdi:sgi			
Tsi:nayi			
Du:na:yi			
Tsi:lawi:se			
Tsu:we:lu:ga			
Da:gi			
Ge:hida			
We:gi			
La:yi:si			
Sa:ladu			
Wa:lení:da			
Ayv:adhu:gá			
A:li	40		
Wa:ligini			
De:wi—he died			
Lu:wáyi:sá			
Sa:dayi			
Ge:hyádho:gí—he died			
Ne:tsini			
A:li Wi:l(i)sini			
E:tsini			

Tse:gwádi:hí
Wahhyaní:da
Tsa:li
Sga:hliló:sgi 50
Yi:si
Tse:si 10
E:lígi:saní:da
Lu:wáyi:sá 10
Lusi:n(i)di
Gvwahyú:daá 55 June 27, 1858
Da:hw(i)sini
Ali:sa
Gudagi:sgi 59 30
Lu:si September 23, 18[??]
Ge:hyahi
E:lini
Tsi:guwi
Gv:sgali:sgi
Tsini 6
Tsini is still a member
Christian members who live in Wolftown:
Ino:li—Local Preacher
Tsa:li—Deacon 20
Gawo:hílo:sgí—Deacon
Tso:tsaga
A:tsi
Ne:ni
Vyanu:la—he [she ?] died
O:hni
Hv:gi
Tse:gi—dead
E:gi
E:gi —she died
Du:ni 10
De:nili
Saya
Si:gawi
Ali:sa
Tsini—she died
Usae:dv—he [she ?] died 20
Goyí:ne?
Galv:da?yi
Anúwe:gí
A:yéle:í

A:ni
Dvdi:sdi
Idígv:n(e)dí
Si:li
Dayunó:hyv:lí
Danv̈:n(i)gaʎv:hí
A:li Da:dayi
Nigawi
O:l(u)tsegi
Sdhi:wi—he died
Those who died—6 18 28
He [or she] joined February, 1855
Tsu:dasi
Gwe:dh(i)si 30
They just joined April 12, 1857
Nv:tsi
Saligi:ni
Lo:si
We just met June 27, 1858
Da:sgigidi:hi—he just joined
E:l(i)si
Do:tsu:lé?hnv
Wa:dv 36 *Ino:lı*
A:ghuya 10
Sa:mi 30
Tsuló:gilá
Ne:n(i)si 40
Tsá:n(i)la:tsí
September 23, 1858
Wini
Aligi:ni
E:ni
Ne:tsili
Ga:su:dhé:sgi
Tsa:ts(i)
Members from Raven:

Adults	6
Children	12

Members from Painttown:

Adults	7
Children	10

12 83
100 3
10

Those who died—10 93
Those not baptised—21
31 02
43
Children—11 7 23
6
35

COMMENTARY

Among The Inoli Letters there are two other rolls of the members of Echota Methodist Mission as well as several short lists of names that may be church committees. One senses an incomplete victory on Qualla Boundary by the forces of righteousness: On one of the rolls, opposite the names of several of the members, is the notation "turned out."

When reading out a list of names, or calling a roll, it is customary among the Cherokees to voice final syllables that are unvoiced in routine conversation, although there are some names that provide exceptions. It was deemed the better procedure to treat the foregoing roll as if it were actually being called.

A document in English in The Inoli Letters establishes the fact that Echota Methodist Mission in Soco Valley existed as early as September 7, 1850, apparently on or very near the same site now occupied by the stone Methodist Church on Highway 19. Russell (MS., 1956, p. 254) informs us that Will Thomas, who was a Methodist, donated the land for the mission and organized the Sunday School of the church.

Ino:li's clerical status is defined by another document in the collection, his license as a local preacher given on August 25, 1849, by the Quarterly Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at Waynesville, N.C. The word *digh(a)dhí:ya,* employed above, is a troublesome one. To a contemporary Cherokee it means 'Pastor,' but in *Ino:li's* time it appears to have had the meaning we have assigned to it.

The entire Bible has never been translated into Cherokee. All of the New Testament was translated, but not by 1856–58. It was the practice of the Mission Press at Park Hill, Cherokee Nation, to issue newly translated books separately. One of the documents in The Inoli Letters is a copy in *Ino:li's* handwriting, marred by some orthographic errors here and there, of Luke 9:23–27. Perhaps he did not possess a copy of the Cherokee Luke and had extracted this from one that he had borrowed. Another document in the collection is an account of the traditional fate of each Apostle. In some respects it is curiously at variance with accepted traditions. Copies of this

document are said to have been circulated in manuscript among the Oklahoma Cherokees.

The church leaders *Tsa:li* and *Ani:tsa* are easily identified on the Terrell Roll. One of the most engrossing documents in the whole of The Inoli Letters is a touching and noble tribute to *Ani:tsa*, who died August 1, 1874. It quotes his valedictory: "I talked to sinners and I prayed for them; and now if I am not able to talk to them, if now my speaking is past, I am ready to go. All of you know how I walked here below."

"List of Church Members" is Mooney's caption.

NO. 13.—REPORT OF A MEETING FOR THE PURPOSE OF CONSIDERING TAX PROBLEMS

gha?	hi?a?sgini	danu:gh(o)da	a:hni	
now	this, in particular	they just decided	here	
tsu:hla [2]	su:dali	iyaní:dv	ade:lv	da:ni:hno:hv:li
Tsu:hla	six	in a group	money	they just discussed them
ale	danu:gh(o)da	v́:tsa		
and	they just decided	not		
yu:ni:nu:lv́:hv:gá	aye:hligwo [3]	dha?li	iyudá:di:sdí	
not defeated, they	tax, just	two	to divide itself	
a:nadvgwo	wahhyó:hi	ale	ani:wo:di	gha?
the just said, just	wolf-place	and	paint, they	now
na:sgigwo	uwá:sv	dho:hi	igv:né:hi	danu:gh(o)da
that, just	itself	well	maker	they just decided
tsudale:hnv́:dv	nu:nahl(i)s[dá:]ne:hv́	tsunílv:n(a)sdane:lv́		
various things	they are happening to them	which they worked		
tsisghwó:[hi]	na:sgihno:	ge:da:su:yagi	tso?i	
bird-place	that, and	we just chose them	three	
iyaní:dv	ts(i)sgili é:gwa [4]	ayv́:adhu:gá [5]	tsu:hla	
in a group	Ts(i)sgili é:gwa	Ayv́:adhu:gá	Tsu:hla	
iyaní:di:sgí	ghi:lahno:	unv:sv	du:nidu:hv	
the ones who divide it	then, and	themselves	towns	
uni:hy(a)sdi	iyú:nahl(i)s[da]ni:da:sdí	hi?a?		
to hunt it (hard), they	to become, they	this		
igv́:n(e)di	ane:sv[hv́:]sgv	gha?	na:sgigwo	
to do it, one	they are using them up	now	that, just	
i:gá:i	a:se?ge:li?	ye:lí:gwo	a?nv:yi	18ne	i:ga
all	I believe	enough	March	18th	day
1857	ayv	diga:hl(i)lú:gi [6]	go:wé:lv:gá	ino:li	
1857	I	Diga:hl(i)lú:gi	I just wrote it	Ino:li	
tsagolí:ye:dí					
to read it, you					

[2] 'Fox.'
[3] This word also means 'tax,' as well as 'central authority,' 'middle.'
[4] 'Big Owl' (*Bubo virginianus saturatus*).
[5] Meaning unknown.
[6] 'They-Which-Are-Piled-Up.'

FREE TRANSLATION

Now! This group of six deliberated at *Tsu:hla's* house. They discussed money, and they decided that they were not defeated and that the tax of Wolftown and Painttown could be divided into two parts.

Now! Of all the various things that were happening to them in their work in Birdtown, that is all that they decided to take care of. We chose a group of three—*Ts(i)sgilié:gwa*, *Ayó:adhu:gá*, and *Tsu:hla*—to become the dividers, and then in their own towns to look for the money. This is the way to do because they [the taxpayers] are spending it.

Now! That is all that I wrote. I believe that it is enough. I, *Diga:hl(i)lu:gi*, just wrote this on March 18, 1857 for you, *Ino:li*, to read.

COMMENTARY

The six men meeting at the home of *Tsu:hla* in Wolftown would appear to have been official representatives from Wolftown and Painttown. We know from another document that *Ts(i)sgilié:gwa* was Chief of Wolftown. The only matter that the group acted upon was the State of North Carolina tax on Will Thomas' Jackson County land, something which concerned both townships. There is no light shed upon "their work in Birdtown."

Since *Ino:li* at the time of this meeting was the clerk of the township in which it was held, one would expect him to have been present upon the occasion. Whether *Diga:hl(i)lú:gi* was the Painttown clerk or merely *Ino:li's* substitute is something that we cannot determine. Doubtless this note was written for the purpose of apprising *Ino:li* of what took place at the meeting.

This document is not from The Inoli Letters proper, but from Bureau of American Ethnology File No. 2241-b which consists of some fugitive Mooney material cataloged in February 1958.

Mooney's note upon it reads: "Letter fr. Tilalilugi."

NO. 14.—*GADU:G(I)*[?] REGULATIONS

(ON RECTO)

ga?lohni	27	i:ga	1857	hi?a?sgini	i:tsadv́:n(e)di
August	27	day	1857	this, in particular	to do it, you (pl.)
gesé:sdi	do:tsu:lé?hnv [7]			dhada:hnvtsí:sgi	gesv́:i
it will be	Do:tsu:lé?hnv			the one who collects, you	it is
hi?a?	nusdhé:sdi	ghiló:i		u:dadhú:gi [8]	gohwe:li
this	way	someone		owed, he	paper

[7] 'He Arose.'

[8] Forms of the verb 'to extend credit' we have usually translated 'to owe.' For example, what we have rendered 'he owes me' is literally 'I extend credit to him.'

tsanv́:nehe:sdí — which to give you it (flex.), he
30 — 30
tsu:sv́:hidv́ — overnights
nadá:hnvtsi:sgv́:hna — not be collecting, he
hi?gesé:sdi — this, it will be
tsv:sagwo — yourself, just
tsá:ghuy(v)dí — to pay, you
hi?gesé:sdi — this, it will be
ale — and
gohwe:li — paper
hi:nv́:nehe:sdí — this must give him (flex.), you
duyu:gh(o)dv́:i — right
iyadv́:n(e)di — to be done by, one
gesv́:i — it is
gha? — now
hi?a?hno: — this, and
ugh(a)dhi:ya — it waits for him
do:tsu:lé?hnv — Do:tsu:lé?hnv
da:tsvda — over there you (pl.) just said
do:tsu:lé?hnv — Do:tsu:lé?hnv
a?sganv:tsv́:ha — one does wrong
sa:gwo — one
ade:lv — money
ú:ghuy(v)dí — to pay, he
aye:hli — central
da:tsvda — over there you (pl.) just said
gha? — now
hi?a?hno: — this, and
ghiló:hno: — someone, and
u:hliye:lidé:hi[9] — one who has time
ge:sv — it is
2 — 2
ale — and
3 — 3
ale — and
4 — 4
gesé:sdi — it will be
ale — and
a:se:gwo — free
gesv́:i — it is
dida:hnvtsí:sgi — one who collects them
u:tse:lí:ga — his
40 — 40
ani:se:n(i)si — cents
iga:dv́:hno — in amount, and
ani:sgaye:gv́:sda[10] — leaders
wuló:hisdí — over there to go, it
gesé:sdi — it will be
20 — 20
ani:se:n(i)si — cents
wuló:hisdí — over there to go, it
anisgayegv:sdó:i — leaders-place

(ON VERSO)

dida:hnvtsí:sgi — one who collects them
ghano:he:ha — it tells

FREE TRANSLATION

(ON RECTO)

August 27, 1857

This is what all of you will do: *Do:tsu:lé?hnv*, you are the collector. Let it be this way: When someone is owed, he is to give you a paper. He is not to collect for 30 days. You [the debtor] will pay him yourself and you must give him a paper. This is the right thing to do.

Now! These instructions wait for *Do:tsu:lé?hnv*, all of you just said: *Do:tsu:lé?hnv*, when someone does wrong, he is to pay a dollar [put up a bond ?] to the authorities, all of you just said.

Now! When someone has to have a trial, 2, 3, or 4 dollars fine it will be, and the collector, who has worked uncompensated, will get $0.40 of each dollar. The leaders will get $0.40 and $0.20 will go to the treasury.

(ON VERSO)

This tells of the collector.

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[9] Idiom for 'one who comes to trial.'

[10] The last syllable is erroneously written *do*

COMMENTARY

There is no internal evidence that would categorize this document as either a set of regulations for the *Gadu:g(i)* or as an edict of the Wolftown Council, yet it is certainly one or the other, and most likely the former.

As previously stated, Fogelson and Kutsche (1961, p. 87) define the *Gadu:g(i)* as ". . . a group of men who join together to form a company, with rules and officers, for continued economic and social reciprocity." There is, however, some doubt that this definition would coincide with what the Oklahoma Cherokee consider the *Gadu:g(i)* to be. In their conservative communities of Adair, Sequoyah, and Cherokee Counties which up until a few years ago were as fully, if not more nativistically orientated as any community in North Carolina, we have personally seen little evidence of the organizational continuity of the *Gadu:g(i)*. In Oklahoma one speaks of calling *for* a *Gadu:g(i)*, not calling *out* the *Gadu:g(i)*. While it functions, it may have rules and officers, but upon reconstitution for another specific task it has new rules, new officers, and new personnel. One wonders if socioeconomic factors peculiar to North Carolina, the locus of a small segment of the Cherokee people, might have engendered and insured the much studied continuity of the *Gadu:g(i)* there.

Gilbert (1943, p. 306) interprets the *Gadu:g(i)* of the time of his investigation as "aboriginally remnantal." Fogelson and Kutsche (1961) state that Gilbert believes the *Gadu:g(i)* to be a survival of the aboriginal town settlement. For what weight such may throw to one side or the other of the question, we find in The Inoli Letters proof of the existence of the *Gadu:g(i)* side by side and interlocked with a township organization.

Mooney's caption appears to be: "Company Rule etc Borrowd Money WW."

NO. 15.—*TSO:TSAGA*[11] SELLS HIS HOUSEHOLD FURNISHINGS

hiʔagwo:hwé:lo:dí this to write, I	niga:l(i)sda it just became	nv:dáde:gwá November	3ne i:ga 3rd day
1857 1857	ude:dhiyv́:sadi:sv́ year	gha? now	hiʔa? this	na:gwo now
gv:gwo:hwé:lo:dí able to write it, I	niga:hl(i)sda it just became	ayv I	digo:we:lí:sgi clerk, I
wahhyó:hi wolf-place	sga:dú:gi township	a:hni here	a:gilvʔtsi he just came to me
tso:tsaga Tso:tsaga	ts(i)sgili Ts(i)sgili	tsagwo:hlv́:gi [12] where I was sitting

[11] 'The-Three-Which-He-Ate.'

[12] Idiomatic for 'where I was living.'

agwada?nv:sdi to move, I	nu:hl(i)sdhanv it became	ghaní:gadv́ without	aghiná:?v [13] my household furnishings
a:gh(a)dhahyo:se:lv́:gi [14] she asked me for it		ge:di [15] Ge:di	gv:yaghuyv́:e:lv:gí I did pay you
u:dv:hnv:gi she did state	a:di:ha he says	hi?a?hno: this, and	a:gwv́:nv:gi I just hurried
a?se:sdi to count, one	i:ga:? the amount	tsu:gv́:wahl(o)di [16] worth	a:hná:?v [17] lying there, it (hard)
agwvdé:tsv left me, it	ayv I	tso:tsaga Tso:tsaga	e:hlawe? quietly	gada:nv:dhe:sgv́:gi I was thinking
no:gwo now	tsine:gi I just said	hi?a?ni:ga:? this amount	tsu:gv́:wahl(o)di worth
$5.37 $5.37	e:ládi:tsv́ [18] below, toward	tsigo:hwé:la which written	u:ghuyv:[h(v)] [19] she paid
ge:di Ge:di	$1.55 $1.55	e:la?dí below	tsigo:hwé:la which written	ayv I	tso:tsaga Tso:tsaga
agwatse:lí:ga mine	$3.47 $3.47				

FREE TRANSLATION

It just became necessary for me to write this November 3, 1857.

Now! Now it just became possible for me to write that *Tso:tsaga* came here to me, the Wolftown clerk.

"I had to move from *Ts(i)sgili's*, where I was living, without my household furnishings. *Ge:di* asked me for them. 'I paid you,' she stated," he says. "I am in a hurry to estimate the value of what was left me, I, *Tso:tsaga*, have been quietly thinking.

"I just said now: 'They are worth $5.37.'

"*Ge:di* paid what is written below—$1.55.

"What is written below is mine [yet to be paid], *Tso:tsaga's*—$3.47."

COMMENTARY

The *Ts(i)sgili* upon whose holding or in whose home *Tso:tsaga* lived is the *Ts(i)giliê:gwa* who was Chief of Wolftown in 1857. *Ge:di* is not identified. *Tso:tsaga's* purpose in coming to the clerk was to record the circumstances of *Ge:di's* incurring the debt and to obtain some legal hold upon the debtor. One notices that the arithmetic displayed here is insecure: if *Ge:di* paid $1.55 upon a debt of $5.37, she still owed $3.82, not $3.47.

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[13] The writer employes *hv* as a last syllable. Cherokee spelling frequently attempts to represent the glottal stop by a succeeding syllable beginning with *h*.

[14] 'It'—the household furnishings collectively.

[15] 'Katy.'

[16] The unvoiced vowel is erroneously written *i*, here and subsequently.

[17] See footnote 12, p. 50.

[18] This is a contraction of *é:la?dí* and *di:tsv* (*di:dla* in the Oklahoma dialects). *É:la?dí* ('below') and *e:ladi* ('earth') are frequently confused.

[19] The (any consonant) *v:* + *hv* in speech often becomes (any consonant) *v:h(v)*. In writing this combination, the writer frequently omits the final syllable altogether, as he does here.

Mooney's identification: "Money Belonging to Various Persons WW" is faulty.

NO. 16.—*O:L(U)TSEGI* ACCUSES *DU:NA:YI* OF STEALING HER DRESSES

(ON RECTO)

gha?	hi?a?	a:hni	digo:we:lí:sgi	agwo:hlv
now	this	here	clerk, I	sitting, I
igv:yi	ani:lu?gi	o:l(u)tsegi [20]		di:hnuwo
in front	they just came	O:l(u)tsegi		clothes
da:gin(a)dí:ne:lv́	du:na:yi [21]	a:di:ha		u:nv:sv
he sold mine	Du:na:yi	she says		themselves
a:ni:hno:hv:li	du:na:yi			hi?nigawe?a
they just told it	Du:na:yi			this he says
a?sv:tsi	datsido:gv:gi	nadv:gínv:ne:lv:gí		
bridge	over there I was standing	he approached and gave them (flex.) to me		
a:di:ha	a:sano:gi			u:na:lo:idv
he says	dress			checked, it
gi:gage	ada:tsó:s[di]	tsigi	100	1
red	belted	which it is	$1.00	(1.)
só?ihnó:	a:sano:gi	u:na:lo:idv		sa?gho:nige
another, and	dress	checked, it		blue
gesv:gi	100	2	só?ihnó:	u:hnv́:tsadv́
it was	$1.00	(2.)	another, and	spotted, it
u:sgo:lv:tsv:	gesv:gi	3	50	só?ihnó:
faded, it	it was	(3.)	$0.50	another, and
u:na:lo:[i]dv	gi:gage	gv:hnage		udh(a)sú:yi
checked, it	red	black		mixed, it
gesv:gi	100	4	ganosgí:sgi	daginv́:ne:lv:gí
it was	$1.00	(4.)	one who steals	over there he did give them (flex.) to me
na:sgi	iyv́:dv			a?sv:tsi
that	over there			bridge
dv:gwále:hnv́	ayv			du:na:yi
I stood	I			Du:na:yi

(ON VERSO)

o:l(i)tsegi [22]	u:tse:li	gohwe:li
O:l(i)tsegi	her	paper

FREE TRANSLATION

Now! They came here before me where I, the clerk, sit.

"*Du:na:yi* sold my clothes," *O:l(u)tsegi* says. They themselves told it.

---

[20] While we cannot translate this name, it appears to be feminine and possibly derived from English.

[21] This may be an archaic form of *du:na:yi* ('they have them (long)'). There is a *To-nigh-yeh* (No. 392) and also a *Too-nigh-eh* (No. 449, sic for 439) on the Terrell Roll.

[22] An alternate spelling, *l(i)* for *l(u)*. The final syllable is erroneously written *gu*.

Du:na:yi says this: "When I was standing over there by the bridge, he [the thief] approached and gave them to me."

1. A red-checked, belted dress $1.00
2. Another dress, blue-checked $1.00
3. And another one, spotted and faded $0.50
4. And another one, with red and black checks mixed $1.00

"That thief gave them to me where I, *Du:na:yi*, stood over there by the bridge."

COMMENTARY

We suspect that *Du:na:yi* was a relative of the woman who filed a complaint against him with clerk *Ino:li*. The bridge mentioned in *Du:na:yi's* somewhat thin defense was probably but a footlog. The figures represent the value of the dresses, or what *Du:na:yi* obtained for them. This document gives us our only glimpse of feminine styles in old Wolftown.

This record bears no date. We assign it to the year 1857.

Mooney's notation is exceedingly difficult to read, but it appears to be: "Altsegŭ Purchase of various Calicos—Dunáyi WW."

NO. 17.—CONCERNING A DEBT OF *WAHHYANÎ:DA* TO *TSÁ:N(I)LA:TSÎ*

gha:ga?li	17ne	i:ga	do:tsi:lá:wi:gí	wahhyó:hi
February	17th	day	we met	wolf-place
tsa:li	ga:hwi:li [23]	tsiya:dhvdv́:hv:gá		aghino:hv:li
Tsa:li	Ga:hwi:li	I just asked him		he just told me
tsa:n(i)	la:tsi [24]	hi?a?	nitsi:we:se:lv́:gi	ha:hni
Tsa:n(i)	La:tsi	this	then I just did tell him	this here
wahhyó:hi [25]	na:hna	wvdagé:da:sdhaní		tsa:di:ha
wolf-place	there	there I will go by		which he says
wahhyaní:da	tsiyá:dho:hl(a)sdí	ade:lv	sa:gwo	ade:lv
Wahhyaní:da	I lent him (hab.)	money	one	money
di:sgvhyv́:sdano:lv́	u:hé:sdi [26]			
you must bring them by	if to have it, he			
tsi:yose:lv́:gwo	ge:sv:gi	a:di:ha	tsa:li	ga:hwi:li
I told him, just	it was	he says	Tsa:li	Ga:hwi:li
tsá:hye:hnó	digo:hwe:lí:sgi			agi:nagí:dv
not, for	clerk, he			he gave (flex.), me
yi:tsi:nv́:ne:lé	gohwe:li	na:sgihno:		wahhyaní:da
not I gave him (w.p.k.)	letter	that, and		Wahhyaní:da
hi:gohv́:hi	hi:no:lé:lv	na:giwe:sv		a:di:ha
when you see him (cond.)	must tell him, you	I said		he says
ayv	ino:li	digo:we:lí:sgi	nigá:dv	a:gwagh(a)sa:sdi
I	Ino:li	clerk, I	all	to watch, I

[23] This man was known as Charley Hornbuckle by the White people. *Ga:hwi:li* we cannot translate.

[24] Known to the Whites as John Large. Usually written *Tsá:n(i)la:tsí.*

[25] The first syllable is erroneously written *ga.*

[26] 'To have it, he' would be pronounced with a short first syllable: *uhe:sdi.* Both forms are written with the same symbols, but the context here predicates *u:hé:sdi.*

niga:l(i)sdanidó:hv		a:hni	wahhyó:hi [27]		nigá:dv
that which is happening		here	wolf-place		all
degá:du:hv́	a:hni	tsalagi	na:hna	dv:né:hv	
towns	here	Cherokee	there	been living, they	
na:sgigwo	i:ga:?	go:wé:la:gá	ayv	ino:li	1858
that, just	all	I just wrote it	I	Ino:li	1858

FREE TRANSLATION

On February 17 we met in Wolftown. I asked *Tsa:li Ga:hwi:li*, and he told me: "This I told *Tsá:n(i)la:tsí*, that I was going to be passing by Wolftown, and he said, 'I lent *Wahhyaní:da* some money—one dollar. You must bring it by if he has it.' I told him," said *Tsa:li Ga:hwi:li*. "I did not give him the paper that the clerk gave me. When you see *Wahhyaní:da*, tell him what I said," he said.

I, *Ino:li* the clerk, the one who watches all that happens here in Wolftown and all those who live here in the towns in the Cherokee country.

This is all I, *Ino:li*, just wrote.

1858

COMMENTARY

Apparently *Ino:li* wanted no part in the negotiations concerning the strictly private debt referred to above. His typically Cherokeean play upon the word *a:gwagh(a)sa:di* has him saying in effect: "I, who am the *agh(a)dhí:ya* (treasurer, tax-collector, which he was) am now expected to *a:gwagh(a)sa:sdi* (to exercise the function of treasurer, tax-collector) in every private debt in the whole Cherokee country."

"Wolftown Council 1858 WW," is Mooney's annotation.

NO. 18.—THE CLERK WARNS DEBTORS

(FIRST NOTATION)

guwo:ni	3ne	i:ga	1858	ude:dhiyv́:sadi:sv́		go:wé:la:gá
April	3rd	day	1858	year		I just wrote
ayv	gha:tsi [28]	digo:we:lí:sgi	hiʔa?	ne:gi [29]	a:gílu?tsí	
I	Gha:tsi	clerk, I	this	Ne:gi	she just came to me	
a:ghine:tsi		agwo:hwe:lo:dí:yi				
she just gave me permission		to write, I				
he:ts(a)dhu:gv́:i	du:na:yi [30]	$	tsoʔi	ade:lv	no:gwo	
this owing, you	Du:na:yi		three	money	now	
tsá:ghuy(v)dí	niga:hl(i)sda	gho:higwo	i:ga			
to pay, you	it just became	now, just	day			
tsá:ghuy(v)dí	tsine:gi	ayv	ne:gi			
to pay, you	I just said	I	Ne:gi			

[27] In the manuscript there is a superfluous final *le*.

[28] The meaning of this proper name is unknown. It is possibly a transfer into Cherokee of a White name.

[29] 'Maggie.'

[30] The meaning of this proper name is unknown. See footnote 21, p. 52.

(SECOND NOTATION)

guwo:ni	3ne	i:ga	go:wé:la:gá	ayv	gha:tsi
April	3rd	day	I just wrote it	I	Gha:tsi

digo:we:lí:sgi	go:wé:la:gá	he:ts(a)dhu:gv́:i	sa:li [31]
clerk, I	I just wrote	this owing, you	Sa:li

$so:gwo	ade:lv́:hi	tso?i	gi:nú:d(v)dhi	di:sdé:l(v)di
one	dollar	three-	fourths	to help them, on

i:gá:i	no:gwo	tsá:ghuy(v)dí	niga:hl(i)sda	gho:higwo
in all	now	to pay, you	it just became	now, just

i:ga	tsá:ghuy(v)dí	tsine:gi	ayv	ne:gi
day	to pay, you	I just said	I	Ne:gi

(THIRD NOTATION)

guwo:ni	3ne	i:ga	1858	ude:dhiyv́:sadi:sv́
April	3rd	day	1858	year

go:wé:la:gá	he:ts(a)dhu:gv́:i	u:ni:lo:sv [32]
I just wrote it	this owing, you	U:ni:lo:sv

$ hi:sgh(a)sgo:hi	hi:sgígha:lí:?	ani:se:n(i) [si]
fifty-	five full	cents

nu:hl(i)sdv	tsine:gi	ayv	ne:gi	ayv	gha:tsi
it became	I just said	I	Ne:gi	I	Ghat:si

go:wé:la:gá	digo:we:lí:sgi
I just wrote it	clerk, I

(FOURTH NOTATION)

gha?	hi?a?	a:gílu?tsí	digo:we:lí:sgi
now	this	she just came to me	clerk, I

agwo:hlv	igv:yí:tsv	a:gílu?tsí
I am sitting	in front of	she just came to me

do:tsu:lé?hnv	ne:gi [33]	aní:ghahwí [34]	é:hi
Do:tsu:lé?hnv	Ne:gi	the Deer Clan	she belongs to

du:da:dhú:gv	$5.30	gha?	hi?a?	a:gílu?tsí
is owed them, she	$5.30	now	this	she has just come to me

digo:we:lí:sgi	agwo:hlv	igv:yí:tsv
clerk, I	I am sitting	in front of

a:gílu?tsí	do:tsu:lé?hnv	ne:gi	aní:ghahwí
she has just come to me	Do:tsu:lé?hnv	Ne:gi	the Deer Clan

é:hi	du:da:dhú:gv	de:gáhno:gá
she belongs	is owed them, she	she just brought them (flex.)

gohwe:li	$5.30	ani:se:n(i)si
papers	$5.30	cents

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31 'Sally.'

32 'They-Passed-By.'

33 'Maggie-He-Arose.' Cherokee married women are usually called: Name of woman+Name of husband; unmarried women are usually called: Name of woman+Name of father (sometimes mother). In this case the order is reversed, as might have been the custom in North Carolina in 1858. We have no way of ascertaining whether Do:tsulé?hnv was her husband or father.

34 The Deer is one of the seven Cherokee clans. The names of some of the other clans are mistranslated in the published literature.

FREE TRANSLATION

(FIRST NOTATION)

On April 3, 1858, I, *Gha:tsi* the clerk, just wrote this. *Ne:gi* just came to me and gave me permission to write that you, *Du:na:yi*, owe $3.00.

"Now it has just become time to pay. 'Pay today,' I, *Ne:gi*, just said."

(SECOND NOTATION)

On April 3rd I, *Gha:tsi* the clerk, just wrote this.

"On what you owe, *Sa:li*, $1.75 helped on the total, but now it has just become time to pay the remainder. 'Pay today,' I, *Ne:gi*, just said."

(THIRD NOTATION)

On April 3, 1858, I just wrote this.

"What you owe, *U:ni:lo:sv*, is a full $0.55, I, *Ne:gi*, just said."

I, *Gha:tsi* the clerk, just wrote this.

(FOURTH NOTATION)

Now! *Ne:gi Do:tsu:lé?hnv* of the Deer clan has just come before me where I, the clerk, sit. She is owed $5.30.

Now! *Ne:gi Do:tsu:lé?hnv* of the Deer clan has just come before me where I, the clerk, sit. She is owed $5.30, and she just brought papers.

COMMENTARY

The fact that all the obligations fell due upon the same day suggests that they have been incurred at a sale of the effects of some deceased relative of *Ne:gi's*. The fourth notation, in the handwriting of *Ino:li* and not *Gha:tsi*, was possibly made at some date later than the other notations, and the documentary proof of the obligations proffered by *Ne:gi* may hint at sterner action forthcoming.

Ne:gi's people, the Deer clan, had no township of their own, but "Part of Painttown was formerly called Deer-place (*Kawiyi*)" (Gilbert, 1943, p. 204).

Gha:tsi filled in as Wolftown Clerk at several junctions during *Ino:li's* tenure, more than likely principally at such times as when *Ino:li* was intensively engaged in churchwork.

Mooney does not identify this document.

NO. 19.—LITIGATION OVER A DEBT: *SA:YANI* VS. *U:NI:LO:SV*

ayv	ino:li	go:wé:la:gá	guwo:ni	5ne	i:ga
I	Ino:li	I just wrote it	April	5th	day

1858 1858	gha? now	gho:?i:ga [35] now, day	digo:hwe:lí:sgi clerk, he
a:gílu?tsí he just came to me			
gu:dagi:sgi [36] Gu:dagi:sgi	u:ni:lo:sv U:ni:lo:sv	hi?a? this	nitsawe:sv:gi then you did say
sa:yani [37] Sa:yani	a:gh(a)dhaha he knows	a:gwaghuyv: I paid it	sa:yani Sa:yani
u:da:dhú:gv is owed, he	a:gwághuyv:hv́ [38] I paid it	tsadv:hnv:gi you did state	sa:yani Sa:yani
tsahno:yagwá:n(v)dha not I know	a:di:ha he says	hi?a? this	nigawe?a he says
u:ni:lo:sv U:ni:lo:sv	dagwadv:hnv:gi [39] over there I did state	u:do:hiyú:sgo truly so (interro.)	
ts(a)dhu:ga you owe him	tsudi:dagwo:se:lv:gi from over there they said to me	tsadi:hno not, and	
tsidhú:gv:gí he just owed me	uwa:sv himself	tsíyo:se:lv:gí I did tell him	a:di:ha he says
sa:yani Sa:yani	ade:lv money	ditsiyadho:l(a)sdanv I loaned him them	hi:sgadu fifteen
ani:se:n(i)si cents	u:wa:nv:tshine:lv it piled up	5 5	ani:se:n(i)si cents
nigá:dv all	20 20	ani:se:n(i)si cents	tsu?di to put them (hard) down, one
hi?a? this	nu:we:sé:i then he said (w.p.k.)	ula:sda?a [40] Ula:sda?a	gane:ga [41] pelts
na:sgi that	ditsaghú:yv:e:lv́ over there he has paid you	a:hnvwo clothing	agiye:hw(i)sv I sewed it
na:sgi that	doditsa[nv́:]ne:lá [42] he sent them (flex.) to you	ula:sda?a Ula:sda?a	na:sgi that
u:ni:lo:sv U:ni:lo:sv	gado:?hno why, and	tsinú:sdi which the way	tsin(i)tsawe:sv what you said
agh(a)say(a)sdo?di to examine it, one	niga:hl(a)sda it just became	tsu?di to put them (hard) down, one	
e:ts(a)dhu:gv been owed by you	20 20	a:sé:hno but	hi?gawe?a this he says
25 25	ani:se:n(i)si cents	a:di:ha he says	u:ni:lo:sv U:ni:lo:sv

FREE TRANSLATION

I, *Ino:li*, just wrote this April 5, 1858.

Now! Today *Gu:dagi:sgi*, the clerk, just came to me.

"*U:ni:lo:sv*, you said: '*Sa:yani* knows I paid it. What *Sa:yani* was owed, I paid.' You stated that *Sa:yani* says: 'I don't know.

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35 Contraction of *gho:hi i:ga*, the glottal stop replacing the syllable *hi*

36 Meaning unknown.

37 Meaning unknown; possibly a loanword from English.

38 The third syllable is erroneously written *gi*.

39 There is written a superfluous *dv* between the third and fourth syllables

40 'He-Steps-Upon-It.'

41 The first syllable is erroneously written *gi*.

42 The first syllable is erroneously written *de*.

This is what *U:ni:lo:sv* says.' I stated: 'Does he truly owe you? Over there they told me that he doesn't owe me,' I told him myself. *Sa:yani* says: 'I lent him money—$0.15. With $0.05 interest, he is to pay $0.20.' This is what *Ula:sdaʔa* said: 'He has paid you with pelts which I sewed into clothing and which he sent you.'"

Ula:sdaʔa, why did you say what you said about *U:ni:lo:sv*? Now I will have to examine the matter. You, *U:ni:lo:sv*, are to pay $0.20, but he says $0.25.

COMMENTARY

This is a typical example of the financial tangles that inspired many of The Inoli Letters; and possibly, moreover, it is admissible as evidence in support of the statement of Corkran (1962, p. 11) as to the "narrow literalness" of the Cherokees, the Indians that have had more litigation with the Government than any other tribe.

The parties involved in the dispute must have lived in different townships, for two clerks were drawn into the negotiations. One notes with interest that a man, not a woman, sewed the animal skins into clothes, and that *Ino:li's* arithmetic was shaky.

The autograph is that of *Ino:li*. Mooney identifies the document as: "B—fox writes Jo Lowin about an old debt." Whether the "Jo" is properly "J.O.," the first two initials of the "White" name of the individual, or something entirely different is a mystery. At any rate, the caption is incorrect.

NO. 20.—REGULATIONS CONCERNING MARRIAGE

gha? — now
hiʔa? — this
gho:hi — now
ude:dhiyv́:sadi:sv́ — year
nu:sdi — the way

a:nihné:gi — they just spoke
ale — and
danu:gh(o)da — they just decided
a:nisdá:yi:dá — they just pushed it

1859 — 1859
aʔn(a)sgv:dhi — May
ghaʔlv́:hv [43] — month
20 — 20th
da:nilá:wi:gí — they just met

tsu:n(a)del(o)gwasdí:yi — which to learn, they-place
nahná:ni [44] — there
gv:ghiné:tsi — they spoke to me

digo:we:lí:sgi — clerk, I
ghilo — someone
ude:svvsdí:hi — to get married, he
gohwe:li — paper

u:nagí:sdi — to go (flex.), it
a:sgaya — man
gáʔluge:sdí — must come, he
ganagí:sge:sdí — will be getting it (flex.), he

gi:nú:d(v)di — one-fourth
25 — $.25
a:ghuyí:[s]ge:sdí — to be paying, he
ghila — then

a:suyé:sge:sdí — will be choosing it, he
gesé:sdi — it will be
di:da:tsv:sdí:sgi — one who marries them

hiʔa? — this
elí:sge:sdí — to be thinking, he
a:hl(i)tsidó:hv:sgí — one who preaches
ale — and

---

[43] Variant of *ghaʔlv*.

[44] One would expect this to be *nahná:i*, but in *Ino:li's* period and locale it may have been pronounced as written.

digo:hwe:lí:sgi
clerk, he

elí:sge:sdí
to be thinking, he

na:sgwo
also

na:sgi
that

tsu:tsv́:sdoʔdí
to marry them, he

gesé:sdi
it will be

hiʔaʔ
this

tsalagi
Cherokee

tsu:natsv́:sdi
to marry, they

hiʔaʔhno:
this, and

gv:hnage
black

yigi
if it is

v́:tsa
not

tsu:natsv́:sdi
to marry, they

yigi
if it is

asé:hyehnó:
because

se:gi:yu
improper

di:galé:n(v)doʔdí
to separate them, one

higi
this it is

gv:hnage
black

a:sgaya
man

v́:tsa
not

gohwe:li
paper

ganv́:neʔdí
to give him (flex.), one

yigi
if it is

hiʔaʔ
this

a:sgaya
man

gálu?ge:sdí
must come, he

ganagí:sge:sdí
will be getting it (flex.), h

hiʔaʔ
this

a:sgaya
man

gálu?ge:sdí
must come, he

ganagí:sge:sdí
will be getting it (flex.), he

gohwe:li
paper

a:se
must

uhé:sdi [45]
to have it (hard), he

du:do:hv
her name

na:gwóhno:
now, and

go:hwé:lo:dí
to write, one

di:natshe
joined, they

nu:hl(i)sdanv
it became

di:natshe
joined, they

niga:hl(i)sda
it just became

a:di:sge:sdi
he will be saying

du:n(a)do:hv
their names

u:hagedó:hi
thick-place

go:hwé:le:sdí
it will be written

na:sgi
that

di:natshe
joined, they

ge:sv
it is

ani:gh(a)dhahé:sdi
will know, they

na:sgihno:
that, and

ga:dó:hi
land-place

u:ni:hv
having it (solid), they

na:sgwo
also

ghané:isdoʔdí
to mention it, one

higi
this it is

na:sgi
that

aniná:giʔlv́
cohabitants

ale
and

tsu:ne:tsi
their children

ane:hv
living, they

na:sgi
that

un(a)tse:li:go
their property

a:nehe:sdi
they will live

i:tsú:la
both

ani:gh(a)dhahé:sdi
will know, they

FREE TRANSLATION

Now! This year this is what they spoke about and decided to enforce. On May 20, 1859, they met at the schoolhouse, and there they appointed me clerk.

If someone wants to get married, a paper must be obtained. The man is to come get the paper, for which he will pay $0.25, then he is to choose the one to marry them. He is to think of the preacher and also the clerk that is to marry them.

This rule is for the marrying of Cherokees: if one of the couple is a Negro, they are not to be married; for it would be improper for one to have to separate them. A Negro man is not to be given a paper.

[45] The first syllable is erroneously written *hi*, and there is a superfluous *s* following the second syllable.

When a man comes to get a paper, he must have the name of the woman. He will say that they are married; it will be written that they are married. It will be written in the thick book that they are married. They will know that the land that they have is also to be mentioned so that both the cohabitants will know that they and their children will live upon their own property.

COMMENTARY

Russell (1956, MS., p. 136) informs us that the meeting reported here was of the whole Eastern Band, not of Wolftown exclusively. *Ino:li* himself implies that there was a yearly meeting of this nature. Such meetings were seemingly held at Echota Mission which was also used for instructional purposes. This particular conclave was held at the instigation of Will Thomas. Under the new regulations the first marriage was that of Ginsey (*Tsi:n(i)si*) to John Oostooih (*U:l(i)sdu:hi*), performed upon Raven Fork in Big Cove by the Rev W. W. Smith, with Jefferson Hornbuckle as interpreter. The event was duly reported in the Franklin "Observer."

We call attention to the injunction to select a minister and a clerk—evidence in favor of the existence of township governments other than that of Wolftown.

This document is not among The Inoli Letters, but is filed separately at the Bureau of American Ethnology under No. 2279.

No. 21.—REQUEST FOR PAYMENT OF *WINI'S* FUNERAL EXPENSES

(ON RECTO)

gha?	na:gwo	go:wé:lv:gá	ayv	o:si [46]	a?n(a)sgv:dhi
now	now	I just wrote it	I	O:si	May

a:sgwadi:sgv	ghwalv́:yi [47]	nvdayú:we:nv́:dv
finishing, it	Qualla-place	she came from over there

wini [48]	tsudó:idv́	tsige:sv́:gi [49]	a?n(a)sgv:dh
Wini	which named, she	which it was	May

gha?lv	28ne	i:ga	u:hl(i)sgwadi:si	a:hni
month	28th	day	she just finished	here

dhani:si [50]	na:sgihno:	tsuhnuwó:sdi	ganoyv́:gv
Tennessee	that, and	to wear them, she	buried, she

tsu:gv́:wahl(o)dí [51]	nu:hl(i)sdanv:gi	adí:na
expensive	then it did become	then

---

46 'Sudatory.'

47 Mooney (1900, p. 526) says that Qualla (*Ghwa:la*) is the Cherokee form of 'Polly,' and that a woman so named formerly lived in the vicinity of Qualla post office and trading post. A manuscript in our possession, a key to esoteric terms employed in conjuring, states that it is a ritualism for any Edenic abode.

48 'Winny.'

49 *Tsige:sv* and *tsige:sv́:gi* have the specific meaning of the 'late.'

50 The etymology of this word is discussed in Kilpatrick (1962 b, p. 41).

51 This word also can mean 'cost,' 'value,' 'price'.

do:tsaghuyv [52]
we paid for them

na:sgihno:
that, and

ghane:sagi
box

uni:sido?di
to push it, they

dunilv́:sda:sí
they just worked

yvwine:gv
person, White

na:sgwo
also

tsu:gv́:wahl(o)dí
cost

2
2

ade:lv́:hi
dollars

tso?í:ne
third

aye:hli
central

na:sgihno:
that, and

wi:tsv:no:hv:si
over there I just told you (pl.)

tsadá:n(v)dhehi:sa?nv́
you (pl.) must think it over

uhlí:sdi
quickly

nvdigá:hl(i)sdo?dí
then over there to become, it

ú:tsadh(v)
much

digalv́:hw(i)sda:n(e)dí
to work, one

uyo:sdo?dá:nelv:í
it was ruined

tsu:gv́:wahl(o)dí
cost

tsudú:lihá
which he wants

na:hna
there

iyv́:dv
far

nvdatsi:[n(a)]di
to be sent (hard), it

gesé:sdi
it will be

tsu:gv́:wahl(o)dí
cost

ghwalv́:yi
Qualla-place

hi?tsé:hi
this, you (pl.) live

o:sd(v)
good

itsv:hnadé:gi
you (pl.) caretakers

witsv:ne:tsi
over there I just asked you (pl.)

nvdá:tsaghu:y(v)dí
over there to pay you (pl.)

ayv
I

o:si
O:si

a:yv́hyehnó:
I, for

tsuhnuwo:sdi
to wear them, she

do:tsaghuyv
we paid for them

dhani:si
Tennessee

otsé:hi
we live

hi?a?hno:
this, and

du:da:dhu:ga
she is owed

ghvníge:sv́
evident

nuwá:ne:lv́
then she made it

na:gwo
now

u:sgwadidé:na
about to finish, she

ge:sv́:i
it is

u:sawi [53]
U:sawi

de:hw(i)si [54]
De:hw(i)si

duhno:hi:se:lv́:gi
she did tell them

ne:gi
Ne:gi

1
1

ade:lv
money

tsidhu:ga
she owes me

digu:dhline:sgi [55]
Digu:dhline:sgi

agidu:tsi
my uncle

20
20

ade:lv
money

tsidhu:ga
he owes me

ada:na?nv
store

hv:gh(i)dhú:gvgí
this been owed by me

gohwe:li
paper

i:gin(i)yv:dhanv
been put on it

ge:sv:gi
it was

udv:hnv:gí:hno:
she did state, and

a:se
but

v́:dhla
not

yogá:n(v)dha
one we know

i:gá:i
the amount

ge:sv́:i
it is

hi?a?sgini
this, in particular

ghane:sagi
box

á:ghuy(v)do?dí
to pay with, one

uhlí:sdi
quickly

yitsi:hwadhv
if you (pl.) find it

hi?a?gwo:
this, just

yiditsí:yohisé:lv
if you (pl.) will turn them over to her

osi:yigwo
good, just

nv:tsi [56]
Nv:tsi

tsino:hi [57]
Tsino:hi

a:ne:na
they just went

ghwalv́:yi
Qualla-place

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[52] The author of this letter has achieved *do* by the sum of *de* + *o*. For the discussion of such a practice, *see* Chafe and Kilpatrick (1962, pp. 62–63).

[53] Probably derived from Esau or Isaiah, although the standardized spelling of the one is *I:so* (Worcester and Foreman, 1856, p. 78), and the other *Isa:ya* (Worcester and Foreman, 1849, p 1).

[54] Possibly the Cherokee form of 'Davis.'

[55] 'One-Who-Uncovers-Them.'

[56] We cannot translate this fairly common feminine name.

[57] This might be a shortened form of *Atsino:hi* ('Cedar-Tree-Place').

na:sgigwo that, just		unihyó:hisdí to bring it (hard), they		yiniga:hl(i)sda if it just became
gha? now	na:sgigwo that, just	i:gá:i all	go:wé:lv:gá I just wrote it	a?n(a)sgv:dhi May
a:sgwadi:sgv finishing, it	i:ga day	1859 1859	ude:dhiyv́:sadi:sv́ year	
iyv́:dv this far	gho:hi now	tsigi this it is	da:tsv:dha [58] Da:tsv:dha	
tsago:li:ye:di to read, you				

(ON VERSO)

da:tsv:dha Da:tsv:dha	u:tse:lí:ga his	hi?a? this	gohwe:li letter

FREE TRANSLATION

(ON RECTO)

Now! Now I, *O:si*, just wrote this at the end of May.

Wini, who came from Qualla, just passed away here in Tennessee on the 28th of May. Her burial clothes were expensive, but we paid for them, and the White man who shipped the coffin also charged $2.00. This is the third time I have told you I have told you officials over there that you must think this over quickly, for much work has been lost. He wants the cost to be sent from over there. I, *O:si*, have just asked you authorities who live over there in Qualla to pay this debt to her and make this good. We who live here in Tennessee paid for her burial clothes.

As she was about to die, she made it plain to *U:sawi* and *De:hw(i)si*, telling them: "*Ne:gi* owes me $1.00. My uncle *Digu:dhline:sgi* owes me $20.00. I owe the store," She stated that this debt was written down, but we do not know the amount.

If you will find the money for this coffin quickly, it will be very good if you will turn it over to *Nv:tsi* and *Tsino:hi*, who just went to Qualla. They will bring it.

Now! That is all that I just wrote on the last day of May, 1859, for you, *Da:tsv:dha*, to read.

(ON VERSO)

This is *Da:tsv:dha's* letter.

COMMENTARY

Government records attest to the inefficiency of the operation of expelling the Cherokee: small groups in Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama, as well as in North Carolina, evaded the snare. While

[58] 'He-Just-Won.'

none of the persons mentioned in the above letter can be identified, we may be reasonably sure that all of them were kinspeople of *Wini* who died upon a visit to one of these colonies. The store that *Wini* owed was probably that of Will Thomas.

Mooney's caption is: "Unsigned Letter to Datsúta—Death of Wini in Tenn."

NO. 22.—ANNOUNCEMENT OF AUCTION AT HOME OF *WAHHYAGADO:GA*

dehalu:yi June	gha?lv month	21nesi:ne 21st	i:ga day	1858 1858
ude:[dhi]yv́:sadi:sv́ year		hi?a?sgini this, in particular		dhalí:ne second
un(a)do:dágwo:hnv́ Monday		ghano:[hi?]do:?di to make known with, one		
nvdagá:hl(i)sdaní then it will happen	go:hú:sdi something	u:sdí:gwo small, just	u:dhiyv́:hi left, it	
gwi:da [59] Gwi:da	u:tse:lí:ga his	iyu:hl(i)sdanv́:hi formerly	a?hni here	
wahhyagado:ga [60] Wahhyagado:ga	gana:gilv́:i [61] Gana:gilv-place	dhadl(a)du:[62] twelve		
iyuwá:hnilv́ when it strikes (cond.)	gha:nanc:sgi [63] clock	u:nalé:n(v)dhi to begin, they		
uní:n(o)do?dí to sell, they	ga:sale:na [64] coat	dha?li two	a:su:lo:gi pair of pants	
so:gwo one	diga:saí:dv vest	so:gwó:hi one	tsú:sda?lí heeled, they	so:gwo one
idí:lasu:ló:gi pair of shoes	di:hyatsó:gi [65] handkerchiefs	dha?li two	une:ga white	ahhnuwó:gi [66] shirt
so:gwó:hi one	na:sgigwo that, just	i:gá:i all	u:sdi:sginí:hno little, in particular, and	
go:hú:sdi something	ghi:lagwo now, just	iyv́:dv right	á:gighuy(v)dí to pay, I	gesé:sdi it will be
ade:lv money	diní:hyegé:sdi to bring them (hard), they	ghiló:i someone	hi?a?hno: this, and	
ghiló:i someone	a:tsi:dhu:gé:sdi [67] to be owing, one	a:se must	a?hni here	ú:lu?hi:sdí to come, he
gesé:sdi it will be	ayv I	agh(i)dhu:ga I owe him	helí:sge:sdí to be thinking, you	

[59] 'Peter.'

[60] 'The-Wolf-Stands.'

[61] This word, which we cannot translate, appears to be a part of the name of *Wahhyagado:ga*. If it were a geographical designation, it would be *Gana:giló:hi*. *Gana:gilv́:i* would be 'at the home of Gana:gilv.'

[62] Although there is a conventional spelling, *dhal(a)du:* for this word (as is seen in the manuscript), it is usually pronounced as we have written it.

[63] 'Spider'—"from a fancied resemblance in appearance" (Mooney, 1900, p. 524). The term in Oklahoma, for both 'clock' and 'watch', is the loanword *wa:ts(e)*.

[64] Properly this should be *diga:sale:na* ('coats').

[65] *Di:hyadlo* in Oklahoma.

[66] 'Shirt' is probably intended. The word indicates that it is a garment worn upon the upper part of the body.

[67] The difference between 'one shall owe' and 'if one shall owe' lies in the "high" tone of the syllable *ge* in the latter.

ade:lv money	díahye:ge:sdí to be bringing them (hard), one	ale and	u:nvnv́:ge:sdí [68] they will be making haste
a:se must	ú:luʔhi:sdí to come, he	hiʔgesé:sdi this it will be	v́:tsa not	u:dé:laʔdí to hide it, he
yigi if	du:da:dhú:ga one owes them to him	i:ga:ʔ all	ghano:hv:sga it tells
gohwe:li paper	ghilo someone	nu:luʔtsv́:na he did not come	igese:s[di] [69] it will be
ase:hi then	ganv:sí:da:sdí worker	u:lúʔtse:[s]dí to be coming, he	hiʔgesé:sdi this it will be
guyé:gwo:ní July	5ne 5th	i:ga day	ayv I	gani:wahhya [70] Gani:wahhya
go:wé:la:gá I just wrote it	digo:we:lí:sgi [71] clerk, I	na:gh(a)dhahv́:na he did not know
ge:sv it is	gv:gwohwé:lo:dí able to write, I	nvga:hl(i)sda [72] it just became

FREE TRANSLATION

June 21, 1858

Announcing that this second Monday it will take place: at 12 m., at the home of *Wahhyagado:ga Gana:gilô*, they will begin to sell a small number of effects left there by the late *Gwi:da:*

Two coats;
A pair of pants;
A vest;
A pair of heeled shoes;
Two handkerchiefs;
A white shirt;
And that is all.

One is to pay a little something right now and he must bring money, and if someone owes, he must come here. "I owe him," he is to think and to make haste to come here and bring the money and not hide it. If one owes and he does not come, all will be written down and the auctioneer will come to him.

The auction will be July 5th.

I, *Gani:wahhya,* wrote this. The secretary does not know how to write, and I was able to write.

COMMENTARY

Auction sales of the personal effects of the deceased constitute a facet of Cherokee society that, to our knowledge, has not been intensively investigated. Up until 30 or so years ago such sales were still

[68] This word is preceded by an extraneous syllable *i*; the second syllable is erroneously written *ni*, the third syllable *cv*.

[69] Variant of *gesé:sdi*.

[70] Probably a contraction of *Gani:dawahhya* ('Young Wolf').

[71] The reference here is not to the Wolftown clerk, but to a secretary appointed to record the details of the sale. In Cherokee the word for both functionaries would be identical.

[72] Variant of *niga:hl(i)sda*.

conducted in Oklahoma. Those documents in The Inoli Letters that pertain to such sales are rich in ethnographic minutiae. This one, for example, casts light upon the technique employed in spurring lagging payments into the estate. There is some evidence to point toward these sales being of two species: those initiated by families or friends of the deceased, and hence the affairs of private citizens; and those held under the auspices of township authority which presumably retained for the township treasury some fixed portion of the receipts in return for its services in arranging the sales, financing prospective buyers, and collecting debts to the estates.

Mooney's caption, "This is an Advertisement of sale of Standing Wolf's property," is slightly misleading; the property was that of the deceased *Gwi:da*, although technically it may have belonged to *Wahhyagado:ga*. The verso of the notice bears a good deal of arithmetical scribbling that may have resulted from the totaling of sales.

NO. 23.—THE *GADU:G(I)* WORKS IN *INO:LI'S* WHEATFIELD

1859	hiʔa?	gho:hi	ude:dhiyv́:sadi:sv́	de[ha]lu:yi
1859	this	now	year	June

ghaʔlv	27ne:sine	i:ga	go:wé:la:gá	hiʔa?
month	27th	day	I just wrote it	this

dunilv:hw(i)s[da:]si	utsalé:sdi	ani:tsaga
they just worked	wheat	they just cut

do:yaní:da [73]	u:tse:lí:ga	tsoʔiyáʔghalí:?
Do:yaní:da	his	three, full

hisgí:ne [74]	aʔghanv́:sadhí	gawo:hílo:sgí [75]
fifth	not quite full	Gawo:hílo:sgí

u:tse:lí:ga	utsalé:sdi	so:gwo	wu:sili [76]	1
his	wheat	one	bushel	1

gu:dagi:sgi	u:tse:lí:ga	utsalé:sdi
Gu:dagi:sgi	his	wheat

tsoʔiyáʔghalí:?	nvghí:ne	aʔghanv́:sadhí
three, full	fourth	not quite full

dinoʔdv́:[i]hí [77]	na:ni:hv	tsu:gv́:wahl(o)dí
they just bundled them (flex.)	in number	cost

iyv́:wasdí:hagwó [78]	50	ts(i)sgili [79]	u:tse:lí:ga
wages per man	$0.50	Ts(i)sgili	his

aʔghali:?	a:tsiló:sdi	u:waʔnv [80]	u:tse:li [81]
full	bushel-bucket	U:waʔnv	his

---

[73] 'Young Beavers.'

[74] Seemingly an error, 'fourth' being the intention.

[75] 'One-Who-Climbs-Over-It.'

[76] A loanword not in usage in Oklahoma.

[77] This word is obscure; it appears to be obsolete.

[78] This word is patently from the verb 'to buy,' but the form is unfamiliar and probably obsolete.

[79] This is probably the *Ts(i)sgilié:gwa* who was Chief of Wolftown. His working with the *Gadu:g(i)* would in no way be jarring to Cherokee concepts of authority.

[80] 'Feather.'

[81] *U:tse:li* and *u:tse:lí:ga* are in many instances freely interchangeable. However, the *ga* is dropped here to avoid the juxtaposition of *a* and *a* (*-ga a-*).

a?ghali:?'	ghanv́:sadhigwó [82]	dhalí:ne	do:tsu:lé?hnv
full	not quite full, just	second	Do:tsu:lé?hnv
u:tse:li	a?ghali:?	ghanv́:sadhigwó	dhalí:ne
his	full	not quite full, just	second
ga:gama [83]	u:tse:li	a?ghali:?	ghanv́:sadhigwó
Ga:gama	his	full	not quite full, just
dhalí:ne	di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi [84]	u:tse:li	a?ghalí:?gwo
second	Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi	his	full, just
di:ghuyí:sgi	u:tse:li	utsalé:sdi	a?ghali:?
Di:ghuyí:sgi	his	wheat	full
dhalí:ne	gha[nv́:]sadhigwó		do:yaní:da
second	not quite full, just		Do:yaní:da
tso?iyá?ghalí:?	a:tsiló:sdi		agh(i)dhu:ga
three, full	bushel-bucket		I owe him
tsu:nv:sv́:hihno:	tso?iyá?ghalí:?	3	gu:dagi:sgihno:
themselves, and	three, full	3	Gu:dagi:sgi, and
na:sgi	yaná:sgwo [85]	i:gá:i [86] 3	tsu:nv:sv́:iya?ghalí:? [87]
that	also	in all 3	themselves, full
3 ts(i)sgili 1	di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi 1	ga:gama 1	
3 Ts(i)sgili 1	Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi 1	Ga:gama 1	
3 tsu:nv:sv	do:tsu:lé?hnv 1	3 tsu:nv:sv	
⅓ themselves	Do:tsu:lé?hnv 1	⅓ themselves	
u:wa?nv 1	3 tsu:nv:sv	di:ghuyí:sgi 1	3
U:wa?nv 1	⅓ themselves	Di:ghuyí:sgi 1	⅓
gawo:hílo:sgí 2	hi?a?	utsalé:sdi	tsagihwi:sv́:gi
Gawo:hílo:sgí 2	this	wheat	that which I did plant
dunilv́:hw(i)sda:ne:lv́		agwaghuyv:hv	$9.25
they worked		I paid it	$9.25

FREE TRANSLATION

I just wrote this June 27, 1859. They worked, cutting wheat.

Do:yaní:da's wheat..... 3 full ones, the fourth not quite full.

Gawo:hílo:sgí's wheat..... 1 bushel.

Gu:dagi:sgi's wheat..... 3 full ones, the fourth not quite full.

Those who bundled them were paid $0.50 per man.

Ts(i)sgili's wheat..... 1 full bushel-bucket.

U:wa?nv's wheat..... 1 full one, the second not quite full.

Do:tsu:lé?hnv's wheat..... 1 full one, the second not quite full.

---

82 Although the first syllable *a?* is dropped here through a phonic consideration (*? a-*), in contemporary speech the *a?* is little used, if at all.

83 'Cucumber,' but said to be a transfer of the surname Cockram.

84 'One-Who-Turns-Them-Over.'

85 A variant of *na:sgwo*. 'Also there' is connotated, albeit somewhat weakly.

86 The last syllable is erroneously written *hi*.

87 The third syllable is erroneously written *su*.

Ga:gama's wheat	1 full one, the second not quite full.
Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi's wheat.	1 full one.
Di:ghuyí:sgi's wheat	1 full one, the second not quite full.

I owe *Do:yaní:da* for 3 full bushel-buckets, and also *Gu:dagi:sgi* for a total of 3 full ones; *Ts(i)sgili* for 1; *Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi* for 1; *Ga:gama* for 1⅓; *Do:tsu:lé²hnv* for 1⅓; *U:wa²nv* for 1⅓; *Di:ghuyí:sgi* 1⅓; *Gawo:hílo:sgí* for 2.

For working in this wheat that I planted, I paid $9.25.

COMMENTARY

In writing of the *Gadu:g(i)* Starr (1898, p. 144) states: "They work them [the fields] in companies of ten or twelve persons: such companies are found to work the fields of each other in order." *Ino:li's* memorandum supplies some details.

Ino:li's bookkeeping is seldom without elements of mystery. Since the Cherokee used here for the unfilled containers is "not quite full," one wonders how he arrived at a uniform "one-third" for all. Perhaps such a reckoning was customary. But then one notices that *Gawo:hílo:sgí* is credited with "one bushel" above, "two" below.

Mooney labeled this: "Report of Company—Cutting Wheat."

NO. 24.—*E:NI* IS ACCUSED OF THEFT

hi?a?hno: this, and	wini Wini	a:hni here	tsedó:hvgí [88] where she did walk	agilú?tshe:lv:gí she did come to me
nigvwe:sgv:gi she did say	e:ni [89] E:ni	agino:sgi she just stole from me	ade:lv money	
udv:hnv:gi she did state	ha:gh(a)sasda watch, you (imp.)	tsiyose:lv:gi I did tell her	gho:hi:hno: now, and	
ghvhníge:sv́ apparent	niga:hl(i)sdi:ha it becomes	da:gwadi:[hi] [90] Da:gwadi:hi		
du:go:hv he saw them	dha?li two	ade:lv money	sgo: ten	ani:se:n(i)si cents
ge:se? it was (w.p.k.)	agitsv́:dv next day	elawo:di [91] Yellow Hill	na:hna there	
e:do? [92] she walks	e:ni E:ni	u:hyátsv:gwó kerchief, just	duwá:tsanu:lv:gí she did have them (hard) wrapped up	
agi?tsi my mother	detsí:yadho:l(a)sdv́ I had loaned them to her			

88 Idiom for 'where she did come.'
89 'Annie.'
90 'Catawba-killer.'
91 Literally 'Earth-paint.' One of the townships on Qualla Boundary where the Agency was later located.
92 Idiom for 'she is there.'

ganí:li	da:ghv?si	dha?li	ade:lv
finally	she just gave them (hard) to me	two	dollars
ge:sv:gi	di:sdé:hl(v)dí	$420 [93]	ayv
it was	to help it, they	$4.20	I
digo:we:lí:sgi	go:we:la	guyé:gwo:ní	gha?lv
clerk, I	I write it	July	month

9ne	i:ga	1859	ayv	ino:li	5 [94]
9th	day	1859	I	Ino:li	5

FREE TRANSLATION

When *Wini* was here, she came to me and said: "*E:ni* stole money from me," she stated.

"Watch her," I told her.

Now it becomes clear. Next day *Da:gwadi:hi* saw $2.10. *E:ni* was in Yellow Hill. She had the money tied up in her kerchief.

I had loaned it to my mother. Finally she handed it to me to help on the $4.20.

I, the clerk, write this on July 9, 1859.

I, *Ino:li*

COMMENTARY

This police blotter memorandum of crime and detection in old Wolftown is sparse in details, but we nevertheless are able to trace the story line. At some time before her trip to Tennessee and her death there, *Wini* filed a complaint against a certain *E:ni* for theft of $4.20. (On the Terrell Roll there are several individuals whose names, after making allowance for Terrell's spelling, resolve to *E:ni;* we cannot be sure as to which one was the accused.) *Da:gwadi:hi* [95] found *E:ni* in possession of $2.10 of the stolen money, and *E:ni* surrendered it in partial restitution.

We never learn what punishment, if any, was meted the culprit, but we doubt that crime paid any more handsomely in Wolftown than elsewhere. From another document we discover that a certain *E:ni* was expelled by the Methodists of Echota Mission. She was more than likely the one in reference here.

One observes that this matter of theft from one deceased was being aired at the time of the settling of the estate, and no doubt as a phase of it.

Mooney's caption appears to apply recto and verso: "Official [———] Statement of moneys loaned (other side) & complaint of money stolen from an individual."

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[93] The *4* is not plainly made and therefore questionable.

[94] The significance of this numeral is not evident.

[95] *Da:gwadi:hi* was a conjuror. Some of his formulas are found in Mooney (MS., No. 1888, passim), and his photograph is seen in Mooney (1900, p. 256). He may have been engaged professionally to divine the location of the missing money.

NO. 25.—COUNTING OF *WINI'S* LIVESTOCK AND DEBT OF *TSINI*

(FIRST NOTATION)

gha?		hi?a?sgini			tsidunilá:witsv:gí
now		this, in particular			when they met
guyé:gwo:ní	gha?lv	9	i:ga	1859	ale:nv́:dv
July	month	9	day	1859	it began
digalv:hw(i)sda:ne:lv		higi	nigá:dv		á:?se:sdí
things accomplished		this it is	all		to count, one
tsu:gv:wahl(o)di		wini	u:tse:lí:ga		h?a?hno:
property		Wini	hers		this, and
si:ghwa	agi:si	gv:hnage	aní:da		tso?i
pigs	female	black	young ones		three
na:ní:hv	agi:si	so?ayó:hli			ga:ná?lihno:
in number, they	female	another small one			gelding, and
ulagó:hv:sdá	dha?li	iyú:dedhiyv́:dv			gesé:[s]di
fall	two	years-old			it will be
go:hlisdí:yihnó:		gali:sdagi:sv			a?ghalí:dv
to recognize it, one, and		cropped ear			filled
go:hlisdí:yi	a:gh(a)dhi:sgi				
to recognize it, one	right side				

(SECOND NOTATION)

hi?a?hno:	tsini [96]	ade:lv	igv:yi	10	hi?a?hno:
this, and	Tsini	money	first	$.10	this, and
na:gwo	u:lo:so?nv	ahhnuwo:gi		100	gado:hno
now	passed by, it	clothes		$1.00	ground, and
u:n(i)si?dí:yi [97]		20	ghahl(i)se:tsíhno:		50
to lie down, one-place		$0.20	sugar, and		$0.50

FREE TRANSLATION

(FIRST NOTATION)

Now! This meeting took place on July 9, 1858. This is what was accomplished: all the property of *Wini* was counted:

1. Young black female pigs, three in number.
2. Another small female.
3. A gelding—will be 2 years old in the fall. One can recognize it by a full ear crop on the right side.

(SECOND NOTATION)

This *Tsini* has already paid..... $0.10

And now the time has passed for paying the remainder on:

Clothes..... $1.00

A pallet in the yard..... $0.20

Sugar..... $0.50

[96] 'Jenny.'

[97] The implication here is that this was a pallet for use in the yard, not the house.

COMMENTARY

The "meeting" to determine what livestock *Wini* left was almost certainly by township officials who conducted the auction of *Wini's* estate later in the month. We do not know whether *Wini* was married or a widow, but in either case domestic animals would be considered to be her property.

One notes that at the period of this document the Eastern Cherokee were following the practice of castrating and cropping farm animals.

The second notation appears to have no connection with the estate of *Wini*, but to the estate of someone else. It would seem that *Tsini* has paid down $0.10 upon the articles described and that she was in arrears to the town council. The Cherokee here, in *Ino:li's* handwriting, is somewhat muddled.

Mooney's description, which is incomplete, is: "Sale of Wini's Property—et [etc.]."

NO. 26.—CLAIM OF *INO:LI'S* MOTHER AGAINST ESTATE OF *WINI*

hi?a?	u:l(i)sgá:sdi	agi?tsi [98]	hi?a?	nigawe?a?		
this	to depend upon it, she	my mother	this	she says		
wini	tsidhú:ga	50	a:di:ha	ayv	digo:we:lí:sgi	
Wini	she owes me	$0.50	she says	I	clerk, I	
go:wé:la:gá	guyé:gwo:ní	gha?lv	29ne	i:ga		
I just wrote it	July	month	29th	day		
1859	ayv	ino:li				
1859	I	Ino:li				

FREE TRANSLATION

This she depends upon, she says. My mother says this: "*Wini* owes me $0.50."

I, the clerk, just wrote this July 29, 1859.

I, *Ino:li.*

COMMENTARY

We observe here a creditor making claim, through the township organization, against the estate of one deceased. The Cherokee name of *Ino:li's* mother nowhere appears, but, as will be seen later, it was probably *Gwe:dh(i)si* ('Betsy'). One notes that her claim was made the day of the sale of *Wini's* personal effects.

Mooney renders *Ino:li's* signature phonetically: "i no li," and labels the document: "Finances" recto; "Record of debt to his mother from Wini" verso.

[98] Usually *e:tsi* in the Oklahoma dialects.

NO. 27.—SALE OF PERSONAL EFFECTS OF *WINI*
(FIRST PAGE)

guyé:gwo:ní 29 1859
July 29 1859

gha? hi?a?sgini ani:n(o)da uwo:su:lo:tsv:
now this, in particular they just put up for sale he survived

wini u:tse:lí:ga iyu:hl(i)sdanv udu:dalv:ne
Wini hers formerly he became responsible

tsi:sghwa
(w.p.k.)Tsi:sghwa

A?hw(i)daya:i a:da:go:nad(v)da tsula:sgi [99] hi?a:gigwo [1]
A?hw(i)daya:i he just outbid pot this she just took it (hard), just

li:di a:dhayo:ha 100 [2]
Li:di she just asked for it $1.00

do:yuní:si a:da:go:nad(v)da a:sano tso:tsaga
Do:yuní:si he just outbid dress Tso:tsaga

udu:dalv:ne 75 u:ghuyv:hv 75
he became responsible (w.p.k.) $0.75 he paid it $0.75

diga:hl(i)lú:gi a:da:go:nad(v)da a:sano
Diga:hl(i)lú:gi he just outbid dress

uwo:ha:se:hi udu:dalv:ne $150
Uwo:ha:se:hi he became responsible (w.p.k.) $1.50

a:hyví:ní a:da:go:nad(v)da a:sano udu:dalv:ne
A:hyví:ní he just outbid dress he became responsible (w.p.k.)

da:dhlvda 235
Da:dhlvda $2.35

ge:hyahi a:da:go:nad(v)da a:sano tse:gh(i)sini
Ge:hyahi she just outbid dress Tse:gh(i)sini

udu:dalv:ne 225 [3]
he became responsible (w.p.k.) $2.25

A:li a:da:go:nad(v)da a:sano ino:li udu:dalv:ne
A:li she just outbid dress Ino:li he became responsible (w.p.k.)

550 [3]
$5.50

a:da:go:nad(v)da tsu:sghwadhi a:hyví:ní 25
he just outbid pins A:hyví:ní $0.25

7 [4]
$0.07

[?] [5]
[?]

505 11
$5.05 $0.11

15 1506
$0.15 $15.06

18 12
$0.18 $0.12

---

[99] 'One which has legs,' a large kettle used for boiling over an open fire. The word also means 'alligator.'
[1] The first syllable is erroneously written *hv*.
[2] This numeral is crossed out.
[3] This numeral is crossed out.
[4] These numerals are obviously totals of some sort.
[5] This numeral is illegible.

12 $0.12			13 $0.13
100 $1.00		855 $8.55	14.09 [6] $14.09
		2415 $24.15	15 [?] 4 [6] $15.[?]4
36.15 $36.15			

degé:tsidhu:v:gá — they just owe
dhadl(a)du: — twelve
iyanv́:do — months
tsú:naghu:y(v)dí — which to pay, they
gesé:sdi — it will be
uwo:su.lo:tsv — he survived

100 $1.00			$837 $8.37
100 $1.00			13.62 $13.62
200 $2.00			
2.50 $2.50	50 $0.50		22.62 $22.62
100 $1.00	20 $0.20	100 $1.00	
60		212 $2.12	
50 $0.50		75 $0.75	
350 $3.50			
		55 $0.55	

(SECOND PAGE)

hi?a? — this
wini — Wini
u:tse:[li] — her
gani:sadi:sdi [7] — bed
u:tse:li — his
niga:hl(i)sda — it just became
idígv:n(e)dí — Idígv:n(e)dí
sa:gwo — one
ade:lv — money
tsu:gv́:wa[hl(o)]dí — in value
a:tsi:dhu:v:ga [8] — he just owed
aghuyv́:aho?sí [9] — he just paid all of it
100 [10] — $1.00
ayv — I
ino:li — Ino:li
tsidhu:v:ga — he just owes me
dhadl(a)du: — twelve
iyanv́:do — months
ú:ghuy(v)dí — to pay, he
go:wé:la:gá — I just wrote it
ga?lohni — August
15ne — 15th
i:ga — day
ú:ghuy(v)dí — to pay, he
guyé:gwo:ní — July
gha?lv — month
29 — 29
i:ga — day
1860 — 1860
ayv — I
digo:we:lí:sgi — clerk, I

---

[6] This numeral is crossed out.

[7] This word implies that the bed was constructed in the White fashion, some part of it being placed across parallel horizontal sides.

[8] The penultimate syllable is erroneously written *hs*.

[9] The penultimate syllable of this word, obviously inserted later than the text surrounding, is erroneously written *hs*.

[10] This numeral is crossed out.

ino:li
Ino:li

A?hw(i)daya:i — a:hv — tsula:sgi — a:gi
A?hw(i)daya:i — it (hard) was here — pot — she just took it (hard)

li:di — ade:lv́gwo — tsugi:so
Li:di — money, just — which she got it (hard) (cond.)

na:sgi:ya — ayv
alike — I

ino:li — o:siyu — gha?lv [11] — ga?lohni — 21ne
Ino:li — good, very — month — August — 21st

i:ga — 1860 — a:ghuyv — a:?ghali:?
day — 1860 — he just paid it — in full

guyé:gwo:ní — gha?lv — 30 — i:ga
July — month — 30 — day

tso:tsaga — udu:dalv́:nelv́ — ayv — u:do:hiyu
Tso:tsaga — he has become responsible — I — truly

+ [12] — tso:tsaga
+ — Tso:tsaga

diga:hl(i)lú:gi — aghuyv́:a[ho?]sí — 75 — 450
Diga:hl(i)lú:gi — he just paid all of it — $0.75 — $4.50

uwo:ha:se:hi — udu:dalv́:nelv́ — o:sdv — nigv:ga
Uwo:ha:se:hi — he has become responsible — good — he just made it

75 — a:si — ani:se:n(i)si
$0.75 — yet — cents

a:hyv́i:ní — a:tsi:dhu:v:ga [13] — u:ghuyv:hv — a:hyv́i:ní — 245
A:hyv́i:ní — he just owed — he paid it — A:hyv́i:ní — $2.45

a:ghuyv — ga:yó:hli [14] — ga?lohni — 2ne — i:ga
he just paid it — small amount — August — 2d — day

90 — ago:la:da — ga?lohni — [?] [15]
$0.90 — he just lessened it — August — [?]

da:dhlvda — udu:dalv́:nelv́ — ayv — u:do:hiyu
Da:dhlvda — he has become responsible — I — truly

+da:dhlvda
+ Da:dhlvda

ge:hyahi — a:tsi:dhu:v:ga [16] — a:ghuyv — a:?ghali:?
Ge:hyahi — she just owed — she just paid — in full

guyé:gwo:ní — gha?lv — 30ne — i:ga — 1860 — 225
July — month — 30th — day — 1860 — $2.25

tse:gh(i)sini — udu:dalv́:nelv́ — ayv — u:do:hiyu
Tse:gh(i)sini — he has become responsible — I — truly

+ — tse:gh(i)sini
+ — Tse:gh(i)sini

a:li — a:tsi:dhu:v:ga [16] — u:ghuy(v)di — niga:hl(i)sda
A:li — she just owed — to pay, she — it just became

$3.37 — a:li — 550
$3.37 — A:li — $5.50

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[11] The first syllable is erroneously written *tsi*.
[12] We assume that this cross has the force of an official stamp, or seal.
[13] The penultimate syllable is erroneously written *hv*.
[14] There is a superfluous final *li*.
[15] This date is illegible.
[16] The penultimate syllable is erroneously written *hv*

ino:li	udu:dalv́:nelv́	ayv	u:do:hiyu
Ino:li	he has become responsible	I	truly

guyé:gwo:ní	gha?lv	30ne	i:ga	+	ino:li
July	month	30th	day	+	Ino:li

a:hni	wahhyó:hi	sga:dú:gi	ge:sv	uwo:su:lo:tsv́:hi
here	wolf-place	township	it is	survivor

ga:n(o)dhanv	du:n(a)dó:v	tsidu:nohwé:la
he put it up for sale	name, they	which written by them

guyé:gwo:ní	29	1859	dhadl(a)du:
July	29th	1859	twelve

iyanv́:do	guyé:gwo:ní	29	1860	wahhyó:hi
months	July	29th	1860	wolf-place

ayv	digo:we:lí:sgi	ino:li
I	clerk, I	Ino:li

go:hwé:lo:dí	niga:hl(i)sda	u:ghuy(v)dí:yi	sa:gwo
to write, one	it just became	to pay, she	one

ade:lv	ú:ghuy(v)dí	100 [17]	a:?ghali:?
money	to pay, she	$1.00	in full

a:ghuyv	sa:li
she just paid	Sa:li

idígv:n(e)dí	degv́:wu:gh(o)da:sí	sa?du	ade:lv
Idígv:n(e)dí	they just decided for him	eleven	money

a:nitsú:la [18]	wini	udhu:nv	tso?i	iyanv́:do
both of them	Wini	he owed	three	months

ú:ghuy(v)dí	hi:sgi	ade:lv	su:dalí:ne	ayé:hli
to pay, he	five	money	sixth	half

dhaliné:hno:	su:dali	iyanv́:do	hi:sgi	ade:lv
second, and	six	months	five	money

su:dalí:ne	ayé:hli	ga?lohni	15	1859
sixth	half	August	15th	1859

tse:gh(i)sini	adu:dalv́:v:gá [19]	ayv	u:do:hiyu
Tse:gh(i)sini	he just became responsible	I	truly

a:ghuyv	a:?ghali:?	+	tse:gh(i)sini
he just paid it	in full	+	Tse:gh(i)sini

(THIRD PAGE)

1859

1859

idígv:n(e)dí	tsi:dhu:v:ga	gani:sadi:sdi	u:tse:li
Idígv:n(e)dí	he just owes me	bed	his

niga:hl(i)sda	dhadl(a)du	iyanv́:do	ú:ghuy(v)dí
it just became	twelve	months	to pay, he

guyé:gwo:ní	gha?lv	29ne	i:ga	ú:ghuy(v)dí
July	month	29th	day	to pay, he

ghane:gi	ayv	go:wé:la:gá	ino:li	gha?
he just agreed	I	I just wrote it	Ino:li	now

---

17 This numeral is crossed out.

18 The heirs.

19 The first syllable is erroneously written *u*.

hi?a?hno: idígv:n(e)dí u:ghuyv:hv [20] a:sgo:
this, and Idígv:n(e)dí he has paid it ten

ade:lv [?] [21] u:do:hiyu a:gigi:sv:gi ayv
money [?] truly I did receive it (hard) I

ino:li gha? hi?a?hno: a:si tsu:lú:lv:gí
Ino:li now this, and yet which he did not finish

a:ghuyv a:?ghali:? idígv:n(e)dí ga?lohni
he just paid it in full Idígv:n(e)dí August

gha?lv 2ne i:ga 1860
month 2d day 1860

hi?a? a?hw(i)daya:i nu:ghuyv́:dvgwó tsula:sgi
this A?hw(i)daya:i not, he paid, just pot

ahv:ga li:di a:se?dhlv [22] ade:lv
she just put it (hard) down Li:di one counted it money

nani:gv
the amount

hi?a?hno: gu:la:tsi ayé:hli ú:ghuy(v)dí a:gi
this, and Gu:la:tsi half to pay, he he just took it (hard)

sa:gwo ade:lv 100
one money $1.00

diga:hl(i)lú:gi u:ghuyv:hv tso?gi:nú:d(v)di 75
Diga:hl(i)lú:gi he has paid it three-fourths $0.75

do:yuní:si u:ghuyv:hv [23] 75
Do:yuní:si he has paid it $0.75

a:hyv́i:ní u:ghuyv:hohnv 260
A:hyv́i:ní he has paid it in full $2.60

hi?a?sgini ga:se?ga nigá:dv tsu:gv́:wa:hl(o)dí
this, in particular I just counted it all value

nu:hl(i)sadanidó:lv wini u:tse:li ga:n(a)di:dhvnv [24]
it happened Wini hers it is put up for sale

$38.80
$38.80

hi?a?hno: du:hnigi:sv ade:lv da:tsi:dhu:gv
this, and sent away, them money he extended credit to several places

nigá:dv gú:[l(a)]tsugi:so?hnv́ [25]
all already he received all of them (hard)

hi?igá:v [26] $24.10
this, in amount $24.10

a:síhno: degé:tsidhu:gv́ hi?a? nigá:v [26] $9.905
yet, and they owe this amount $9.95

(AT BOTTOM OF PAGE)

hi?a? de:gi a:tsi:dhu:gv́:i wini udhu:tsv́:hi gho:hi
this De:gi she was owed Wini ower, she now

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20 The final syllable is erroneously written *u*.
21 This word is garbled.
22 The final syllable is erroneously written *lv*.
23 The penultimate syllable is erroneously written *o*.
24 The final syllable is erroneously written *dv*.
25 The penultimate syllable is erroneously written *sa*.
26 The final syllable is erroneously written *hv*.

i:ga	ga?lohni	16ne	i:ga	hi?a?	nu:sdi	niga:hl(i)sda
day	August	16th	day	this	was	it just became

a:hni	digo:we:lí:sgi	ino:li:yi
here	clerk, I	Ino:li-place

ahhnuwo:gi	ada:nv́:ne:lv́:hi	na:sgwo
clothing	given, it	also

ahhnuwo:gwo	unv́:di	1	ade:lv
cloth, just	to put it (flex.) down, he	1	money

60	ani:se:n(i)si	i:gá:i	tsu:gv́:wa:hl(o)dí
60	cents	in all	worth

ayv	gha:tsi	go:wé:la:gá	1859
1	Gha:tsi	I just wrote it	1859

FREE TRANSLATION

(FIRST PAGE)

July 29, 1859

Now! *Tsi:sghwa* became responsible for the sale of the possessions of the late *Wini* by her surviving spouse.

A?hw(i)daya:i was the highest bidder for a pot. *Li:di* asked for it and took it with her $1.00

Do:yuní:si was the highest bidder for a dress. *Tso:tsaga* became surety for the debt $0.75

Diga:hl(i)lú:gi was the highest bidder for a dress. *Uwo:-ha:se:hi* became surety for the debt $1.50

A:hyvi:ní was the highest bidder for a dress. *Da:dhlvda* became surety for the debt $2.35

Ge:hyahi was the highest bidder for a dress. *Tse:gh(i)sini* became surety for the debt $2.25

A:li was the highest bidder for a dress. *Ino:li* became surety for the debt $5.50

A:hyvi:ní was the highest bidder for some pins $0.25

			$0.07
			[?]
$5.05			$0.11
$0.15		$15.06	
$0.18			$0.12

$0.12		$0.13
$1.00	$8.55	$14.09
	$24.15	$15.[?]4
	$36.15	

Those who bought on credit will have 12 months in which to pay the surviving spouse.

$1.00	$8.37
$1.00	$13.62
$2.00	

$2. 50		$0. 50	$22. 62
$1. 00	$0. 20	$1. 00	
$0. 60		$2. 12	
$0. 50		$0. 75	
$3. 50			
	$0. 55		

(SECOND PAGE)

Wini's bed, worth $1.00, just became *Idígv:n(e)dí's*. (He just paid all of what he owed—$1.00.) He has 12 months in which to pay me, *Ino:li*, what he owes me. I just wrote this on August 15th. He is to pay by July 29, 1860.

I, the clerk, *Ino:li*.

Aʔhw(i)daya:i's pot which was here, *Li:di* took. She got it without paying any money. I, *Ino:li*, approved it August 21, 1860. (He just paid in full on July 30th.) *Tso:tsaga* has become surety. I approved it + *Tso:tsaga*.

Diga:hl(i)lú:gi paid all of what he owed, $0.75 $4.50. *Uwo:ha:se:hi* has become surety. He just made it good—$0.75.

A:hyvi:ní owed. *A:hyvi:ní* has paid it—$2.45. He paid a small amount August 2nd. He just decreased the debt $0.90, August [?]. *Da:dhlvda* has become surety. I approved it + *Da:dhlvda*.

Ge:hyahi owed. She just paid in fully July 30, 1860—$2.25. *Tse:gh(i)sini* has become surety. I approved it + *Tse:gh(i)sini*.

A:li owed. It became necessary for her to pay $3.37[?] *A:li*—$5.50. *Ino:li* has become surety. I approved it July 30th + *Ino:li*.

Here in Wolftown Township the survivor had a sale. Those whose names are written here have 12 months in which to pay—from July 29, 1859 to July 29, 1860.

I, the Wolftown clerk, *Ino:li*.

It became necessary to write that *Sa:li*, who was to pay $1.00, just paid it in full.

Both of them decided that *Idígv:n(e)dí* was to pay $11.00. Of what he owed *Wini's* estate, he was to pay half, $5.00, in 3 months on the 6th, and the second half, $5.00, in 6 months on the 6th August 15, 1859. *Tse:gh(i)sini* just became surety. I approved it. He paid it in full. + *Tse:gh(i)sini*.

(THIRD PAGE)

1859

Idígv:n(e)dí owes me for the bed that just became his. I, *Ino:li*, just wrote that he agreed to pay in 12 months, on July 29th.

Now! *Idígv: (e)dí* has paid $10.00 that I, *Ino:li,* actually received. Now! This that he owed, *Idígv:n(e)dí* paid in full, August 2, 1860.

A?hw(i)daya:i did not pay for the pot. *Li:di* just brought it back. The amount of money was counted.

In order to pay half *Gu:la:tsi* just borrowed $1.00.

Diga:hl(i)lú:gi paid $0.75.

Do:yuní:si paid $0.75.

A:hyví:ní has paid in full—$2.60.

I just appraised the value of everything of *Wini's* put up for sale—$38.80.

This money was sent to the survivor. He extended credit to several persons. He already received all of this amount—$24.10.

They still owe this amount—$9.95.

(AT BOTTOM OF PAGE)

Wini owed *De:gi* [?], and today, August 16th, at clerk *Ino:li's* place, this is what just happened: he gave her clothing, and also cloth, worth $1.60 in all.

I, *Gha:tsi,* just wrote this. 1859

COMMENTARY

The *Tsi:sghwa* who had charge of the sale may have been the chief heir (if so, the Terrell Roll is in error) or else a Wolftown official. We see here what some of the personal effects of a probably rather well-to-do Cherokee woman consisted of in 1859, together with the auction values thereof. The relatively high prices that dresses brought is an arresting fact.

Of salient interest is the device of requiring someone to become surety for a debt to the township. And we see that the principle of *caveat emptor* was not in force: *Li:di* returned the pot.

Although it would seem that at least two individuals among the Eastern Cherokee at this period have the name *A:hyui:ni* ('He Swims'), the successful bidder here may have been the great conjuror Swimmer himself (see Mooney and Olbrechts, 1932).

The major portion of this record was penned by *Ino:li,* but the entry by *Gha:tsi* at the end recounts a barter of especial interest.

Certain items of *Wini's* estate must surely not have been offered for sale, although *Wini* died under unusual circumstances. According to Cherokee custom the person who ministers to the needs of one mortally ill gets first choice of that person's personal effects. If this individual is not the spouse, it is most commonly the youngest child for whom it is the custom to remain at home even after marriage. One wonders why the distinct tendency of the Cherokees to adhere to the principle of ultimogeniture has not been fully reported.

Mooney's caption is: "Sale of Personal Effects of Wini."

NO. 28.—PETITION TO JAMES W. TERRELL AND TAX RECORD

(FIRST NOTATION)

gha? hi?a? ude:dhiyv́:sadhi:sv́ aye:hli [27] a:ghuy(v)di
now this year tax to pay it, one

u:sgwalv:v hi?a?hno: nu:sdi otsada:n(v)dhv:li
it became time this, and way we just thought

ha:hni wahhyó:hi o:tsé:hi o:gi:hnigv́:gagwó ade:lv
this here wolf-place we residers we lack it, just money

na:sgihno: iyú:sdi itsv?lú?tsi dala:la
that, and why we just came to you Dala:la

ge:tsvlv́:ghw(o)di [28] itsv:hné:tshe:lv́ uhne?gwo:tsv:
your beloved ones we asked you the increased

hí:ya:dho?hihí ghv:nigwo do:gado:v do:go:hwé:le:sdí
you donor plain, just our names they will be written

ayv o:sigwo tsi:ye:lv:na agigv:wiyuhi ts(i)sgili
I good, just I just approved I, chief Ts(i)sgili

u:dv:hnv [29] a:yvhno: da:dhlvda o:sigwo tsi:ye:lv:na
he stated I, and Da:dhlvda good, just I just approved

ayv ino:li aye:hli tsigh(a)dhí:ya gha? hi?a?hno:i:gá:i
I Ino:li tax I watch it now this, and in amount

otsi:dhayo:hiv sa:gwo ade:lv di:sgiyo:hi?se?di
we asked for it one money to turn it over to us, you

gesé:sdi iyo:tsí:i do:gado:v da:go:hwe:lv
it will be this many of us our names we wrote them

a:hni wahhyó:hi sga:dú:gi ge:sv guyé:gwo:ní
here wolf-place township it is July

29ne i:ga 1859
29th day 1859

ts(i)sgilié:gwa 50
Ts(i)sgilié:gwa $0.50

da:dhlvda 100 [30]
Da:dhlvda $1.00

dihye:lidó:hi
Dihye:lidó:hi

ino:li
Ino:li

ga:gama 50
Ga:gama $0.50

tsá:n(i)la:tsí 100
Tsá:n(i)la:tsí $1.00

– [31] gu:dagi:sgi 45
– Gu:dagi:sgi $0.45

di:ghuyí:sgi 5
Di:ghuyí:sgi $0.05

wahhyaní:da 20
Wahhyaní:da $0.20

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27 Another meaning of this protean word.
28 There is a superfluous syllable *i* following *ge*.
29 The last syllable is erroneously written *hna*.
30 As usual, *Ino:li's* use of the dollar sign is erratic.
31 We do not know the significance of this mark.

u:dhlvna:da U:dhlvna:da		25 $0.25
wa:sida?na Wa:sida?na	u:wa?nv U:wa?nv	50 $0.50
idigv:ne:hi Idigv:ne:hi		100 $1.00
ila:gwi [32] Ila:gwi		40 $0.40
a?hw(i)daya:i A?hw(i)daya:i		100 $1.00
do:yuní:si Do:yuní:si		40 $0.40
tsuló:gilá Tsuló:gilá		25 $0.25
tsa:li Tsa:li		20 $0.20
a?hw(i)gado:ga A?hw(i)gado:ga		100 $1.00
tsi:sghwa Tsi:sghwa		25 $0.25
– tso:tsaga - Tso:tsaga		
amasu:yi Amasu:yi		100 $1.00
– sgwa:gini - Sgwa:gini		100 $1.00
– da:sgigidi:hi - Da:sgigidi:hi		
– gu:la:tsi - Gu:la:tsi		

(SECOND PAGE)

25 [33] 25	salo:laní:da Salo:laní:da	100 $1.00
26 26	tsá:nilo:sí Tsá:nilo:sí	$100 $1.00
27 27	tsutso:ladha Tsutso:ladha	
28 28	gawo:hílo:sgí [34] Gawo:hílo:sgí	65 $0.65
29 29	wi:l(i)sini Wi:l(i)sini	$100 $1.00
30 30	wa:wole:sidi [35] Wa:wole:sidi	
31 31	dalo:níge Dalo:níge	
32 32	i:sadi:hi I:sadi:hi	50 $0.50
33 33	wa:gigu Wa:gigu	25 $0.25

[32] The second syllable is erroneously written *na*.
[33] On the second page *Ino:li* numbers the names.
[34] The first syllable is erroneously written *go*.
[35] The third syllable is erroneously written *la*.

34	dhlv:datsi			
34	Dhlv:datsi			
35	da:gwadi:hi			$100
35	Da:gwadi:hi			$1.00
36	dhlvdi:sdi			25
36	Dhlvdi:sdi			$0.25
37	ule:yoe			100
37	Ule:yoe			$1.00
38	sa:mi			$100
38	Sa:mi			$1.00
39	a:tsi			25
39	A:tsi			$0.25
40	de:nili			50
40	De:nili			$0.50
41	ulá:sda?á			
41	Ulá:sda?á			
42	tsuna:sdala			
42	Tsuna:sdala			
43	do:tsu:lé?hnv			50
43	Do:tsu:lé?hnv			$0.50
44	du:nawi	a:ghuyv	a:?ghali:?	25 [36]
44	Du:nawi	he just paid it	in full	$0.25

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digo:we:lí:sgi — clerk, I
wahhyó:hi — wolf-place
sga:dú:gi — township
ge:sv — it is
na:hna — there
ge:a — I belong
go:wé:la:gá — I just wrote it
ga?lohni [37] — August
guyé:gwo:ní — July
gha?lv — month
29ne — 29th
i:ga — day
1859 — 1859
ayv — I
ino:li — Ino:li
dalo:níge — Dalo:níge
le:si — Le:si
tso:tsaga — Tso:tsaga
yo:núwo:hlá — Yo:núwo:hlá
ghanohi:yadv — Ghanohi:yadv
47 — 47
1859 — 1859
1860 — 1860
1861 — 1861
1111 — 1111
1862 [38] — 1862

(SECOND NOTATION)

hi?a? — this
wi:l(i)sini — Wi:l(i)sini
tsiyadho:hl(a)sda — I just lent him
ade:lv — money
$50 — $0.50
nv:dáde:gwá — November
7ne — 7th
i:ga — day
u:ghuy(v)dí:yi — to pay it, he

---

[36] This numeral is crossed out.
[37] *Ino:li* appears to have forgotten to cross out August, written in error.
[38] We do not know the significance of these dates.

nv:dáde:gwá	28ne	i:ga	a:silu:la	a:ghuyv
November	28th	day	yet, he does not finish	he just paid it
aye:hli	50	nv:dáde:gwá	24ne	i:ga
tax	$0.50	November	24th	day
u:wa?nv [39]	a:ghuyv	a:?ghali:?	nv:dáde:gwá	24ne
U:wa?nv	he just paid it	in full	November	24th
i:ga				25 [40]
day				$0.25
do:tsu:lé?hnv		a:ghuyv [41]		50
Do:tsu:lé?hnv		he just paid it		$0.50
u:dhlvna:da		a:ghuyv [42]		25
U:dhlvna:da		he just paid it		$0.25
de:nili	a:ghuyv	de:nili	a:ghali:tsa	
De:nili	he just paid it	De:nili	he just made it full	
hi?[gh(a)]sgo:hi		ani:se:n(i)si		50
fifty		cents		$0.50
tsá:n(i)la:tsí				10
Tsá:n(i)la:tsí				$0.10

(THIRD NOTATION, BOTTOM OF PAGE, UPSIDE DOWN)

hi?a?	la:hw(i)sini	a:hv:ga [43]	ade:lv	75
this	La:hw(i)sini	he just put it (hard) down	money	$0.75
vsghi:yi	gha?lv	17ne	i:ga	go:lada [44]
December	month	17th	day	he just reduced it
ayv	digo:we:lí:sgi	a:le	ade:lvtsigh(a)dhí:ya	ino:li
I	clerk, I	and	money, I watch it	Ino:li
1860				
1860				
hi?a?	idigv:ne:hi	a:hv:ga	ade:lv	100
this	Idigv:ne:hi	he just put it (hard) down	money	$1.00
vsghi:yi	gha?lv	25ne	i:ga	1860
December	month	25th	day	1860

(FOURTH NOTATION, BOTTOM OF PAGE, UPSIDE DOWN)

hi?a?	a:ghuyv	ule:yoe	si:ghwa	ga:n(o)dhanv
this	he just paid it	Ule:yoe	pig	he put it up for sale
a:tsi:dhu:gv	100 10	sa:gwo	ade:lv	a:sgo
been owed by him	$1.10	one	money	ten
ani:se:n(i)si	vsghi:[yi]	25ne	i:ga	1860
cents	December	25th	day	1860

FREE TRANSLATION

(FIRST NOTATION)

Now! It became time to pay this year's tax, and this is what we thought here in Wolftown where we live: we lack money, and that

[39] This name is crossed out.
[40] This numeral is crossed out.
[41] The first syllable is erroneously written *u*.
[42] The first syllable is erroneously written *u*.
[43] The second syllable is erroneously written *v*.
[44] The final syllable is erroneously written *ga*.

is why we come to you, beloved *Dala:la*. We asked you to donate the increased amount. Our names will be written plainly.

"I, Chief *Ts(i)sgili*, believed it was the right thing," he stated.

"And I, *Da:dhlvda*, believed it was the right thing."

"Also I, *Ino:li*, the tax collector."

Now! This is the amount we asked you to turn over to us—$1.00. this many of us wrote our names here in Wolftown, July 29, 1859.

1.	*Ts(i)sgilié:gwa*	$0.50
2.	*Da:dhlvda*	$1.00
3.	*Dihye:lidó:hi*	
4.	*Ino:li*	
5.	*Ga:gama*	$0.50
6.	*Tsá:n(i)la:tsí*	$1.00
7.	*Gu:dagi:sgi*	$0.45
8.	*Di:ghuyí:sgi*	$0.05
9.	*Wahhyaní:da*	$0.20
10.	*U:dhlvna:da*	$0.25
11.	*Wa:sidaʔna U:waʔnv*	$0.50
12.	*Idigv:ne:hi*	$1.00
13.	*Ila:gwi*	$0.40
14.	*AʔhW(i)daya:i*	$1.00
15.	*Do:yuní:si*	$0.40
16.	*Tsuló:gilá*	$0.25
17.	*Tsa:li*	$0.20
18.	*AʔhW(i)gado:ga*	$1.00
19.	*Tsi:sghwa*	$0.25
20.	*Tso:tsaga*	
21.	*Amasu:yi*	$1.00
22.	*Sgwa:gini*	$1.00
23.	*Da:sgigidi:hi*	
24.	*Gu:la:tsi*	
25.	*Salo:laní:da*	$1.00
26.	*Tsá:nilo:sí*	$1.00
27.	*Tsutso:ladha*	
28.	*Gawo:hílo:sgí*	$0.65
29.	*Wi:l(i)sini*	$1.00
30.	*Wa:wole:sidi*	
31.	*Dalo:níge*	
32.	*I:sadi:hi*	$0.50
33.	*Wa:gigu*	$0.25
34.	*Dhlv:datsi*	
35.	*Da:gwadi:hi*	$1.00
36.	*Dhlvdi:sdi*	$0.25

37. *Ule:yoe* $1.00
38. *Sa:mi* $1.00
39. *A:tsi* $0.25
40. *De:nili* $0.50
41. *Ulá:sdaʔá*
42. *Tsuna:sdala*
43. *Do:tsu:léʔhnv* $0.50
44. *Du:nawi* he paid in full $0.25

I, *Ino:li*, the clerk of Wolftown Township where I live, just wrote this July 29, 1859.

Dalo:níge
Le:si
Tso:tsaga
Yo:núwo:hlá
Ghanohi:yadv

47

(SECOND NOTATION)

On November 7th I just lent *Wi:l(i)sini* $0.50, to be repaid on November 28th. He has not yet finished paying. He paid his tax $0.50, on November 24th.

U:waʔnv paid in full, $0.25, November 24th.

Do:tsu:léʔhnv paid $0.50.

U:dhlvna:da paid $0.25.

De:nili paid. *De:nili* paid it in full, $0.50.

Tsá:n(i)la:tsí ---------- $0.10

(THIRD NOTATION, BOTTOM OF PAGE, UPSIDE DOWN)

La:hw(i)sini just reduced his debt. He put down $0.75 December 17th.

I, *Ino:li*, clerk and treasurer.

1860

Idigv:ne:hi just put down $1.00, December 25, 1860.

(FOURTH NOTATION, BOTTOM OF PAGE, UPSIDE DOWN)

Ule:yoe paid with a pig that he put up for sale. He owned $1.10. December 25, 1860.

COMMENTARY

We infer that taxes had been raised on the Thomas lands on Qualla Boundary and that the Cherokee were hard pressed to pay them—

hence the appeal to James W. Terrell, Thomas' factor at the Qualla trading post.

The Cherokee held Terrell in almost as much affection and respect as they did Thomas himself. Thomas lived close to the site of the former Cherokee town of *Sdigho:yi*, near what is now Whittier. He left Terrell in complete charge at Qualla. His honorable relations with the Cherokee (at one period he was their official agent) and his personal loyalty to Thomas cast a bright light upon his character (Russell, MS., 1956, passim). He was not only a gentleman but something of a scholar; his "The Demon of Consumption" (Teerrell, 1892), for example, is known to all students of Cherokee folklor.

Terrell served as the captain of a Cherokee company under Thomas during the War Between the States. Since the Indians called him *Dala:la* ('Redheaded Woodpecker') one wonders about the color of his hair.

In the document above *Ts(i)sgilié:gwa* states that he was chief of Wolftown. Presumably *Da:dhlvda* was also a Wolftown official.

One doubts that Terrell was able to be of much financial assistance to his Cherokee friends. At this time of his life (he was 20 years old) he was quite poor himself.

Mooney's note reads: "Signers Ask Capt. Terrell to Help Pay their Taxes."

NO. 29.—THE CLERK PAYS WOLFTOWN OFFICIALS

(FIRST NOTATION)

á:ghuy(v)dí to pay, one		tsiniga:hl(i)sda which it just became		digu:gh(o)dí:sgi judge
a:ghuyv́:e?dí to pay him, one	wa:huhu Wa:huhu		digo:hwe:lí:sgi clerk, he	de:nili [45] De:nili
a:ghuyv́:e?dí to pay him, one		ge:sv:gi it was	na:sgwo also	wa:huhu Wa:huhu
a:ghuyv́:e?dí to pay him, one		niga:hl(i)sda it just became	$1.805 [46] $18.05	ga:ghuyv I paid it
ayv I	da:dhlvda [47] Da:dhlvda	a:?ghali:? in full	nigv:ga I just made it	duni:n(o)dhi October
gha?lv month	7ne 7th	i:ga day	1859 1859	digo:we:lí:sgi clerk, I	go:wé:la:gá I just wrote it
ayv I	ino:li Ino:li			

(SECOND NOTATION)

ts(i)sgili Ts(i)sgili	u:sdí:ga [48] U:sdí:ga	tsiyadho:l(a)sda I just lent him	ade:lv money

[45] 'Daniel.'
[46] *Ino:li's* decimal point is misplaced.
[47] 'He-Just-Put-Them-(long)-Down.'
[48] 'Little Screech-owl.'

$100	du[ni:]n(o)di	gha?lv	7ne	i:ga	a:ghuyv
$1.00	October	month	7th	day	he paid it

u?hnegwo:tsv:	110
it increased	$1.10

FREE TRANSLATION

(FIRST NOTATION)

It has become necessary to pay. The judge, *Wa:huhu,* is to be paid by the clerk. *De:nili* is also to be paid. *Wa:huhu's* recompense was $18.05. I paid it. I just paid *Da:dhlvda* in full.

On October 7, 1859 I just wrote this.

I, *Ino:li*

(SECOND NOTATION)

I just lent *Ts(i)sgili U:sdí:ga* $1.00, October 7th. He paid the interest, $0.10.

COMMENTARY

De:nili and *Da:dhlvda* appear to have been township officials, but their titles are not given.

Cherokee, orally one of the most precise of languages, when impregnated with that rectitude that peculiarly derives from conscientious petty officialdom, tends to become remarkably diffuse when written. It would appear, however, that the borrower mentioned in the second notation paid his interest in advance.

There is no Mooney caption for this document.

NO. 30.—COLLECTIONS AND DISBURSEMENTS: ESTATE OF *WINI*

gha?	hi?a?sgini	u:yo:hu:sv	wini	du:dadhu:ga
now	this, in particular	she died	Wini	owed by them, she

tsu:n(a)ghuyv:dhanv	a:sgwanigo:do?di	gv́:gi
what they paid with	to keep it, I	he just took it (hard)
tsu:n(a)ghuyv:dhanv		gv:ghine:tsi
what they paid with		they just asked me

nv:dáde:gwá	28ne	1859	widaní:la:wihv́
November	28th	1859	over there they met

da:nu:gh(o)da	nigá:di [49]	agwada:n(v)dhelída:sdí
they just decided	all of them	to plan, I

ayv	ino:li	gadu:lv	ne:hv:ga	du:yu:gh(o)dv
I	Ino:li	the top	make it, you (imp.)	right

a:gwagh(a)sa:sdo?di	niga:hl(i)sda	hi?a?
to examine it, I	it just became	this

idígv:n(e)dí [50]	a:tsi:dhu:gv	u:ghuyv:hv	ade:lv
Idígv:n(e)dí	which he owed	he paid it	money

[49] Animate.

[50] 'To-Make-Them, One.'

$10 [51]	hi?a?hno:	ne:gi	a:tsi:dhu:gv	u:ghuyv:hv
$10.00	this, and	Ne:gi	which she owed	she paid it
ahhnuwo:gi	a:ghuyv:da	$100 [51]	hi?a?hno:	de:gi [52]
clothing	paid for, it	$1.00	this, and	De:gi
go:lada [53]	uwe:tsi	ahhnuwo	a:ghuyv:da [54]	une:gv
Go:lada	his child	cloth	paid for, it	white
hi?a?hno:	e:ni	ughuyv:hv:dhanv	agi:n(a)dhinv	
this, and	E:ni	she paid it with	sackful	
sv:ghi	10	hi?a?hno:	asi:hw(i)dv	á:gihwahi:sdí
onions	$0.10	this, and	colored, it	to buy it, I
niga:hl(i)sda	tsu:gv́:wa:hl(o)dí	305	hi?a?hno:	
it just became	cost	$3.05	this, and	
na:sgwo	ghane:sa	a:ghuy(v)di	aye:hli	
also	box	to pay, one	central	
adho:l(i)sdi	ga?lohni	gha?lv	hisgadusí:ne	
to borrow, one	August	month	fifth	
i:ga	na:sgi	a:ghuy(v)di	niga:hl(i)sda	hi?a?
day	that	to pay, one	it just became	this
i:gá:i	nigá:dv	agí:dv	higi	ade:lv
in amount	all	I collected it (hard)	this it is	money
250	a:ma	u:hwahi:sdi	tsihu:si	
$2.50	salt	to buy it, he	I just gave it (hard) to him	
ade:lv	50	hi?a?hno:	ghahl(i)se:tsi	a:ghiwahi
money	$0.50	this, and	sugar	I just bought it
50	vsghi:yi [55]	12ne	i:ga	1859
$0.50	December	12th	day	1859

FREE TRANSLATION

Now! He [the principal heir] just took what I was keeping, paid by those who owed the estate of the dead *Wini*. At the meeting on November 28, 1859, they all decided that I, *Ino:li*, was to take charge, bring everything to light and make it right.

Idígv:n(e)dí paid what he owed $10.00
The clothing for which *Ne:gi* owed has been paid for $1.00
The white cloth for which *De:gi*, *Go:lada's* child, owed has been paid for.
E:ni paid with a sackful of onions $0.10
The colored [cloth] which I had to buy, valued at $3.05

You need to repay the township what was borrowed for the coffin. This was to be paid on August 5th.

This is the amount I collected and you received $2.50

[51] Crossed out in the manuscript.
[52] 'Peggy.'
[53] 'He-Just-Decreased-It.'
[54] The second syllable is erroneously written *ghi*.
[55] There is a superfluous syllable *hv* following the first syllable.

The money I gave him to buy salt	$0. 50
I bought sugar	$0. 50

December 12, 1859

COMMENTARY

Evidently it was not the official duty of any member of the township to take care of the complete disposition of the estates of the deceased. Someone was appointed to serve each specific phase of this task.

Collections and disbursements in this itemization are not clearly differentiated. The colored cloth may have been purchased from estate funds for the funeral: "The coffin . . . is sometimes covered with black cloth, nailed down by tacks" (Mooney and Olbrechts, 1932, p. 136). In Oklahoma up until a generation ago the coffin was almost invariably so draped. A bill of sale in the possession of the authors, dated April 7, 1893, lists items purchased for the funeral of a male Cherokee (Cox, MS., 1893):

To 13 yds Blk Calico 7–½	[$0.]95
To 13 Blk Domestic	95
To 1 pr Gloves	25
To 1 pr Stocking[s]	10
To 1 pr [sic] White-Hdkerchief	10
To 2# nails @ 5	10
To 1 paper Tacks	5
To 1 pr Slipper shoes Prince Albert	1. 50
Total	4. 00

The salt, too, may have been a funeral expense, the money for which was given to the chief heir out of sale proceeds, or advanced to him. It was once the custom in North Carolina to place a vessel of salt upon the breast of the corpse (Mooney and Olbrechts, 1932, p. 134). If this practice existed in Oklahoma, it has not been reported.

The entry concerning sugar is obscure. Perhaps it records the disposition of an item left over from the sale of July 29th.

Mooney's designation "Company Debts—WW" is in error: the *Gadu:g(i)* was in no way involved.

NO. 31.—EXPENSE ACCOUNT: RECOVERING A HORSE

gha?	hi?a?sgini	so:gwil(i)	tsa:giyohu:se:lv́:gi
now	this, in particular	horse	that I did lose
ga?lohni	tsigha:?lv́:gi	ha:hnigwo	ga?dú:si
August	which month	this here, just	mountain
tsagihyo:bv:gi	hi?a?hno:	no:gwo	á:gwagh(a)say(a)sdo?dí
that I did hunt	this, and	now	to examine it, I

nu:hl(i)sdanv
then it became

si:nv́:dogwó
month ago, just

a:sigwo
about, just

a:hliyé?li:sv́
passing, it

nv:dáde:gwá
November

29
29th

na:gwo
now

a:gwadeloho:sv:gi [56]
I did find out

na:sgihno:
that, and

a:gwaghuy(v)di
to pay, I

nu:hl(i)sdanv
then it became

$4
$4.00

agwenv́:sv:gí
I did go

diga:du:hv
town

nv:dáde:gwá
November

a:sgwadi:sgv
finishing, it

tsa:li
Tsa:li

ga:hwi:li
Ga:hwi:li

ane:tsvdi:sdí:sgi
one who interprets

a:gwaghuy(v)di
to pay, I

nu:hl(i)sdanv
then it became

$5
$5.00

i:yadi:hwisgi [57]
I:yadi:hwisgi

go:hiy(u)dí:sgi
one who witnesses

agh(i)dhu:ga
I owe him

$5
$5.00

a:gwe:do:lv́:hno
I made the trip, and

su:dali
six

tsudó:dagwadv́
days

sv:no:yi
nights

hi:sgi
five

ayé:hli
one-half

igo:hí:dv
nightly stopovers

hi?a?hno:
this, and

so:gwil(i)
horse

a:gw(a)dho:hl(a)sdanv
he lent it to me

75
$0.75

tsuló:gilahnó:[58]
Tsuló:gilá, and

so:gwil(i)
horse

a:gw(a)dho:hl(a)sdanv
he lent it to me

25
$0.25

tse:gwádi:hí [59]
Tse:gwádi:hí

une:ts(v)dhanv
he interpreted

25
$0.25

hi?a?
this

tsigowé:la:gá
which I just wrote

vsghi:yi
December

8
8th

i:ga
day

ude:dhiyv́:sadi:sv́
year

1859
1859

ayv
I

digo:we:lí:sgi
clerk, I

tse:gh(i)sini
Jackson

sga:dú:gi
County

wahhyó:[hi]
wolf-place

sga:dú:gi
township

ino:li
Ino:li

FREE TRANSLATION

Now! It has become necessary to examine the matter of this horse that I lost and that I hunted in the month of August here on the mountain.

Now about a month ago, I found out about it. I went to town at the end of November. I had to pay $4.00

I had to pay *Tsa:li Ga:hwi:li*, the interpreter $5.00

I owe *I:yadi:hwisgi*, the witness $5.00

I made a trip of 6 days and stayed over 5½ nights.

Tsuló:gilá lent a horse to me $0.75

Tse:gwádi:hí interpreted $0.25

This I just wrote December 8, 1859, I, the clerk of Jackson County and Wolftown Township,

Ino:li

---

[56] The fifth syllable is erroneously written *wo*.

[57] 'Pumpkin-Planter.'

[58] 'Clouds.'

[59] 'Killer-of-Large-Ones.'

COMMENTARY

Although there is much in the foregoing that is not clear, the inordinate expense involved, speaking in terms of the buying power of the 1859 dollar, is quite evident. The horse in question may have been taken up by some White man, hence the necessity for the services of interpreters; and the $4.00 possibly represents the expense of a trip to and sojourn in some town such as Waynesville or Webster in the vicinity of Qualla. The witness and principal interpreter would have accompanied *Ino:li*, hence their requirement of $5.00 each. One can see that *Ino:li* could have been obliged to hire a horse for the trip due to the loss of his only saddle horse.

The Wolftown Council may have had a policy of defraying, or helping to defray, expenses incurred by a Wolftown citizen in a litigation with a White man, hence this expense account.

Mooney's caption reads: "Inali—Cost of recovering Horse."

NO. 32.—TOWNSHIP COLLECTIONS, LOANS, AND EXPENDITURES

u:l(a)sdu:[hi]		tsiyadho:l(a)sda	a:lv:tsi	u:yo:hu:sv	
U:l(a)sdu:hi		I just lent him	A:lv:tsi	he died	
u:tse:lí:ga	$480	duni:n(o)dhi	gha?lv	20ne	i:ga
his	$4.80	October	month	20th	day
gha?		hi?a?sgini	lidi	a:gi	
now		this, in particular	Lidi	she just took it (hard)	
ade:lv	50	de[ha]lu:yi	gha?lv	19ne	i:ga
money	$0.50	June	month	19th	day
wa:huhu	tsiyadho:l(a)sda	ade:lv	a:ghuyv	a:?ghali:?	
Wa:huhu	I just lent him	money	he just paid it	in full	
$100 [60]	duni:n(o)dhi	gha?lv	2ne	i:ga	1860
$1.00	October	month	2d	day	1860
gu:la:tsi	a:gi	ade:lv	$200	a?n(a)sgv:dhi	
Gu:la:tsi	he just took it (hard)	money	$2.00	May	
gha?lv	7ne	i:ga	1861		
month	7th	day	1861		
wini	a:tsi:dhu:gv	a:ghuyv́:dv	niga:hl(i)sda		
Wini	she owed	paid, it	it just became		
ge:hyahi	a:gh(a)ghuyv:i	ge:hya[hi]	u:tse:lí:ga		
Ge:hyahi	it has been paid	Ge:hya[hi]	hers		
niga:hl(i)sda	a:go:lo:hi	75	25		
it just became	it just lessened	$0.75	$0.25		
do:tsu:lé?hnv	a:gh(a)ghuyv:[i]	do:tsu:lé?hnv			
Do:tsu:lé?hnv	it has been paid	Do:tsu:lé?hnv			
u:dhu:gv	a:hv:na	250			
he owed	he just removed it	$2.50			
li:di	a:tsi:dhu:gv	a:ghuyv́:dv	niga:hl(i)sda	$2.12	
Li:di	she owed	paid, it	it just became	$2.12	

[60] Crossed out.

tse:gh(i)sini
Tse:gh(i)sini

a:gh(a)ghuyv:i
it has been paid

a:ghuyv
she just paid it

a:li
A:li

$3
$3.00

tso?anisidá:hv:gá
three, they just came for it (hard)

wini
Wini

u:yo:hu:sv
she died

uni:sido?di
to push it, they

ghane:sa
box

ago:sv:ná:ne:lv́
made for her, it

a:ghuyv:hv
paid for, it

250
$2.50

wa:huhu
Wa:huhu

tsiyadho:l(a)sda
I just lent him

ade:lv
money

$200
$2.00

vsghi:yi
December

gha?lv
month

25ne
25th

i:ga
day

1860
1860

a:ghuyv
he just paid it

ga?lohni
August

gha?lv
month

5ne
5th

i:ga
day

1861
1861

li:di
Li:di

a:gi
she just took it (hard)

ade:lv
money

tsina:ni
Tsina:ni

u:yo:hu:sv
dead

u:tse:lí:ga
hers

na:gwo
now

dha?li
two

ade:lv
money

dugi:sv
she took them (hard)

li:di
Li:di

$200
$2.00

gu:la:tsi
Gu:la:tsi

[?] [61]
[?]

sa:gwo
one

ade:lv
money

$100
$1.00

unolv́:dhaní
January

gha?lv
month

go:wé:la:gá
I just wrote it

7ne
7th

1861
1861

di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi [62]
Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi

tsi[ya]dho:hl(a)sda
I just lent him

ade:lv
money

100
$1.00

gha:ga?li
February

gha?lv
month

23ne
23rd

i:ga
day

1861
1861

tsini
Tsini

u:yo:hu:sv
she died

na:sgihno:
that, and

ahhnuwo:gi
clothing

a:ghuyv:hv
paid for, it

100
$1.00

10

ga:dó:[hi]hnó:
ground, and

an(a)sgó:sgi
those who dig

ani:dha?li
two, they

a[ni]:so?i
others, they

10
$0.10

igv:yi
Igv:yi

tsu:hwa:sv
he bought

ghahl(i)se:tsi
sugar

10
$0.10

wini
Wini

tse:do:hv:gi
when she was walking

e:ni
E:ni

gilo:hi:yi
Gilo:hi:yi

go:lada
Go:lada

u:tse:li
her

aye:hl(a)sdi
knife

u:di:nv:sé
she threw it away (w.p.k

tsu:lo:[sv]
while she passed

100
$1.00

gano:hi:dv
long

aye:hlasdi:ga?
knife, amount of

o:sdv
good

no:tsv:ga
then we just made it

da:dhlv:da
she just put them (long) down

de:gi
De:gi

a:nu[we:]gi
A:nuwe:gi

ghanu:gada:hv
Ghanu:gada:hv

---

[61] The word here is garbled.

[62] The final syllable is erroneously written *ghu*.

FREE TRANSLATION

I just lent *U:l(a)sdu:hi* $4.80 from the estate of the dead *A:lv:tsi*, October 20th.

Now! *Li:di* just took $0.50, June 19th.

I just lent *Wa:huhu* $1.00. He paid it in full October 2, 1860.

Gu:la:tsi just took $2.00, May 7, 1861.

What *Wini* owed has just been paid.

What *Ge:hyahi* owed has been paid and the property became hers—$0.75 $0.25.

What *Do:tsu:lê?hnv* owed has been paid. *Do:tsu:lê?hnv* removed the debt of $2.50.

What *Li:di* owed, $2.12, has just become paid. It was paid by *Tse:gh(i)sini*.

A:li paid $3.00, and they just came for it.

The shipping of the coffin of the dead *Wini* has been paid for, $2.50.

I just lent *Wa:huhu* $2.00, December 25, 1860. He repaid it August 5, 1861.

Li:di took money from the estate of the dead *Tsina:ni*. She took it now, $2.00.

Gu:la:tsi [?] $1.00. I just wrote this January 7, 1861.

I just lent *Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi* $1.00, February 23, 1861.

The burial clothing of the dead *Tsini* was paid for, $1.00.

Two other gravediggers, $0.10 and $0.10.

Igv:yi bought sugar, $0.10.

When *Wini* was alive, *E:ni Gilo:hi:yi Go:lada* lost her [*Wini's*] knife, worth $1.00, on her way. We have just made it right: *E:ni* replaced it with some long knives.

De:gi
A:nuwe:gi
Ghanu:gada:hv

COMMENTARY

Several categories of activities by the township organization are recorded here by clerk *Ino:li*, some of which have not been reported in the literature on the North Carolina Cherokee: loans from the estates of the deceased; collection of debts incurred at the sale of the effects of one deceased; restitution to the heirs, through township authority, for property of the deceased lost prior to demise; payment by the township of funeral expenses (although we do not learn whether the outlay was from township funds or deducted from the estate of the deceased); and routine loans from and repayment to the township funds.

The import of the three names subjoined to the document is problematical. If they are witnesses, the fact that at least two of the three names are feminine is of interest.

Mooney's note is simply: "Borrowd [sic] Money."

NO. 33.—RECEIPT FOR PAYMENT OF A BILL AT QUALLA STORE

(ON RECTO)

Received of Quatteh sixty five cents in full of her store account to date April 4th 1860

Jas M Terrell
For W. W. Thomas

(ON VERSO)

a:gidi:na	dala:la		ga:ghuyv́:sv?ná
he just took it (hard), certainly	Dala:la		I just finished paying
v́:tsa	yagh(i)dhu:ga	na:gwo	639
not	not I owe	now	65
			5.74

FREE TRANSLATION

Dala:la actually took the money. I just finished paying. Now I do not owe anything.

COMMENTARY

This receipt is written upon a small slip of paper. *Quatteh* may be the same person as No. 317 on the Terrell Roll (1860, p. 11), the *Quaitsey* who was the mother of *Ino:li*. The one name is the Cherokee form of 'Betty,' the other of 'Betsy.' *Ino:li's* mother was a widow and possibly lived with her son.[63] The mathematical calculation, the significance of which is not evident, is in Terrell's handwriting.

Mooney summarized the meaning of the Cherokee: "I have paid all I owe *Talala*."

NO. 34.—SALE OF THE ESTATE OF *GU:DAGI:SGI*

(FIRST PAGE)

1860

1860

guyé:gwo:ní	gha?lv [64]	u:yo:hu:sv	guyé:gwo:ní	gha?lv [64]
July	month	he died	July	month
16ne	i:ga	go:wé:la:gá	ayv	digo:we:lí:sgi	ino:li
16th	day	I just wrote it	I	clerk, I	Ino:li
gha?	hi?a?	ágh(a)sado?dí	niga:hl(i)sda	gho:hi
now	this	to push it, I	it just became	now

[63] *Ino:li* records the death of a *Gwe:dh(i)si* in October 1865, on the verso of a sheet in *Ino:li* (MS., n.d., No. 2236).

[64] There is an extraneous *ga* following the first syllable.

i:ga	gu:dagi:sgi	u:tse:lí:ga	u:dhi:ye:lv	u:[s]dí:ga	
day	Gu:dagi:sgi	his	left over, it	small	
go:hú:sdi	v́:tsa	ú:go:dí	go:hú:sdi		
something	not	a great deal	something		
a?hwi	ahhnuwo:gi	une:gv	tsuna:sdala	a:da:go:nad(v)da	1 100
deer	clothing	white	Tsuna:sdala	he just outbid	1 $1.00
dighano:gí:sdi [65]	da:sgigidi:hi	a:da:go:nad(v)da	2	$2.26 [66]	
musical instrument	da:sgigidi:hi	he just outbid	2	$2.26	
ditsu:di [67]	a?hw(i)gado:ga	a:da:go:nad(v)da	3	18	
to boil them, one	A?hw(i)gado:ga	he just outbid	3	$0.18	
gasale:na	tsutso:ladha	a:da:go:nad(v)da	4	8	
coat	Tsutso:ladha	he just outbid	4	$0.08	
aye:hl(a)sdi	tsuna:sdala	a:da:go:nad(v)da	5	18	
knife	Tsuna:sdala	he just outbid	5	$0.18	
u:tsi:lv:hno:	dha?li	idage:da	2	6	$1.2 [68]
cotton, and	two	pounds	2	6	$0.12
si:ghwa [69]	7				
pig	7				
galo:go:di	v́:tsa	yitsigá:dhahá	yi:si		
hoes	not	not I know	still		
tsu:nina:sanagí:sdi	75				
to carry them upon their backs, they	$0.75				
na:sgwo	galo:go:di	tsu:tse:lí:ga	dha?li	so?i	
also	hoes	his, they	two	other	
galo:giso?dí [70]	2	25			
grubbing hoes	2	$0.25			
a:tsi	a:da:go:nad(v)da	galo:giso?dí	2	64	
A:tsi	he just outbid	grubbing hoes	2	$0.64	
de:nili	ayv	tsidhu:ga	10		
De:nili	I	he owes me	$0.10		
di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi	tsidhu:ga	a:di:ha	25		
Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi	he owes me	he says	$0.25		
agh(i)dhu:ga [71]	ayv	di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi	10		
I owe him	I	Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi	$0.10		
ayv	la:hw(i)sini	agh(i)dhu:ga	25	25	
I	La:hw(i)sini	I owe	$0.25	$0.25	
a:yvhno:	ino:li	tsiyadho:hl(a)sdi [72]	ade:lv	25	
I, and	Ino:li	I loan him	money	$0.25	
tsidhu:ga	10				
he owes me	$0.10				
ayv	tsá:nilo:sí	tsidhu:ga	tso?gi:nú:d(v)di	i:gá:i	75
I	Tsá:nilo:sí	he owes it	three-fourths	in all	$0.75
wi:1(i)sini	sga:tsi	ayv	tsidhu:ga	30	
Wi:1(i)sini	Sga:tsi	I	he owes me	$0.30	

[65] 'To play them, it.' This could be any sort of a musical instrument, but we surmise that it is a violin.
[66] *Ino:li* is inconsistent in the use of the dollar sign.
[67] 'To boil them, one'—probably a large kettle without legs.
[68] The cotton may not have been sold, hence no buyer's name, but only an estimate of its value.
[69] The pig may not have been sold.
[70] 'To hoe, one.'
[71] This debt to a buyer may have to do with making change.
[72] This tense expresses an action that began in the past and that still continues in the present.

ino:li	ayv	tsiyadho:hl(a)sdi	$100
Ino:li	I	I loan him	$1.00
ga:sgwalo:sgi		udhu:gv	$100.10
Ga:sgwalo:sgi		he owed	$1.10

(SECOND PAGE)

1860
1860

guyé:gwo:ní	16ne	i:ga	ga?lohni	15	i:ga
July	16th	day	August	15	day

tsuna:sdalaghu:yv [73]	ayé:hli	ade:lv	50
Tsuna:sdala just paid	half	money	$0.50

tsuna:sdala	a:tsi:dhu:ga	wa:huhu	ayv	u:do:hiyu	+ $126
Tsuna:sdala	owed by him	Wa:huhu	I	truly	+ $1.26
tsutso:ladha	a:tsi:dhu:ga	u:dhlvna:da	ayv	u:do:hiyu	+ 10
Tsutso:ladha	owed by him	U:dhlvna:da	I	truly	+ $0.10
da:sgigidi:hi	a:tsi:dhu:ga	ayv	do:tsu:lé?hnv	u:do:hiyu	+ $2.26
Da:sgigidi:hi	owed by him	I	Do:tsu:lé?hnv	truly	+ $2.26
a:tsi	a:tsi:dhu:ga	ts(i)sgili	ayv	u:do:hiyu	+ 60
A:tsi	owed by him	Ts(i)sgili	I	truly	+ $0.60

[two lines crossed out]----------a:?ghali:? a:ghuyv
[two lines crossed out]----------in full he just paid

wa:sida?na	a:ghuyv:ho?na	sa:gwo	ade:lv	2 iyadá:n(v)dhedhí
Wa:sida?na	he just finished paying it	one	money	2 cents

i:gá:i	15	i:ga	ga?lohni	1861
in all	15	day	August	1861

yi:si	a:tsi:dhu:v:ga	ayv	du:nawi	+ 75
still	he just owed	I	Du:nawi	+ $0.75
yi:si	a:si	u:hlinohí:ya		65
still	yet	it remains		$0.65
tsá:n(i)la:tsí	a:tsi:dhu:v:ga	ayv	da:dhlvda	u:do:hiyu + 20
Tsá:n(i)la:tsi	he just owed	I	Da:dhlvda	truly + $0.20
a:ghuyv		a:?ghali:?		20
he paid		in full		$0.20
tsá:nilo:sí	a:tsi:dhu:v:ga	ayv	u:wa?nv	u:do:hiyu + $3.85
Tsá:nilo:sí	he just owed	I	U:wa?nv	truly + $3.85
tsá:nilo:sí	a:si	u:hlinohí:ya		3
Tsá:nilo:sí	yet	it remains		$3.00
tsuna:sdala	1	20	55	20 [74]
Tsuna:sdala	1	20	55	20

(AT BOTTOM OF PAGE)

guyé:gwo:ní	16ne	i:ga	tsú:naghu:y(v)dí	ude:dhiyv:sadi:sv
July	16th	day	to pay, they	year

1861	$5.42
1861	$5.42
	$4.80
	$4.80
	$10.22 [75]
	$10.22

[73] An elision of *Tsuna:sdala aghu:yv.*
[74] The significance of these numerals is unknown.
[75] *Ino:li's* totals are frequently inexplicable.

FREE TRANSLATION

(FIRST PAGE)

1860

In July he died. On July 16th, I, *Ino:li* the clerk, just wrote this.

Now! It just became necessary for me to expedite this sale disposing of the small estate of *Gu:dagi:sgi*. He did not leave a great deal of anything.

1. *Tsuna:sdala* was the highest bidder for some white buckskin clothing	$1.00
2. *Da:sgigidi:hi* was the highest bidder for a musical instrument	$2.26
3. *Aʔhw(i)gado:ga* was the highest bidder for a large pot	$0.18
4. *Tsutso:ladha* was the highest bidder for a coat	$.08
5. *Tsuna:sdala* was the highest bidder for a knife	$.18
6. Two (2) pounds of cotton	$.12
7. A pig.	
Hoes. I do not know how many. They still have to bring them	$0.75
Also two (2) hoes of his, one a grubbing hoe	$.25
A:tsi was the highest bidder for grubbing hoes (2)	$.64
De:nili owes me	$.10
Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi says that he owes me	$.25
I owe *Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi*	$.10
I owe *La:hw(i)sini*	$.25
And I, *Ino:li*, lent him money	$.25
He owes me	$.10
Tsá:nilo:sí owes me seventy-five cents in all	$.75
Wi:l(i)sini Sga:tsi owes me	$.30
I, *Ino:li*, lent him	$1.00
Ga:sgwalo:sgi owed	$1.10

(SECOND PAGE)

1860

July 16th–August 15th.

Tsuna:sdala paid one half-dollar	$0.50
Tsuna:sdala owes. *Wa:huhu* became surety for the debt. I approved it	$1.26

Tsutso:ladha owes. *U:dhlvna:da* became surety for the debt. I approved it $0.10
Da:sgigidi:hi owes. *Do:tsu:lé?hnv* became surety for the debt. I approved it $2.26
A:tsi owes. *Ts(i)sgili* became surety for the debt. I approved it $0.60
[Two lines crossed out] ..... he paid in full.
Wa:sida?na paid all of it, a total of $1.02, August 15, 1861.
Du:nawi owed $0.75
Still remaining to be paid $0.65
Tsá:n(i)la:tsí owed. *Da:dhlvda* became surety for the debt. I approved it $0.20
He paid in full $0.20
Tsá:nilo:sí owed. *U:wa?nv* became surety for the debt.
I approved it $3.85
There still remains for *Tsá:nilo:sí* to pay $3.00
Tsuna:sdala 1 20 55 20

(AT BOTTOM OF PAGE)

They are to pay July 16, 186 ..... $5.42
$4.80
$10.22

COMMENTARY

The mention of the fact that the hoes had yet to be brought to the scene of the sale implies that the auction was not held at the home of the deceased, but perhaps at some central location. Amid such earthy items as buckskin clothes, a pot and a pig, the violin stands out startlingly; but up until approximately a quarter of a century ago the Oklahoma Cherokee, at least, cultivated square-dance fiddling assiduously, and we know that the art had been among them for generations.

Mooney labels this document: "Accounts & sale of Property of Gutagiski" and, in another place, "Property Distributn."

NO. 35.—*TSÁ:N(I)LA:TSÍ* OFFERS TO WORK FOR SOME CORN

hi?a?sgini this, in particular		agwo:hwé:lo:dí to write, I		niga:hl(i)sda it just became
ino:li Ino:li	ts(a)dhv:go:di to hear, you	hi?a? this	se:lu corn	degv́:dhayo:sí I asked you for them
1	ade:lv money	tsu:gv́:wahl(o)dí worth		hi?a? this

nitsiwi
I just said

[i]nigé:tsadvnv́:isdi [77]
still to be ready, you

yi:tsadv:nv́isdi
if to be ready, you

digilv́:hw(i)sda:n(e)dhigwó
to work, I, just

digilv́:hw(i)sda:n(e)dhigwó [76]
to work, I, just

dighaná:sde:tsv́:v:gwó [78]
to pull stumps (cond.), one

iyagwadv́:n(e)dhigwó
to do it (cond.), I, just

alé:nohná [79]
and

yi:tsadv:nv́isdi [80]
if to be ready, you

na:gwo
now

yigi
if it is

na:sgi
that

iyú:sdi
reason

v:dhláhyehno
not, for

aghw(a)dhv:gá:nv
I heard

yigi
if it is

tsá:n(i)la:tsí
Tsá:n(i)la:tsí

ayv
1

7
7

i:ga
day

ga?lohni
August

1860
1860

FREE TRANSLATION

It became necessary for me to write, *Ino:li*, for you to read. I asked you for a dollar's worth of corn. This is what I said: "I am willing to work if you are ready. If you are still ready to pull stumps, I will do it, and if you are ready now, I am willing to work." Because I haven't heard from you is the reason I am writing.

I, *Tsá:n(i)la:tsí*, August 7, 1860.

COMMENTARY

Although in the Cherokee the tone of this note is somewhat stilted, there is nothing in the text to lend any weight to a supposition that the corn in question is the communal property of a clan or the township. The petitioner proposes a simple arrangement of help in clearing land in exchange for a quantity of corn.

"John Large wants Corn and will pay in work" is Mooney's precise identification.

NO. 36.—ROSTER OF COLONY AT SANDTOWN

a:hani
here

no:yú:hi
sand-place

naní:hv
in number, they

u:naligó:hi
joiners together, they

ane:hv
living, they

go:hwe:ló:di
to write, one

niga:hl(i)sda
it just became

duni:n(o)dhi
October

29ne i:ga
29th day

yo:nvganvhi:d(v)
Yo:nvganvhi:d(v)

a:hl(i)tsidó:hv:sgí [81]
one who preaches

tsi:lawi:se
Tsi:lawi:se

tsu:da:so? di
Tsu:da:so?di

gwi:ni
Gwi:ni

[76] 'Work' is conceived of as being comprised of multiple motions, hence the plurality of this verb-form.

[77] The prefix *inige:* has the force of 'still' or 'yet.'

[78] As written here, this word is either somewhat garbled or representative of a form that is obsolete. One would expect it to be today *dighana:sdé:hl(i)digwó.*

[79] More formal for *ale.*

[80] The first syllable is erroneously written *ni*, the last, *dv.*

[81] The fifth syllable is erroneously written *s.*

gv:dé:gi Gv:dé:gi	tsadha:ganí:da Tsadha:ganí:da
tsa:ni Tsa:ni	tse:yvyo:si Tse:yvyo:si
de:wi De:wi	ganv:dase:gi Ganv:dase:gi
e:li E:li	me:li Me:li
ne:n(i)si Ne:n(i) si	le:hawi Le:hawi
tse:gh(i)sini Tse:gh(i)sini	dinale:hwisda Dinale:hwisda
e:n(i)di E:n(i)di	ne:li:si Ne:li:si
e:sigi E:sigi	gvyu:tse Gvyu:tse
da:ni Da:ni	

duni:n(o)dhi October	28ne 28th	i:ga day	1860 1860

FREE TRANSLATION

It just became necessary to write down the names of those that live in the group at Sandtown. October 29th.

Yo:nvganvhi:d(v), the preacher	*Tsi:lawi:se*
Tsu:da:soʔdi	*Gwi:ni*
Gv:dé:gi	*Tsadha:ganí:da*
Tsa:ni	*Tse:yvyo:si*
De:wi	*Ganv:dase:gi*
E:li	*Me:li*
Ne:n(i)si	*Le:hawi*
Tse:gh(i)sini	*Dinale:hwisda*
E:n(i)di	*Ne:li:si*
E:sigi	*Gvyu:tse*
Da:ni	

October 28, 1860

COMMENTARY

Documents in The Inoli Letters, outside the range of this study, show that the main body of the Eastern Cherokee at Qualla Boundary was in sustained contact with smaller groups of their tribesmen who settled in Graham and Macon Counties after having avoided removal to the West. We know from other sources that they kept in touch with other kin in Cherokee County as well.

We do not learn why *Ino:li* prepared this census of the colony at Sandtown. We do know that at a later date considerable but

seemingly rather futile pressure was exerted by the Qualla people upon these enclaves to the south to persuade them to move to Qualla. Perhaps this roster was designed for some such purpose.

The Terrell Roll (1860, MS., p. 1), which informs us that the Sandtown group was living on Cautoogajayah Creek in Macon County upon the property of William Siler, lists only 14 names, including those of two individuals who had died. Largely because of the farfetched spelling on this roll, collation of any of the names with those on *Ino:li's* list is fraught with uncertainty. However, "Yonna-cunna-heet," aged 35, is *Yo:nvganvhi:d(v);* "Aley," his wife, aged 30, is *E:li;* "Nancy," aged 17, is *Ne:n(i)si;* and "Don," a woman aged 50, is *Da:ni.*

"List of Residents of Nâyûhĭ or Sandtown, Macon Co." is Mooney's identification of the document.

NO. 37.—*WA:HUHU* IS GRANTED A LOAN FROM THE ESTATE OF ONE DECEASED

hi?a?	wa:huhu	tsiyadho:l(a)sda	ade:lv	200
this	Wa:huhu	I just lent him	money	$2.00

tsiu:yo:hu:sv	u:tse:li	ade:lv	tsa:gh(i)sgwá:nigo:dí
which the dead one	his	money	which to keep it, I

ayv	digo:we:lí:sgi	agi?nv [82]	agwada:n(v)dhe?dhi [83]
I	clerk, I	I have it (flex.)	to think, I

ge:li?	gada:dhol(a)sdi:sgo?	sé:ga [84]	gho:hi
I believe	to make loans, I (hab.)	daily [?]	now

i:ga	vsghi:yi	gha?lv	25ne	i:ga	go:wé:la:gá
day	December	month	25th	day	I just wrote

ayv	ino:li	1860
	Ino:li	1860

(IN BOTTOM LEFTHAND CORNER)

a:ghuyv	a:?ghali:?
he just paid it	in full

FREE TRANSLATION

I just lent *Wa:huhu* $2.00 of the money that I am keeping of one deceased. I, the clerk, have written authority to use my own judgment, I believe, to make such loans [daily ?].

I, *Ino:li.*

He just paid in full.

---

[82] The inference is that the clerk has written authority.

[83] Or, 'to use my own judgment.'

[84] Perhaps *sí:ga* was intended: 'every day' or 'all day.'

COMMENTARY

Ino:li's self-conscious statement as to his authority to make loans from the estates of persons deceased suggests that the practice was somewhat uncommon. What he may be trying to say is: "I believe that I have the authority to make a loan such as this every day, if I wished." One can but speculate upon what became of the interest from a loan of this type. Part of it may have gone to the council for its supervision over the money, and part of it to the estate in return for the use of the money.

Mooney's caption is difficult to decipher: "Wahuhu loans 2^{00} (?) f[r] [from] property of deceast [sic], [?] Wolftown Council WW."

NO. 38.—THE CLERK PAYS THE JUDGE

hiʔa?	o:sdv	nigv:ga	digu:gh(o)di:sgi
this	good	then I just made it	judge
aghuyv́:e:lv́ [85]	wa:huhu	hiʔa?	hi:ga:?
was just paid to him, it	Wa:huhu	this	this amount
aghuyv́:e:lv́	niga:hl(i)sda	$2	hiʔa?
was just paid to him, it	it just became	$2.00	this
tsoʔgi:nú:d(v)di	a:tsi:dhu:ga		tsiu:yo:hu:sv
three-fourths	he owed it		which the dead one
u:tse:lí:ga	a:ghuy(v)di	niga:hl(i)sda	75
his (hers)	to pay it, he	it just became	$0.75
ayv	ino:li	aghihné:tsi	o:sdv	iyadv́:n(e)di [86]
I	Ino:li	I just said	good	must to make it, one
wa:huhu				
Wa:huhu				

FREE TRANSLATION

I have just made this right: judge *Wa:huhu* has been paid this amount, $2.00. He owed $0.75 to the estate of the dead person. It became necessary for him to pay the $0.75. I, *Ino:li*, just said that one is to do right toward *Wa:huhu*.

COMMENTARY

Clerk *Ino:li* does not specify how long a period of the judge's service this recompense represents. We see that a sum was deducted from the emolument for the purpose of repaying a loan from the estate of a deceased individual, but it is not clear whether the deduction came from the stipend as stated or from a gross pay that included the deduction. Although the document is not dated, we hypothesize that it was written in 1861.

"Payt [Payment] to Wáhuhú—WW" is Mooney's comment.

[85] In this word and in the same word following, *Ino:li* spells the penultimate syllable *he*. In Cherokee manuscripts one rather frequently finds *v+vowel* spelled *v+syllable* beginning with *h*. This appears to be an attempt to represent the strong nasalization of the *v* (see Chafe and Kilpatrick, 1962, pp. 62–63).

[86] The third syllable is erroneously written *guv*.

NO. 39.—RECORD OF DROWNING OF *TSA:LI GA:HWI:LI*

gha?	hi?a?sgini	agwo:hwé:lo:dí		niga:hl(i)sda
now	this, in particular	to write, I		it just became
ga:yó:hli	niga:hl(i)sda [87]	a:hni	ani:wo:di	ga:dú:hv
a little	it just became	here	paint, they	town
a:nets(v)dí:sgi	a:yo:hu:hi	ama:yi [88]	a:gv:gi	
the one who interprets	he just died	water-place	he just fell into (liquid)	
ga:hwi:li	tsige:sv:gi [89]	unolv́:dhanſ	gha?lv	
Ga:hwi:li	who it was	January	month	
18ne i:ga	sv:no:yi	hi?a?	ude:dhiyv́:sadi:sv́	1861
18th day	night	this	year	1861
go:wé:la:gá	gha:ga?li	igv:yi	i:ga	hi?a?hno: a:hni
I just wrote	February	first	day	this, and here
i?tse	didá:ne:lv́	u:hl(i)tsido?dí:yi		sa:gwo
new	house	to preach, he-place		one
na:hl(i)tsido:hv:ga	dhalí:ne	hv́:tsa [90]		yú:lu?tsé
then he just preached	second	not		not he came (w.p.k.)
tso?í:ne	u:hl(i)tsido?dí:yi	tso?iyu:sv:		é:sgha
third	to preach, he-place	three days		less
na:gwo	gahlv:na	ama:yi	u:wa:sgalv́:hv:gá	
now	he just went to sleep	water-place	it has just hidden him	
i:nv:hiyu	a:se	tso?asgo	iyuló:dv [91]	37 [92]
far away	perhaps	thirty	miles	37

FREE TRANSLATION

Now! It became necessary for me to write a little. The Paint-town interpreter died here. He fell into the water, the late *Ga:hwi:li*, the night of January 18, 1861.

I just wrote this on February 1st. Here at the new church he preached only once. The second time he did not come. The third time, 3 days or less before he was to come to the church, he fell asleep in the water. It has hidden him far off, perhaps 30 miles away.

COMMENTARY

The new church must have been on the same site as the old, on Soco Creek. One gathers that *Tsa:li Ga:hwi:li*—"No. 44 Charley Cow-whee-la aged 24–1/2" on the Terrell Roll (1860, MS., p. 2)—preached in the new building but once, failed for some reason to keep his second appointment (2 months later ?), and was drowned a few days prior to the third.

---

[87] The manuscript has a superfluous final *ni*.

[88] A stream, creek, or river, is usually implied.

[89] This word, and also *tsige:sv*, is used in reference to one deceased; 'the late.'

[90] Variant of *ó:tsa, ó:dhla*.

[91] This word in the printed literature is *iyu:dhlilo:da*. The spelling here is probably garbled, but one cannot be certain as to how it was pronounced in *Ino:li's* era and locale.

[92] The significance of this numeral is not evident.

Charley Hornbuckle is described on the Terrell Roll as a brother of Johnson Hornbuckle, a halfbreed who was also a preacher. The exact clerical status of Charley is uncertain; he may have been an itinerant preacher, and therefore of a higher status than *Ino:li.*

The handwriting here is that of *Ino:li.* Mooney's unimpeachable identification reads: "Drowning of Charley Hornbuckle."

No. 40.—*DA:SGIGIDI:HI* COMPLAINS OF THE MISCONDUCT OF *TSE:SI* AND *TSA:NI*

(ON RECTO)

gha?	hi?a?sgini	na:gwo	go:wé:la:gá	gha:ga?li		
now	this, in particular	now	I just wrote it	February		
gha?lv	22 si:ne	i:ga	na:sgi	iyu:sdi	a:hni	ghwalv́:yi
month	22d	day	that	reason	here	Qualla-place
du:do:v	digo:we:lí:sgi	a:gwo:hlv	u:nilú?tsv:gí			
named, it	clerk, I	I was sitting	they did come			
na:sgi	tsa:ni [93]	tse:si [94]	hi?a?	naniwe:sgv:gi	dhaló:hi [95]	
that	Tsa:ni	Tse:si	this	they were saying	white oak-place	
iyv́:dv	dagilv́:hw(i)sda:ne:lv:gí	tse:si				
out there	I did work	Tse:si				
u:tse:li:gó:hi	nv?ghi	tsudó:dagwadv́	dagilv́:hw(i)sda:ne:lv:gí			
his property	four	days	I did work			
a:di:ha	tsa:ni	na:sghino:	tse:si	a:gwaghuyv́:e?dí [96]		
he says	Tsa:ni	that, and	Tse:si	to pay me, he		
gv:ginugo?dhanv́:gi [97]	sa:gwo	ade:lv	u:ghuy(v)di			
they did evict me	one	money	to pay, he			
u:dv:hnv:gi	ahhnuwo:gigwo	aginv:n(e)di				
he did state	clothes, just	to give me (flex.), he				
u:dv:hnv:gi	na:sghino:	v́:dhla	sgwa:ghu:[yv́]e:?há [98]			
he did state	that, and	not	you pay me			
hi?a?gwo	nigawe?a	u:lu?tse	ugv:wiyu:hi			
this, just	he says	he came (w.p.k.)	chief, he			
du:ghu. . . [?] [99]	a:di:sgv:gi	higi	na:sgihye:hno			
to pay with them, he [?]	he was saying	this it is	that, for			
du:ghuy(v)di	gv:ginugo?dhanv́:gi [1]	a:gigwo				
to pay with them, he	they did evict me	he just received it (hard), just				
tse:si	gha?lv́:i	so:gwil(i)	tsi:sgighá:ne:lv:gí			
Tse:si	month	horse	which you did give me (alive)			
30	tsu:gv́:wa:hl(o)dí	si:ghwa	de:dhagighá:ne:lv:gí			
$30.00	in value	pig	they gave me (alive)			
so?ne:la [2]	tsu:gv́:wa:hl(o)dí	ge:sv:gi	na:sghino:	sa:gwo		
nine	in value	it was	that, and	one		

93 'John.'
94 'Jesse.'
95 We cannot identify this place name, the "Tellowe" of the Whites.
96 The fifth syllable is erroneously written *ye.*
97 The first syllable is erroneously written *gu.*
98 The penultimate syllable is erroneously written *ye.*
99 Part of this word is illegible.
1 The first syllable is erroneously written *gu.*
2 The written attempts to provide the glottal stop by *yi.*

ade:lv	uhlinó:hiyv:gí	na:sgihno:	tsa:ni	u:tse:lí:ga
money	it was left over	that, and	Tsa:ni	his
gu:tsu:se?[s]dhánv:gí [3]		a:di:ha	tse:si	na:sgihno:
he did count it		he says	Tse:si	that, and
tsinú:sdi	tsin(i)gá:hv	tse:si	na:sgi	nusdé:sdi
which way	which in all	Tse:si	that	the way it will be
de:tsúgh(o)de:sdí		na:sgigwo		nu:lagwo
you (pl.) will decide		that, just		hurry, you (imp.), just
dhaghúyv:hvhá	u:lú?tse	ale	na:sgwo	ase:gwo
over there pay, you (imp.)	he came (w.p.k.)	and	also	in vain
hi?gesé:sdi	a:sé:hi	gohwe:li	u:lu?hi:sdi	hi?gesé:sdi
this it will be	but	letter	to come, it	this it will be
a:hni	iyv́:dv	ghwalv́:yi	du:dov́:i	hi?a?	ade:lv
here	this far	Qualla-place	named, it	this	money
a?dhayo?hihi	gohwe:li	a:sege:li?	tsada:nelv́:gwo [4]		
asker for it	letter	I believe	your house, just		
u:lú?tse	sa:gwo	ade?lv	i?gá:i	a:yvhyehno:	
it came (w.p.k.)	one	money	in amount	I, for	
gv:ginugo?dhanv́:gi [5]		tsa:ghuy(v)di	ayv	tse:si	ayv
they did evict me		to pay, you	I	Tse:si	I
tsa:ni	agigo:hw(a)dhv:dhi		ade:lv	na:sgi	i:gá:i
Tsa:ni	to see it, I		money	that	in amount
go:wé:lv:gá	ayv		da:sgigidi:hi [6]		ghwalv́:yi
I just wrote it	I		Da:sgigidi:hi		Qualla-place
digo:we:lí:sgi	go:wé:la:gá	1861	ude:dhiyv́:sadisv́:i		
clerk, I	I just wrote it	1861	year		
iyv́:dv	gha:ga?li	22			
further on	February	22			

(ON VERSO)

gwe:dh(i)si	tsago:lí:ye:dí	hi?a?	gohwe:li
Gwe:dh(i)si	to read it, you	this	letter

FREE TRANSLATION

(ON RECTO)

Now! I just wrote this on the 22d of February. The reason is that *Tsa:ni* and *Tse:si* came to me at Qualla, where I am the clerk. This is what they were saying: that I worked on *Tse:si's* property out there at White Oak Place for 4 days. *Tsa:ni* says that *Tse:si* should pay me $1.00 because he evicted me, he stated.

He stated that he would just give me some clothes. That is not paying me. When the chief came, he said, "He has to pay." He said that he has to pay for evicting me.

This month *Tse:si* got the horse that you gave me, worth $30.00, and the pig that they gave me, worth $9.00. There was $1.00 left

[3] We cannot account for the *gu;* one would expect *u*.
[4] The fourth syllable is erroneously written *la*.
[5] The first syllable is erroneously written *de*.
[6] 'Tasgigi-killer.'

over. *Tse:si* says that *Tsa:ni* counted his money, and that this is the way it totals.

"*Tse:si*, if this is the way you all are going to decide, hurry up and pay me."

He came—and also the letter to come out here from Qualla will be in vain. I believe that the letter of request came to your house.

"I am the one that they evicted. You must pay me, *Tse:si* and *Tsa:ni*. I must see that amount of money."

I, *Da:sgigidi:hi*, the clerk at Qualla, just wrote this. I just wrote it February 22, 1861.

(ON VERSO)

This letter, *Gwe:dh(i)si*, is for you to read.

COMMENTARY

Although *Da:sgigidi:hi* states that he is the clerk "at Qualla" (Yellow Hill Township), his letter deals with a private matter—a family squabble, one suspects. He does not indicate where he was when he wrote to *Ino:li's* mother *Gwe:dh(i)si*.

We ascertain from another document in The Inoli Letters that *Da:sgigdi:hi* died on the June 23d following his penning of this heated and muddled missive. He succumbed to disease while on duty with the Confederate forces at Strawberry Plains, Tenn.

The Inoli Letters attest to the Cherokee belief that the lands upon which they lived were actually theirs, and that the title of Will Thomas to them was merely an expedient necessitated by North Carolina law. The basic concepts of land occupancy held by the Eastern Band of the present day seem to have been accepted in *Ino:li's* time: no individual ownership in fee simple, but only possessory rights derived from a legislative body; no right of sale, but the right of lease or trade (see Gulick, 1960, p. 9).

Mooney's caption is decidely at variance with the contents of the document: "Taskigitihi to Inali—wants some money left on deposit."

NO. 41.—RESIGNATION OF JUDGE *WA:HUHU* AND PAYMENT TO OTHER OFFICIALS

1861 [7]

1861

wa:huhu	a:sgwada	digu:gh(o)di:sgi	na:gwa:se [8]
Wa:huhu	he just finished	judge	now, I suppose

a:sgwada	ga?lohni	gha?lv	5ne	i:ga
he just finished	August	month	5th	day

digu:gh(o)di:sgi	aghuyv́:e?dí	niga:hl(i)sda	ayv
judge	to pay him, one	it just became	I

[7] The *1860* written in the manuscript we assume to be an error

[8] *Na:gwo + a:se.*

ino:li Ino:li	gv:ghine:tshi they just gave me permission		ga:ghuyv́:sadí to pay them, I
tsá:n(i)la:tsí Tsá:n(i)la:tsí	ts(i)sgilié:gwa Ts(i)sgilié:gwa	ga:ghuyv I paid it	dha?li two
ade:lv money	de:tsihv:ga I put them (hard) down		du:yu:gh(o)dv right
nigá:dv all	ga:sginé:tshe:lv́ you (pl.) gave me permission		1861 1861

FREE TRANSLATION

1861

Wa:huhu, I assume, has now resigned as judge. He resigned as judge the 5th day of August. It has become necessary for him to be paid. They gave me, *Ino:li,* permission to pay *Tsá:n(i)la:tsí* and *Ts(i)sgilié:gwa.* I paid them. I expended $2.00, doing the right thing, as all of you gave permission to do.

1861

COMMENTARY

As seen elsewhere, *Ts(i)sgilié:gwa* was Chief of Wolftown, but we do not learn what official position *Tsá:n(i)la:tsí* held. The "they" and "all of you" that gave *Ino:li* his authority were members of the Wolftown Council.

The *Ts(i)sgilié:gwa* was very likely the individual mentioned by Mooney (1900, p. 179): ". . . among those who died at this time [1896] being Big-witch (Tskíl-égwa), the oldest man of the band, who distinctly remembered the Creek war. . . ." On p. 538 (ibid.) Mooney elaborates upon the derivation of this personal name: "Although translated Big-witch by the whites, the name is understood by the Indians to mean Big-owl . . ., having been originally applied to a white man living on the same clearing, noted for his large staring eyes."

Mooney and Olbrechts (1932, p. 29) state: "The meaning of tsɪkɩlí is literally 'hooting owl,' but since this night bird is considered as a bird of ill omen, and because of the mysterious occult power ascribed to it, moreover because it indulges in its activities only during the night as the witches do, the word has been extended to mean 'witch.' "

A sacred formula utilizing a term combining both connotations is found in Kilpatrick (1962 a, p. 5).

The Mooney caption for this document is: "Wáhuhu resigns as Judge—Inali Sec [Secretary] or Clerk Wolftown WW."

NO. 42.—ROSTER OF SINGING CLASS AT ECHOTA METHODIST MISSION

(AT TOP OF DOCUMENT)

hi?a? gho:hi ude:dhiyv́:sadi:sv́ [9] 1862
this now year 1862

duli:sdi [10] gha?lv 21 gho:hi i?tse
September month 21 now new

u:nale:n(v)di nvga:hl(i)sda di:nihnogí:sgi
to begin, they then it just became those who sing them

tsa:ts(i) [11] di:dehyó:vhv:sgí [12] ale
Tsa:ts(i) the one who teaches them and

tsu:ni:go:[lí:]ye:dí higi gho:hi dha?li
how to read them, they this it is now two

tsuniyé:l(v)n(v)di hi?dighahnogi:sdi tsalagi
how to divide them, they this, to sing, them, they Tsalagi

e:ligi:sadv + [13]
E:ligi:sadv +

li:yedi +
Li:yedi +

wo:lada
Wo:lada

dagv:ya
Dagv:ya

gv:sgali:sgi +
Gv:sgali:sgi +

lusi:n(i)di +
Lusi:n(i)di +

e:tsini +
E:tsini +

a:li:si:ni +
A:li:si:ni +

gelayi:ni
Gelayi:ni

ne:tsini
Ne:tsini

midi +
Midi +

e:nili
E:nili

tsi:n(i)si +
Tsi:n(i)si +

ne:tsili +
Ne:tsili +

gado:yoe? +
Gado:yoe? +

lo:si +
Lo:si +

tsinilv:gi
Tsinilv:gi

seyo:lini
Seyo:lini

(AT BOTTOM OF DOCUMENT, UPSIDE DOWN)

ude:dhiyv́:sadhi:sv́ 1863 guwo:ni gha?lv 19ne
year 1863 April month 19th

---

[9] The fourth syllable is erroneously written *sv*.

[10] There is a superfluous *i* between the second and third syllables.

[11] 'George,' not otherwise identified.

[12] The fourth syllable (*v*) would appear to be superfluous; but it may have been pronounced by *Ino:li;* therefore, it is retained.

[13] The cross here, and elsewhere, may be an attendance tally mark pertaining to a subsequent meeting of the class.

i:ga
day

di:nihnogi:sgi
those who sing them

u:nale:n(v)di
to begin, they

ano:hwe:li:sgv
writing it, they

e:ligi:sadi [14]
E:ligi:sadi

li:yedi
Li:yedi

me:li
Me:li

gelayi:ni
Gelayi:ni

e:tsini
E:tsini

lusi:n(i)di
Lusi:n(i)di

tsi:n(i)si
Tsi:n(i)si

lo:si
Lo:si

a:li:si:ni
A:li:si:ni

tsinilv:gi
Tsinilv:gi

FREE TRANSLATION

(AT TOP OF DOCUMENT)

Now! This September 21, 1862, it became time for the singers and their teacher. *Tsa:ts(i)*, to begin anew, to divide, and to read, and to sing Cherokee songs.

E:ligi:sadv
Li:yedi
Wo:lada
Dagv:ya
Gv:sgali:sgi

Lusi:n(i)di
E:tsini
A:li:si:ni
Gelayi:ni
Ne:tsini
Midi
E:nili
Tsi:n(i)si
Ne:tsili
Gado:yoe?
Lo:si
Tsinilv:gi
Seyo:lini

(AT BOTTOM OF DOCUMENT, UPSIDE DOWN)

On April 19, 1863 it became time for the undersigned singers to begin writing.

E:ligi:sadi

Me:li

[14] An alternate spelling (*di vice dv*) that may be indicative of an alternate pronunciation.

Li:yedi

Gelayi:ni
E:tsini
Lusi:n(i)di
Tsi:n(i)si
Lo:si
A:li:si:ni
Tsinilv:gi

COMMENTARY

The "Cherokee Hymn Book" in Sequoyah syllabary was largely the work of the young Cherokee scholar Elias Boudinot (1802–39) and the missionary Samuel A. Worcester (1798–1859). It is still in use, in both North Carolina and Oklahoma, having gone through many editions and having been expanded from 33 hymns, as first issued at New Echota, Ga., in 1829, to 135 hymns plus some doxologies and temperance songs.

The Cherokee, surely one of the most musically gifted of all tribes, possess a unique if moribund Christian hymnology that stands deeply in need of scholarly investigation. Most of the texts and tunes are seemingly of White origin, but many of them do not appear to have survived anywhere else than in the Cherokee churches. All indications point to the adoption by the Cherokees, early in their contact with Christianity, of the practice of singing in four-part harmony.

The singing class reported in this document may have used the ninth edition of the "Cherokee Hymn Book," issued at the Mission Press at Park Hill in 1854 (Hargrett, 1951, pp. 58–59). This edition contained some additional translations by the Cherokee preacher Stephen Foreman (1807–81). The division into "two groups" may be in reference to the customary seating arrangement in Cherokee churches, the males on the right-hand side of the pulpit, the females on the left-hand side, or it may refer to singing in parts. The passage is obscure.

In the column on the document's left is a list of masculine names, in that on the right a list of feminine names. Probably most, if not all, of those listed are young folk. There may be some significance in the fact that in the second entry, dating some 7 months later than the first, more than half of the males had dropped out. One wonders if the Confederate forces were the gainer and a lack of males the reason for a corresponding dip in attendance on the left-hand side of Echota Methodist Mission.

The Mooney notation "Names of singing class" and the query "Army List ?" need no comment.

747–014—66——8

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THE GIFT OF CHANGING WOMAN

By KEITH H. BASSO

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PREFACE

The first part of this paper (pp. 124–159) is a type description of the Western Apache girl's puberty rite or *na ih es* as it is performed by a group of Apaches living at Cibecue on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation in Arizona.

Compared to the wealth of information we have concerning the ceremonial forms and beliefs of other Southern Athapascan tribes, very little is available on those of the Western Apache. In fact, only two trained ethnographers have published studies on the subject. Goodwin (1938) has presented a brief outline of the entire Western Apache religious system, and Kaut (Goodwin and Kaut, 1954) has analyzed a nativistic movement. Detailed descriptions of ceremonies are completely lacking, and the present work is, I hope, a step toward the elimination of this deficiency.

In the second portion (pp. 160–170), I examine the symbolic content of *na ih es* in an effort to illustrate what it means to Apaches and how it educates the pubescent girl in the ways of adulthood. I also discuss some of the ways in which *na ih es* functions with regard to society at large. In this attempt at structural analysis, I make use of Kluckhohn's concepts of adjustive and adaptive response.

This report might never have been written had it not been for the interest and instruction of other people. In particular, I am deeply indebted to the late Dr. Clyde Kluckhohn, who first encouraged me to do fieldwork among the Western Apache. I am also grateful to Dr. Charles R. Kaut who introduced me to many people on the Fort Apache Reservation. In the actual writing, I profited greatly from the suggestions of Dr. Evon Z. Vogt. Valuable advice on the linguistic material was given to me by Dr. Richard Diebold, Jr. I also want to thank Symme Bernstein for the time and effort she spent preparing the illustrations.

For their cooperation, indulgence, and kindness I owe my greatest debt to the people of Cibecue, especially Dick and Don Cooley, Nashley Tessay (my interpreter), Teddy Peaches, and Nelson, Albert, Dewey, and Rose Lupe. Also, I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Helena Henry, Lillian and Sam Johnson, Melvin Kane, Dudley Patterson, George Gregg, Ernest Murphy, Roy Quay, Pedro Martinez, and Calvert Tessay.

THE GIFT OF CHANGING WOMAN

By Keith H. Basso

INTRODUCTION

THE WESTERN APACHE

The Southern Athapascans have been divided into seven major tribes on the basis of territorial, cultural, and linguistic distinctions which they themselves recognized (Goodwin, 1942, pp. 1–13, 1938, pp. 5–10). These are the Jicarilla, the Lipan, the Kiowa-Apache, the Mescalero, the Chiricahua, the Navaho, and the Western Apache. Hoijer (1938, p. 86) categorized these tribes linguistically into an eastern and western group. The latter includes the Navaho, Chiricahua, Mescalero, and Western Apache; the former is composed of the Jicarilla, Lipan, and Kiowa-Apache.

The definition of Goodwin (1935, p. 55), which is the most comprehensive yet devised, designates as Western Apache ". . . those Apache peoples who have lived within the present boundaries of the state of Arizona during historic times, with the exception of the Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and allied Apache, and a small band of Apaches known as the Apaches Mansos, who lived in the vicinity of Tucson." [1]

In 1850, Western Apache country extended north to Flagstaff, south to Tucson, east to the present city of St. Johns, and west to the Verde River. At this time, the people were divided into five distinct groups, each ranging over its own area of land and refusing to encroach upon that of its neighbors.[2] These were the White Mountain Apache, Cibecue Apache, San Carlos Apache, Southern Tonto Apache, and Northern Tonto Apache. Within each group

[1] For a fuller discussion of this definition, including maps showing the distribution of Western Apache groups and those living in Arizona who were not Western Apache, see Goodwin, 1942, pp. 1–62. In the middle of the 19th century, the people now called Western Apache were known by a variety of names (Coyoteros, White Mountain Apaches, etc.). Goodwin spent much time on this confusing problem and in his Appendix I (ibid., pp. 571–572) has prepared a list of terms by which the Western Apache groups were formerly known. To understand which groups are referred to in the early literature, this table is indispensable.

[2] In discussing the social divisions of the Western Apache, I have adopted Goodwin's (1942) terminology. Although slightly misleading at times (*group* vs. *local group*, etc.) it is otherwise extremely accurate and the product of extensive research.

were three to five smaller bands which, in turn, were subdivided into several local groups, these latter being the basic units upon which the social organization and government of the Western Apache were founded.[3]

Ever since 1871–73, when the United States Government began to interfere with the original balance of Western Apache culture by confining the people to the Fort Apache and San Carlos Reservations, the old distinctions between groups and bands have broken down. Similarly, the composition of local groups has been seriously altered. The matrilineal extended family, however, still preserves much of its old form, and the basic structure and function of the individual household has changed very little.

Before the coming of the White man, the Western Apache practiced a hunting and gathering economy. Wild plant foods such as mescal tubers, acorns, juniper berries, piñon nuts and yucca "fruit" were collected all year round, and big game (elk, deer, antelope, and bear) was hunted in the late spring and fall. Agriculture (beans, corn, and squash) was practiced sparingly. Although the modern economy revolves almost exclusively around cattle raising, the people still farm small plots of corn and beans, and continue to gather mescal tubers and acorns. Hunting is now greatly curtailed by reservation-imposed seasons.

Reservation life has brought about profound changes in religion. A system that once included ceremonies relative to warfare, hunting, and moving camp now centers on curing ceremonies and the girl's puberty rite. This is not to say that belief in the native religion has been abandoned. To the contrary, there is evidence to show that, despite strenuous efforts by missionaries to convert Apaches to Catholicism and other forms of Christianity, the incidence of native ceremonies has increased over the past decade or so. This may simply indicate that more people are getting "sick." But, more likely, it represents a trend toward the reacceptance of old religious practices which, for reasons not yet clearly understood, were considered inadequate around 1920–25 when nativistic movements swept across the Fort Apache and San Carlos Reservations.[4]

Speaking generally, belief in the old religion is found most commonly among persons of today's grandparental generation (aged 50–75 years). These people remember the "old days" clearly and adhere to many of the minute ritual proscriptions once practiced by everyone. A large portion of the parental generation (aged 25–50 years) also holds

[3] Groups, bands, etc. are described in great detail by Goodwin (ibid., pp. 13–192). His discussions are illustrated by numerous quotations from informants.

[4] For additional information on the nativistic cults which have sprung up since the Western Apache came into contact with Whites, see Goodwin, 1938, pp. 34–37, and Goodwin and Kaut, 1954.

to its belief in the native religion. A few individuals have joined the church but it is significant that these "converts" attend Apache ceremonies as regularly as prayer meetings.

Today's young people have mixed feelings. Some scoff openly at what they call the "stupid" religious beliefs of their elders; practically none embrace White religion. More aware than their parents of the benefits of White medical techniques, the young people rarely rely on native medicine men, who heal the sick by supernatural means.

CIBECUE

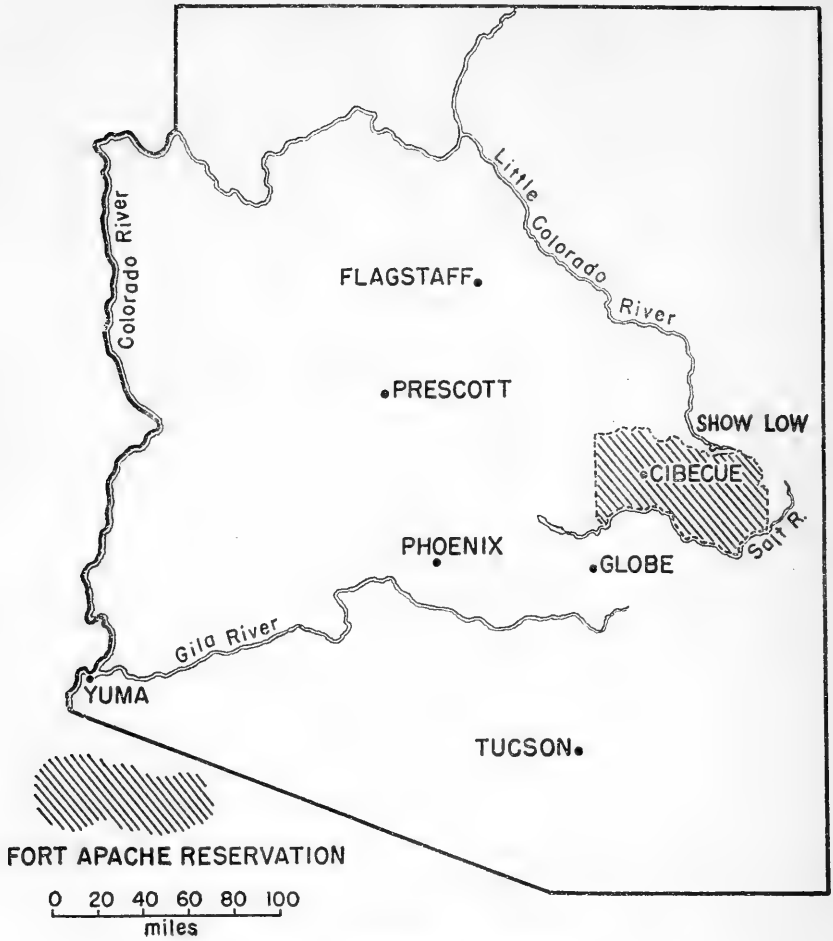
The community of Cibecue is located near the center of the Fort Apache Reservation in east-central Arizona (map 1). It is a small settlement of nearly 700 inhabitants whose dwellings are scattered on both sides of Cibecue Creek, a narrow stream originating in mountains to the north. The soil is red and not particularly fertile. Vegetation consists mostly of juniper, piñon, and ponderosa pine in the higher areas, and cottonwood along the creeks.

Not a great deal is known about the early history of the Cibecue Apache. Their first unwarlike relations with the Whites came in 1859, when they traveled to Camp Grant on the San Pedro River to draw rations. In 1875, the majority were forced to move south to San Carlos. Three years later, they returned to their homeland and, in 1881, engaged in the historic Cibecue Massacre during which a number of troops belonging to a regiment of the United States Sixth Cavalry under the command of General Crook were killed while attempting to arrest an Apache medicine man. As far as I have been able to determine, this encounter ended hostilities with the military.

A large number of Apaches now regard Cibecue as the most old-fashioned settlement on the reservation. The arguments used to support this opinion usually include one or more of the following:

1. A majority of the people at Cibecue still live in old-style grass wickiups. Comparatively few have built cabins.
2. Cibecue has more medicine men presently active than any other community.
3. More ceremonies are held in Cibecue than anywhere else.

Cibecue's conservatism would seem to be directly related to its geographical isolation. The nearest White town, Show Low, Ariz., is nearly 50 miles away. Few Indians have reason to travel there, and, as a result, Cibecue people rarely come into prolonged contact with White society. Two years ago, I drove a 10-year-old boy to Show Low; it was only the second time he had been there.



MAP 1.—Fort Apache Reservation.

FIELD METHODS AND DATA

When I began to live in Cibecue I was regarded as something of a curiosity. What could possibly lure a "rich" White man to Cibecue, the people wanted to know. Was he working for the Government? Why did he come alone, without wife or relatives? Why did he ask to be taught Apache words? And why was he so willing to give away cigarettes? At first, the Apache's attitude toward me was one of moderately hostile resignation. As long as I did nothing to interrupt their daily routine, I was left to my own devices.

However, as the people got used to my presence, they grew friendlier and less aloof. Before long I was driving them to other parts of the reservation, and was visiting their camps in Cibecue. Questions

about kinship terminology and clan organization were answered in a matter-of-fact manner, but inquiries about religion were generally brushed aside with "I don't know" or "it has always been that way." As the summer progressed, I began to herd cattle with Cibecue cowboys and, in this way, made several close friends who later turned into first-rate informants.

In Cibecue, I lived in the home of Dick Cooley, who is part Apache himself, and a stockman for the Cibecue cattle district. Mr. Cooley speaks fluent Apache and is known and trusted by Indians all over the reservation. I benefited greatly from my association with him.

When I returned to Cibecue in 1961 the people seemed glad to see me. They answered my questions willingly and were no longer reluctant to talk about religion. I continued to live with Mr. Cooley, offer transportation, and, though less frequently than during the previous year, work with the cowboys. To my surprise, I was able to pick up the language more rapidly than before and, obviously, this facilitated communication with Apaches who spoke no English. In addition, I was able to enlist the aid of a close friend as interpreter. My notebooks began to swell with detailed information on a wide variety of subjects. Although I never paid my informants with money, I frequently gave them "presents" of cigarettes and beer.

The data on which this paper is based were collected at Cibecue during the summer months of 1960 and 1961. During this time, I observed the preparations and performance of four girl's puberty rites. In addition, I had 57 long interviews (ranging from half an hour to 2 hours) about the ceremony with 16 different informants. All but two of these were over 40 years of age. Three were women. Following the method outlined by Kluckhohn (1944, p. 10), I used my most trusted informants as a check group against which to gage the testimonies of others. Five individuals (four men and a woman) comprised this test group. Of my 57 interviews, 29 were held with them.

Of approximately 170 pages of field notes bearing on the girl's puberty rite, I estimate that a little over one-third were written in the presence of informants, the rest being written immediately after interviews had concluded. Forty-seven conversations were carried on through an interpreter.

I was able to obtain what information I did because of a number of factors. Two of these, however, were of particular significance and deserve special mention here.

1. Apaches are more apt to speak candidly and truthfully about the girl's puberty rite than any other ceremony. The reason for this is that it is not concerned with sickness, a subject which the people fear greatly and are always reticent to mention.

2. Because of my age (21), I was able to ask the older people to "teach" me about the ceremony. In a very real sense this approach was in keeping with the Apache pattern of young men asking elders for instruction in the higher matters of religion.

APACHE WORDS

Apache words in the text are written in terms of the broad phonetic transcription indicated below. Phonemic interpretation awaits further investigation.

i=[I]
ih=[ɩ]
e=[ɛ]
eh=[e]
a=[ɑ]
ah=[χ]
ɔ=[c]
oh=[o]
u=[ʋ]
uh=[u]
p,t,k=voiceless stops
b,d,g=voiced stops
tz=[ʦ]
x=[ˣ]
ł=[λ]
ay=[aĩ]
v=nasalized vowel

PRELIMINARIES

At one point in history, probably not more than 70 years ago, almost every Western Apache girl had a puberty ceremony, or *na ih es* ('preparing her,' or 'getting her ready').[5] Today this is no longer true. In Cibecue, the ceremony is held only two or three times a year and, in a number of other settlements on the Fort Apache Reservation, it is not performed at all. Two reasons for this decline are readily apparent. First, as a result of inroads made on the traditional religion by missionaries, some Apaches no longer believe in the effectiveness of *na ih es*, that it will assure the pubescent girl, among other things, of long life and prosperity. However, this attitude is opposed by many older persons, notably those of the present grandparental generation, who still consider *na ih es* an extremely important ceremony, and one from which the entire community,

[5] Throughout Arizona, and in a great deal of the popular literature, *na ih es* is frequently referred to as the "sunrise dance," a term which Apaches themselves use when speaking to Whites.

as well as the pubescent girl, will benefit. A second reason that *na ih es* is held less and less is its prohibitive cost. As will be shown below, the amount of money and work required is staggering, and this condition makes the ceremony impossible for most people. In fact, Apaches say "only rich people give *na ih es*."

The decision to hold *na ih es* is usually made before a girl has her first menses. When she is 11 or 12 years old, her parents and grandparents discuss the possibilities of having a dance. If, as occasionally happens, parents are hesitant, a grandparent will supply the incentive to follow the "old ways." One informant recalled:

> I wasn't sure about having a dance. My wife wanted to because she had one when she was a girl. Now, some people think it's old-fashioned and the medicine men don't have the power. It costs a lot, too. We didn't know what to do. Then it came close to when my daughter was to bleed for the first time, so we had to get going. Then my mother came to my camp and said, "I hear you won't give my granddaughter *na ih es*. Why don't you have her one? I am an old lady but I am still strong. *Na ih es* did that." We decided it was good to have *na ih es*.

Another man said:

> I wanted my daughter to have one [*na ih es*]. Some people say it doesn't mean anything, but I think it is good. It sure was good for the old people. Maybe they had more power than today.

Still another informant, of a different opinion, related:

> Two years ago, my daughter had her first [period] and some people said I should have *na ih es* for her. But I don't believe in those superstitions so I said no.

A girl's parents will not contemplate *na ih es* unless they can afford it. Although clan relatives relieve some of the burden with gifts of food and money, the financial expense of the ceremony falls in large part on members of the girl's extended family.

A father, who recently gave *na ih es* for his daughter, said:

> Me and my wife started saving money about 6 months before she [his daughter] had her first [period]. I saved on gas and my wife didn't buy as many things at the store [trading post]. My brother and his wife tried to save a little. So did my wife's parents, but they didn't save very much. We did most of it. When she had her first we had about $200 saved up, but it wasn't enough and just before the dance my wife had to borrow another $50 from her brother to buy flour and sugar with. It was a long time 'til we could pay him back.

Relations between the girl's family and their blood kin must be unstrained because, without the contributions of kinsmen, there would be too much work for an extended family, even a large one, to accommodate. If, for any reason, serious tensions exist between them, plans for the dance are postponed until the difficulties can be resolved. If this is impossible, the idea of holding *na ih es* may be completely abandoned.

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An informant commented on this problem in the following way:

When I have *na ih es* for my daughter, I had trouble at first. A lot of people were mad at my wife because she got drunk one night and got into a fight with my brother's wife. She hit her with a bottle and had to go to jail in Whiteriver for 60 days. They said to me: "We won't help you get ready for *na ih es* because your wife drinks too much and acts crazy." Even my clan relatives were mad. They said: "Why does your wife fight with your brother's wife? He has been friendly with her. It is because she drinks all the time. Maybe she would get drunk and fight with us." I was really scared for a while, because I didn't know if anybody would help us at the dance. Then my wife apologized and cut down on drinking, and we got help. But some people were still mad, and did nothing for us.

Occasionally, nonrelatives offer to help, particularly when the dance ground is being prepared. It is rare, however, for persons who are not related in some way to one or more members of the girl's extended family to take a large part in the preliminaries.

One man said:

Relatives do most of the work, but sometimes friends help out. They know it's good to help, and they might get some food for helping. A friend of mine let me use his pickup [truck] three times to haul groceries from Whiteriver. My wife borrowed two *te tza* [baskets] from her friend. Neither of these people are related to us, but they just wanted to help out. When they get the place [dance ground] ready and have social dancing until midnight, young men come and work during the day. They go to the dance at night. I guess that's why they do it.

Another informant commented:

People who aren't related to the girl don't work as hard as her relatives. If you help your relatives out, then when you want something they will help you.

In most instances, no ceremony of any kind accompanies a girl's first menstruation. However, sometimes an elderly person, often a maternal grandmother, will sprinkle *hadn tin* ('yellow powder') in the four cardinal directions, saying to the pubescent girl as she does so: "It is good this way. Now you will have *na ih es*." [6]

If the girl is too shy to tell her parents of her first menstruation, she may inform her grandmother who conveys the news. It sometimes happens that a girl is not told that she can have *na ih es* until after her first period has occurred.

When she has her first one, they may tell her about giving *na ih es*. They say it will make her strong and keep her from getting sick and make her lead a good life and stay out of trouble. Sometimes they don't tell her that she has to dance in front of all the people, because if she is bashful she might not want the dance. But most girls that age have seen *na ih es* and know about it. They say no at first because they are bashful. But they change their minds.

[6] *Hadn tin* is made from corn and/or cattail pollen. It is ubiquitous at all Apache religious ceremonies, and is often called "holy" powder.

When, for one reason or another, a girl decides that she does not want to have a dance, she makes her feelings known and, if she persists, plans for *na ih es* are discontinued. The father of an unwilling girl said:

My daughter didn't want a dance. She said she was bashful and that her friends would tease her. So my wife talked to her, but she didn't change her mind. My wife and my wife's parents were sure mad. We never had the dance. It wouldn't be good to make her have the dance if she didn't want it.

It is not until the girl has her first period that actual preparations are begun. With the girl's consent to participate willingly in *na ih es*, enough money to finance a large portion of the expenses, and amicable relations with relatives, the girl's parents embark on preliminaries.

NDEH GUHYANEH

('wise people')

Immediately after a girl's first menstruation, her parents select a group of older persons, called *ndeh guhyaneh*, with whom it is decided when and where the dance will be held and, most important of all, who will be the girl's *na ihł esn* ('she makes her ready,' 'she prepares her'), or sponsor. *Ndeh guhyaneh* usually consist of at least one set of grandparents and other close blood kin; but it is by no means uncommon for nonrelatives, respected for their age and familiarity with ceremonial proceedings, to be chosen. Normally, there are from five to eight *ndeh guhyaneh*, the parents of the pubescent girl included. Said one man:

When we have *na ih es* we had eight *ndeh guhyaneh*. There was my wife's father and her oldest brother and my brother, too. We also asked PP [a medicine man who does not know the songs for *na ih es*] and his wife to help us. We asked him because he is old and his wife is a very good lady. He has seen lots of *na ih es*, even though he doesn't do that [particular ceremony]. His wife would know about who is good for *na ihł esn*.

One man, usually a grandfather of the girl, is appointed head or *nan tan* (literally 'chief,' but here meaning 'foreman' or 'boss') of the proceedings; he is second in command to the girl's father. His main functions are: (1) To supervise preparations for the dance, particularly those concerned with clearing the dance ground and erecting temporary dwellings there; (2) to act as a speaker for the girl's family in offering the role of *na ihł esn* to the woman nominated by the *ndeh guhyaneh*; and (3) to give a speech before *na ih es* reminding all present of the solemnity of the occasion and cautioning them to be on their best behavior.

The problem of selecting a good day on which to hold *na ih es* is not a pressing one for the *ndeh guhyaneh*. Regardless of when the

girl has her first period, the ceremony is held in July or August, usually the latter. (It is interesting to note that parents welcome their daughter's first menstruation in the fall or winter because this gives them ample time to save up enough money for the dance.) The Apache give two main reasons for preferring the summer months. First, the evenings and nights are warm—ideal for the social dancing which accompanies *na ih es*. Second, more people, notably high school students, will be in Cibecue to attend the dance during the summer than at any other time. Therefore, the *ndeh guhyaneh* merely decide on an appropriate weekend, which must then be approved by the tribal council at Whiteriver.[7] One informant said:

> I wanted a weekend when there are lots of people. We [the *ndeh guhyaneh*] talked about it for a while and thought the weekend of the rodeo in Cibecue was good. There would be lots of people there from Whiteriver and Cedar Creek. Some San Carlos people might come too. Some White cowboys ride in that rodeo and they come sometimes. I went to see the tribal council and they said it was o.k. to have it then.

Once a date has been selected, the task of picking a site at which to hold *na ih es* confronts the *ndeh guhyaneh*. Necessary requisites include an abundant source of water close at hand; proximity to a large supply of wood; and ample space for the dance area, the dwellings of the girl's close kin, and the close kin of *na ihł esn*. If the girl's own camp or dwelling place is lacking, a location outside the community is chosen, usually to the north (where there is more wood) and near Cibecue Creek.

One woman, who had given *na ih es* for her daughter, recalled:

> Our camp was no good for *na ih es*. It wasn't big enough to have a dance, and there wasn't flat ground there. So we had it at "where the road crosses the creek." That was a good place. There wasn't many stones or weeds there and it was easy to make a place to dance. Trees were so we could use them as part of the shades and the places we kept the *tulipay*[8] and groceries. [Another thing] was that the cattle were close to that place so it was easy to get them to be butchered. . . .

SELECTION OF A MEDICINE MAN

Another responsibility of the *ndeh guhyaneh* is the selection of a medicine man or *di' yin* ('one who has power') to sing *na ih es*.[9] Here, a unique problem faces the people of Cibecue because there are no medicine men left alive in the community who know the ceremony. Therefore, a medicine man must be secured from elsewhere.

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[7] Practically all large ceremonials, such as *na ih es*, are held on weekends, enabling persons who hold jobs outside of Cibecue to return and attend them. A favorite weekend for *na ih es* is July 4, when an all-Indian rodeo is held.

[8] *Tulipay* is a native liquor made from the fermented pulp of mashed corn shoots.

[9] There are a few female shamans on the Apache reservations today, but these never sing *na ih es*

Na ih es is performed alone (as opposed to being combined with a second ceremony called *nja njleesh,* meaning 'she is painted') in only two other communities on the Fort Apache Reservation besides Cibecue—Cedar Creek and Carrizo. The two medicine men from Cedar Creek who know *na ih es* are thought well of in Cibecue. They are highly respected for their strong power, which, in this case, refers to their ability to make *na ih es* effective. On the other hand, there is only one medicine man in Carrizo who knows the ceremony, and, for reasons which I was unable to ascertain, he is much less popular. Consequently, for the past few years, *na ih es* has been performed in Cibecue by Cedar Creek medicine men. Cibecue Apaches are quick to say that the Cedar Creek version of *na ih es* differs little from the way their own used to be performed. There are only a few minor variations and these are attributed to the medicine man's individual style, rather than to significant regional differences in ideology. Said one man from Cibecue:

> They [the Cedar Creek people] do it almost like we do. When LA [a Cedar Creek medicine man] comes over here it's not hardly any different from the man who sang here. Some of the songs are a little different but not many. It means all the same thing. It's never bothered people here. They know that LA sure has got power. Besides, LA was born in Cibecue. He just learned [the songs for *na ih es*] from a Cedar Creek medicine man.

Once a medicine man has been chosen by the *ndeh guhyaneh* it remains for the girl's father to visit him and ask him to sing. This may be done as long as a month after the girl's initial menstruation, but is usually taken care of much sooner. First, the girl's father acquires certain items to be given to the medicine man. These include the tail feather of an eagle, to the base of which a turquoise is attached with deer sinew, and a small container of holy powder. With these in hand, and enough money to pay the medicine man's fee, the father sets out early in the morning. He must arrive at the medicine man's camp before sunrise.

> I got there real early and waited in my pickup until the sun came up. I didn't see anything so I just sat there. Then his wife came out of her wickiup and threw some water away she had in a cooking pot. She saw the truck but she didn't say anything and went back inside. Then the medicine man came out and went behind the wickiup to make water. When he came back I got out of my truck and went to where he was. I took all the stuff with me that I would give him. He had sung *na ih es* for my daughter 4 years ago, so I already knew him and how much he would charge. When I got to where he was sitting he held out his left hand, inside [palm] up. He held it like this and I opened the jar and took out some powder. I made a cross with it on his hand in the four directions. Then I put the feather on his hand with the blue stone [turquoise] where the cross came together. Then after I did this he took the feather and put it in his pocket. Then I took out $50 from my wallet and put it in his hand. Then I said, "Will you sing *na ih es* for my daughter?" He said, "Yes." Then I told him what day

it was [to be held] and he said that was good and that he would be there 2 days early, so to have everything ready then. Then he put the $50 in his pocket. I went home after that and told *ndeh guhyaneh* what he said. They were glad he said yes and would sing.

SELECTION OF *NA IHŁ ESN*

Ndeh guhyaneh also choose a woman to be the pubescent girl's 'sponsor' or *na ihł esn*. The most important criterion for a *na ihł esn* is that she belong to a clan which is not related to the girl's clan or to the girl's father's clan, or to any clan to which these are related. In order to understand this proscription, one must know something of the relationships between clans.

A clan is made up of persons who consider themselves related to each other through the maternal line but who are unable to trace the specific genealogical ties involved in these relationships. In the same way, every clan has assumed matrilineal relationships with certain other clans. Together, these related clans comprise what Goodwin (1942) calls a "clan set." Restating the above proscription in these terms, a *na ihł esn* must come from a clan which is not related to any clan in the girl's clan set or to any clan in the girl's father's clan set (fig. 1). The sociological importance of this limitation will become apparent later on, but for the time being it is instructive to see how it applies in terms of actual Western Apache clans.

On August 20, 1961, *na ih es* was held for W.G. whose clan is *iya aiye* ('*iya ai* people').[10] *Iya aiye* is related to *t ua gaidn* ('white water people'), *t udil xili* ('black water people'), *t e na dolja ge* ('*t e na dolja ge* people'), *tset e an* ('rock-jutting-into-water people'), *nd nde zn* ('tall people'), *ducdo e* ('fly-infested-soup people'), *tc ilda ditl uge* ('bushes-sloping-up-growing-thickly people'), *iya hadjin* ('mesquites-extending-out-darkly people'), *na da bilna ditin* ('mescal-with-road-across people') and *sai e digaidn* ('line-of-white-sand-joining people'). Thus, *na ihł esn* could not belong to any of these clans, because all of them are members of the girl's clan set. Similarly, *na ihł esn* could not be related to any of the clans which made up W.G.'s father's clan set, which included *na wadesgijn* ('between-two-hills people'), *t i sle dnt i nd* ('cottonwoods joining people'), *tc ilndi yena dn aiye* ('walnut trees people'), *k aintci dn* ('reddened willows people'), *t e go tsudn* ('yellow-streak-running-out-from-the-water people'), *t i sk adn* ('cottonwood standing people'), *sag na* [meaning unclear], *h k aye* [meaning unclear], *na gon an* ('bridge across people'), *k isde stci na ditin* ('trail-through-horizontally-red-alders people'), *gad o ahn* ('juniper-standing-alone people'), *tca tci dn* ('red-rock-strata people'). Thus, including all the clans in these 2 clan sets, there were 26 clans from which *na ihł esn*

[10] Clan names are here written in accordance with Goodwin's (1942) orthographic system.

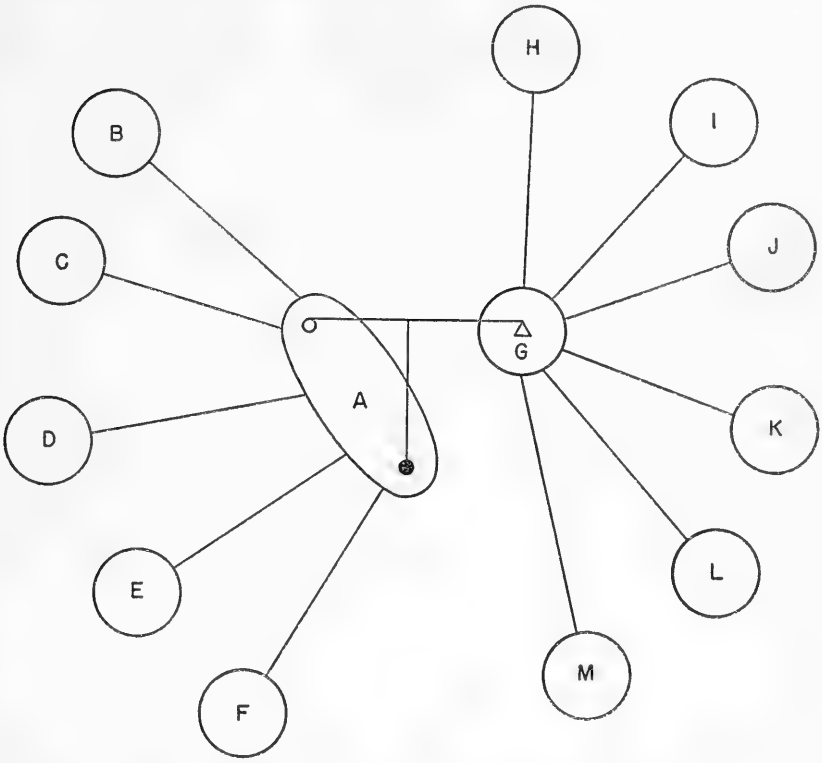


FIGURE 1.—Clan relationships. The pubescent girl's clan (and her mother's clan) is Clan A, which is related to Clans B–F. Clans A–F make up the girl's clan set. The girl's father's clan is Clan G which is related to Clans H–M. Clans G–M make up his clan set. *Na ihł esn* must come from a clan which is not related to any of the clans in these two clan sets.

could not come. The woman selected was from *ci tc iltco sik a dn* ('Gambel's-oak-standing people').

Once the *ndeh guhyaneh* have singled out all the women in the community who are eligible (by clan) for the position of *na ihł esn*, they make their final decision on the basis of character and wealth. Apaches say that character is the most important, but I recall one case where it was freely admitted that the *na ihł esn* was a "bad person." She had been chosen, I was told, because she was rich enough to afford the expenses entailed. In all other instances, however, the *na ihł esn* was a woman of highly esteemed reputation. The following statements indicate the qualities on which such reputations are commonly based.

Na ihł esn must be a good person. She must be strong and work hard and never be lazy. Also she shouldn't drink too much or act crazy. She shouldn't say mean things that will make other people mad at her and fight with her.

. . . must be friendly with people and not make them fight with her. She should be pretty old and wise about things. All the time she says nice things to people.

. . . It's good if she had a *na ih es* when she was a girl herself. That way she is wise and knows about the things in *na ih es* and it makes her strong and healthy and easy to get along with. If she had *na ih es* she won't act crazy or drink too much or get in trouble or bother people. That's why it is best to get someone who had *na ih es* to be *na ihł esn*.[11]

. . . should not be sick very much but strong so she can work hard and make a good clean camp. It's good if she has lots of children. Part of *na ih es* is so the girl has children easily and won't die [in childbirth].

Ih' tsos ba hihł tza ('eagle feather, it is given') is the Apache phrase used to describe the procedure of asking a woman to be *na ihł esn*. The *nan tan* goes to the woman's camp before sunrise and asks her to fill the role. If she and her husband (who usually makes the final decision) accept, the *nan tan* gives them an eagle feather, turquoise, and holy powder. Then he invites them to come to the camp of the girl's parents—to drink tulipay and discuss details.

SHI TI KE

('my good friend')

The meeting after *ih' tsos ba hihł tza* is an extremely important event. It inaugurates a formal relationship between the girl, her parents, and *na ihł esn* and her husband—a relationship which is binding for life, and one which is marked by the adoption of hitherto unused terms of address. Henceforth, the girl and her parents call *na ihł esn* and her husband by the term *shi ti ke*, and vice versa. By extension, *shi ti ke* means 'all that I have belongs to you,' and this principle constitutes the basis of a new set of reciprocal obligations incumbent on the persons involved. In fine, the *shi ti ke* relationship means that they must help each other for whatever reason and whenever the need may arise. The significance of this bond lies in the fact that it is almost as demanding as an actual blood relationship. Said one informant:

When you call someone *shi ti ke* you always help him out. It's good to have someone like that because he will help you. When my baby girl died last year, the woman who was my wife's *na ihł esn* sure helped us out. She gave us food and made her brother kill a beef for us. My wife gives her presents now and then too. Last year I think my wife gave her some cloth for a dress. Whenever you get in trouble it's good to have someone like that. There was a man who had a son who got put in jail in Whiteriver on a fornication charge. The woman who was

[11] My data show that it is not imperative for *na ihł esn* to have had *na ih es* herself. However, a definite preference is expressed for women who have.

na ihł esn for that man's daughter gave him some money to help bail the boy out of jail.

Once a woman has agreed to be *na ihł esn*, she prepares for *na ih es* in much the same way as the girl's parents, relying heavily on the support of close kin. Since *na ihł esn* need not concern herself with the preparation of the dance ground, her major task is to procure enough food to feed her relatives during the ceremonial proceedings, and to give the girl's relatives a large feast on the day before *na ih es*.

NA E TLANH

('have drinking,' or 'goes before drinking')

About a month prior to *na ih es*, the girl's family, also concerned about an adequate food supply, hold *na e tlanh*. This is an informal affair at which the girl's family presents clan relatives (and relatives of related clans) with tulipay, in return for which the latter promise to contribute meat or groceries (fig. 2). A clan member need not state precisely what he will contribute, or even how much, but it is understood that in accepting the tulipay he obligates himself to reciprocate with a fairly substantial gift.

Usually, *na e tlanh* is held at midday at the girl's camp. Inside a shade,[12] gallon cans filled with tulipay are set out in rows. When enough relatives have arrived, the girl's father stands up and starts the proceedings with a short speech, an example of which follows:

I appreciate your coming here at this time. I asked you all to come over for drinks so you would help us out by buying groceries. You were not forced to come, you were invited. You came of your own accord, because you wanted to help out in the dance. It has always been done this way—helping each other out for the dance, we relatives.

After this, the tulipay is distributed, and the rest of the afternoon is spent drinking it and talking about the forthcoming dance.[13]

Thus, having enlisted a medicine man, appointed a *na ihł esn*, inaugurated the *shi ti ke* relationship, and assured themselves of the support of relatives, the girl's family turns its attention to preparing the dance ground.

PREPARATIONS

Apaches attach a great deal of importance to ceremonial preparations, and negligence in carrying them out is sternly rebuked. To a large extent, the effectiveness of a ritual is thought to be dependent on its being flawlessly performed, in precise coincidence with its established pattern. Anything which disturbs or alters this pattern

[12] Shades, in which the women do most of their work, are large rectangular structures, made from cedar posts and cottonwood boughs. They closely resemble Spanish ramadas.

[13] *Na e tlanh* is a wonderful excuse for the men to get drunk, and they almost always take advantage of it.

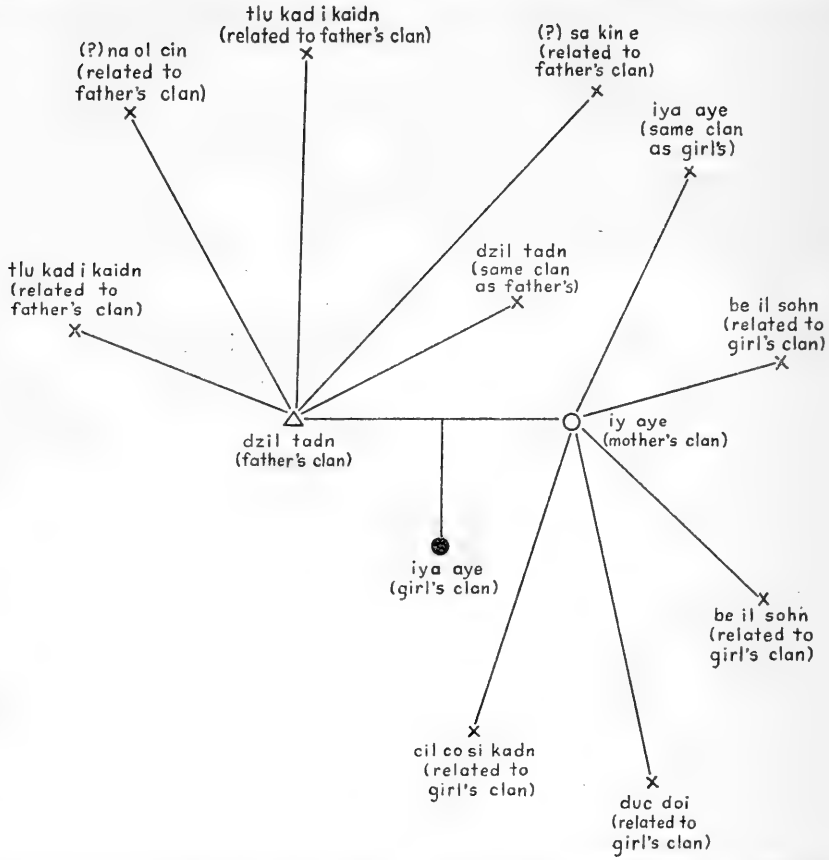


FIGURE 2.—Clan relatives at *na e tlanh*. Diagram showing clan relatives (to the pubescent girl and her parents) at a *na e tlanh* held in Cibecue on July 15, 1961. Note: Clan names are written here in accordance with Goodwin's (1942) orthographic system.

is inauspicious and feared; it is taken as a sign that something is out of order. For example, if, as sometimes happens at curing ceremonies, there is not enough food to go around, those present become nervous. "Something is wrong," they say, "there should be food." It is important to view the elaborate preparations which *na ih es* and other ceremonies entail as the Apaches do—as precautions taken against the occurrence of incidents, such as the one mentioned above, which inject an unexpected and unwelcome element of disorder into a ceremony and, in so doing, reduce the possibilities of its success. One man said:

Everything should be ready before it starts. You shouldn't have to do any work while it's going on. There should be enough food and tulipay for everybody,

and the place should be clean. I was at a sing one time and they hadn't cleaned up the place. There were bottles and paper and tin cans lying around. The medicine man picked up a can and threw it away real hard. He was mad because the place wasn't clean. He sang but he was mad. They should have cleaned up.

THE DANCE GROUND

As related in the section on *ndeh guhyaneh*, *na ih es* may be held at the pubescent girl's own camp, or if this location does not offer the requisite features, elsewhere, usually some distance beyond the residential limits of Cibecue. Apaches prefer to give *na ih es* at home because less work is required since it is not necessary to build wickiups, shades, or food shelters. A tent may be set up, or a shade enlarged, to accommodate the large stores of food but, ordinarily, the family structures suffice for this purpose.

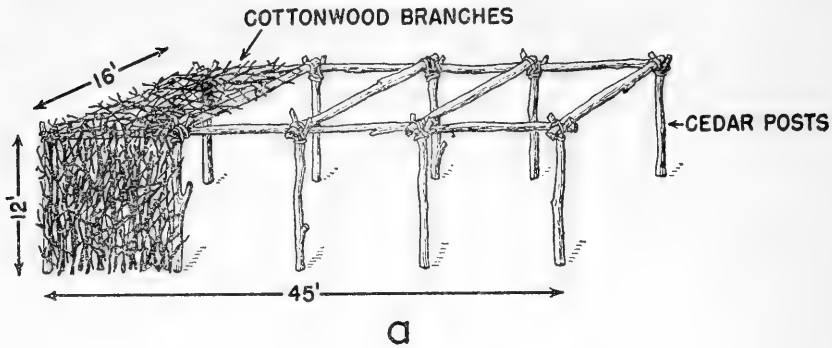
At a site beyond the community, four to seven structures are erected. These always include a semipermanent wickiup in which the girl and the members of her family live until 4 days after *na ih es*, large shades in which great quantities of food are prepared, and small corrallike food shelters for the storage of food, tulipay, etc. (fig. 3).

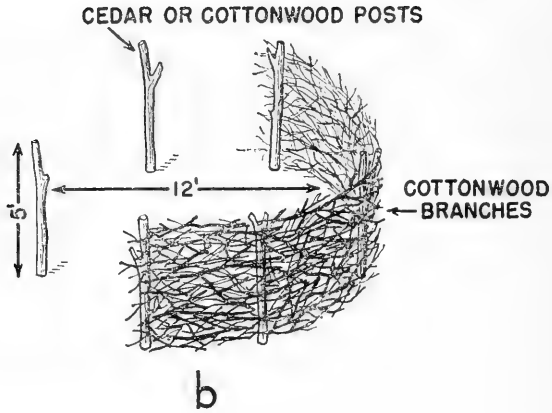
Characteristically, these structures are built in two separate groups, always some distance apart, and occasionally facing each other across the dance area (fig. 4). One such camp (at the minimum consisting of one cooking shade and one food shelter) is used by *na ihł esn* and her kin, the other by the relatives of the pubescent girl. All preparations are in the hands of the latter, and *na ihł esn* does not arrive (nor do any of her relatives) at the dance ground until her shades and food shelters have been built.

The following account, which describes in some detail preparations for a dance ground located about 2 miles north of Cibecue, is quite typical and indicates clearly the three stages through which the work progresses. Shades and food shelters for the girl and her relatives are built, and then those for *na ihł esn* and her kin. Finally, about a week before *na ih es*, the dance area is cleared, firewood hauled, and food prepared. By the beginning of the last stage, *na ihł esn* has arrived at the site with her relatives and *bi goh ji tal* ('half-night dance'), which is discussed later in this chapter, has begun.

Stage One—July 17, 1960:

I took my family up there and the first night we slept in tents. The next day my son and me and my wife made a big wickiup for my family. It had to be big because I have lots of children. When that was finished, it was good for the whole family. The next day, two of my brothers came up there and so did my wife's father and my parents. The brothers didn't spend the night, but the old people did, and they moved into the tents we had been using before. We didn't do much that day. After that, when my brothers came back, we started





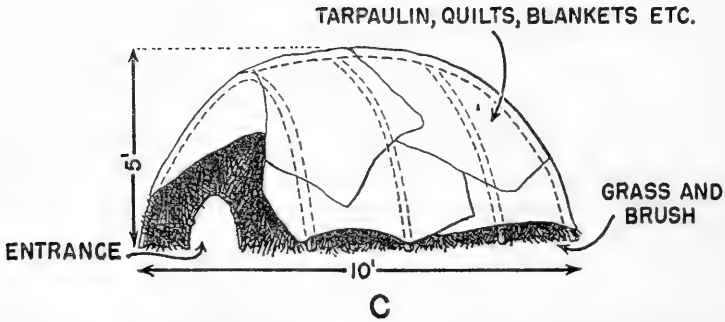


FIGURE 3.—*Na ih es* structures. *a*, Cooking shade; *b*, food shelter; *c*, wickiup.

building a big shade for cooking and making tulipay. It sure was a big one—we had lots to do. We had to get long posts and there weren't any close by, so my son and two brothers took my pickup and went to get some up by White Springs.

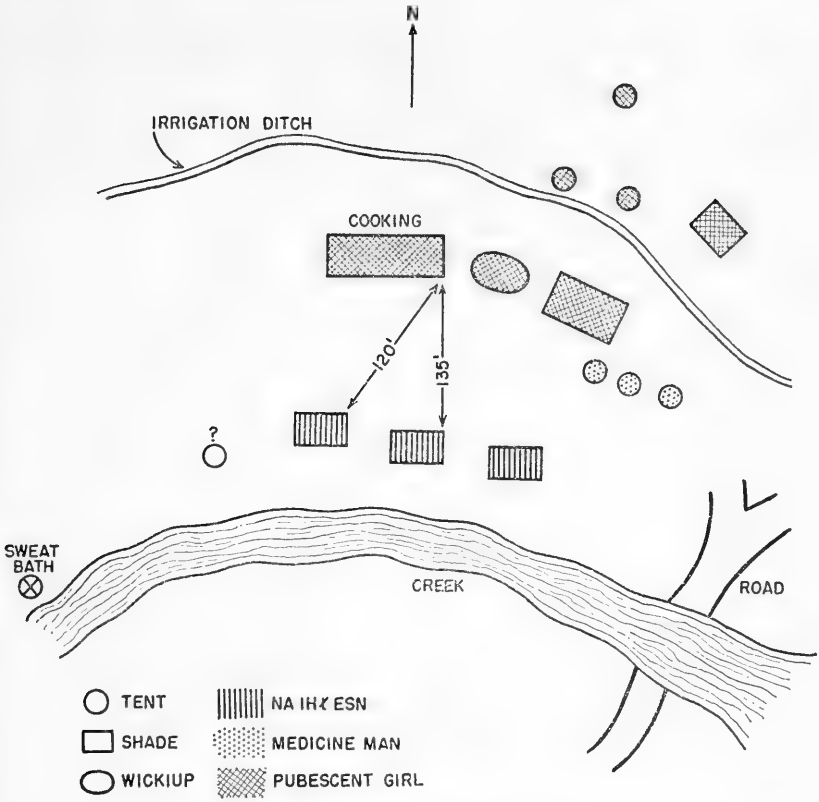


FIGURE 4.—*Na ih es* dance ground.

They cut down a lot of trees and made them the right length and brought them back. Then we made the shade. The men put in the posts and made the top and the women made the sides mostly. It sure took us a long time to make that shade. About a week, I think. We didn't do it all alone because some more relatives came and helped us out. My wife's brother and his wife came, and so did my sister and her husband. They didn't have to come. I didn't ask them. But they sure wanted to help me out. All those people went home at night but they came back in the morning. We always gave them some food and tulipay when they finished working. When that big shade was all over, we started on food shelters. They're easy to make, because you don't need big logs for posts. We made two of them in about 2 days, but we took it easy. After that we brought some food up there. We didn't bring all we bought for *na ih es*, just enough to last until *bi goh ji tal*. About this time my cross-cousin went to see what yearlings we should butcher. He and some others got them and put them in the bull pasture by Cowboy Springs. We didn't butcher until 2 days before *na ih es* so we left them there.

Stage Two—July 30, 1960:

Our camp was finished up there and more people came to help us make shades for *na ihl esn*. We built them on the other side of the dance area from where

ours were. It's usually like this when you have *na ih es* out of Cibecue. I don't know why it is. We made a big shade for *na ihl esn* to stay in and a big shade for cooking too. That shade wasn't as big as ours because they don't have so many people to help with cooking. After we made these my cross-cousin said we should build another one because *na ihl esn* had lots of people coming with her. So we did. Over there we didn't make food shelters. Just covered-over places inside the shades. That took a long time and we sure had to get a lot of wood. All along other people helped. My brother came from Whiteriver with his son. He only stayed 2 days but his son didn't go home. My wife's brother came too. He's pretty old but he can still work hard. He is still strong. He didn't stay there at night, but we gave him food and tulipay when he went home. After that, I went to *na ihl esn's* camp [in Cibecue] and told her that we were ready. She came there the next day with her husband and about 20 other people. They were her relatives. I knew most of them because they live in Cibecue, but some had come from San Carlos.

Stage Three—August 9, 1960; 6 days before *na ih es*:

Then we had a lot of people up there, and the work got a little easier. We cleared away all the weeds and stones from where they would sing and dance at *bi goh ji tal*. We needed lots of firewood and the men did that with pickups. The women put the food and candy away and made tulipay. Pretty soon everything was ready. All we had to do was make a tent for the medicine man and we did that 2 days before he came up there from Cedar Creek. We had *bi goh ji tal* every night, and there was lots of dancing. One night everybody got drunk and my cousin got into a fight with a boy from San Carlos. He didn't get hurt and we stopped the fight. I went and got groceries twice from Show Low and once from Whiteriver. We had lots of flour and coffee and sugar and potatoes. So we were just about ready. Two days before *na ih es* I went to Cedar Creek and got the medicine man and his wife.

A dance ground in preparation is a scene of great activity. Hauling wood or unloading food from pickup trucks, the men joke constantly and there is much laughter. Women, some with babies in cradleboards strapped to their backs, put the finishing touches on the shades or bend over their manos and metates grinding corn shoots into pulp for tulipay. Young children race about wildly playing tag and lassoing dogs. The older people, always keeping somewhat apart from the others, watch the proceedings quietly, occasionally calling out bits of advice. Few activities bring so many relatives together in one place and the atmosphere is one of relaxation and congeniality. The bonds of blood kinship are reinforced with the bond of a common religious purpose.

BI GOH JI TAŁ

('half-night dance')

Apaches do not have a phrase in their language precisely equivalent to "social dancing." However, when talking with Whites, they use it to describe the series of dances which begin 4 or 5 nights before *na ih es*, and which are held every night up until the eve of the ceremony.

The Apache word for one of these affairs is *bi goh ji tał*. It is so called because, unlike ceremonies designed to cure the sick, it does not last all night, ending at midnight or shortly afterward.

The kind of dancing at *bi goh ji tał* is exactly like that which accompanies most curing ceremonies. But, in the strict sense of the word, *bi goh ji tał* is not a religious ceremony. It has no connection with a specific body of songs (songs from different ceremonies are sung interchangeably) and, more indicatively, a medicine man does not sing. Social dances are given for enjoyment, and are a primary way in which the father of the pubescent girl rewards all those persons who have helped in the preparation of the dance ground.

After darkness, a large bonfire is started in the middle of the dance area, and the 15–30 men who take turns leading the songs and drumming sit down on logs placed nearby.[14] Most of these are older men who have witnessed many ceremonies, and have memorized some of the songs, which they like to sing. It is by no means unusual, however, for younger men, eager to display their vocal talents before a large number of people, to join in the singing and occasionally even initiate a song.

At *bi goh ji tał*, as at all ceremonies where there is social dancing, women select partners. Unmarried girls may shyly ask a boy to dance, or tap him gently on the shoulder instead. Married women, on the other hand, are seldom so reticent. Usually, they simply grasp the wrist of the man with whom they wish to dance and, laughing as they do so, drag him toward the fire. A married woman dancing with a man other than her husband is considered humorous in its irregularity. Very often, spectators will "joke" with a man or woman whose spouse is dancing with someone else by saying: "You better watch out. Your wife [husband] is dancing with another man [woman]. I don't think she likes you any more. Pretty soon she will run away from home."

In social dancing, an individual simply locks elbows with a partner (male or female) at his side who may or may not have locked elbows with someone else. In this way, lines of dancers are formed, consisting of from two to eight or nine persons. Then, in time with the beat of the drums, four or five steps are taken forward, the dancers bouncing lightly on the balls of their feet. Immediately following the last step forward, four or five steps are taken backward and diagonally to the left (fig. 5). Because of the diagonal direction of the backward steps, the line does not move back and forth in the same place. Instead, it slowly circles the fire. At a *bi goh ji tał* attended by many people, there

[14] The drums used at *bi goh ji tał* are metal cooking kettles across which are stretched pieces of buckskin or canvas, secured in place with strips of rubber from discarded inner tubes. Very resonant, they are struck with a small branch, one end of which is looped over and tied with a piece of deer sinew or string.

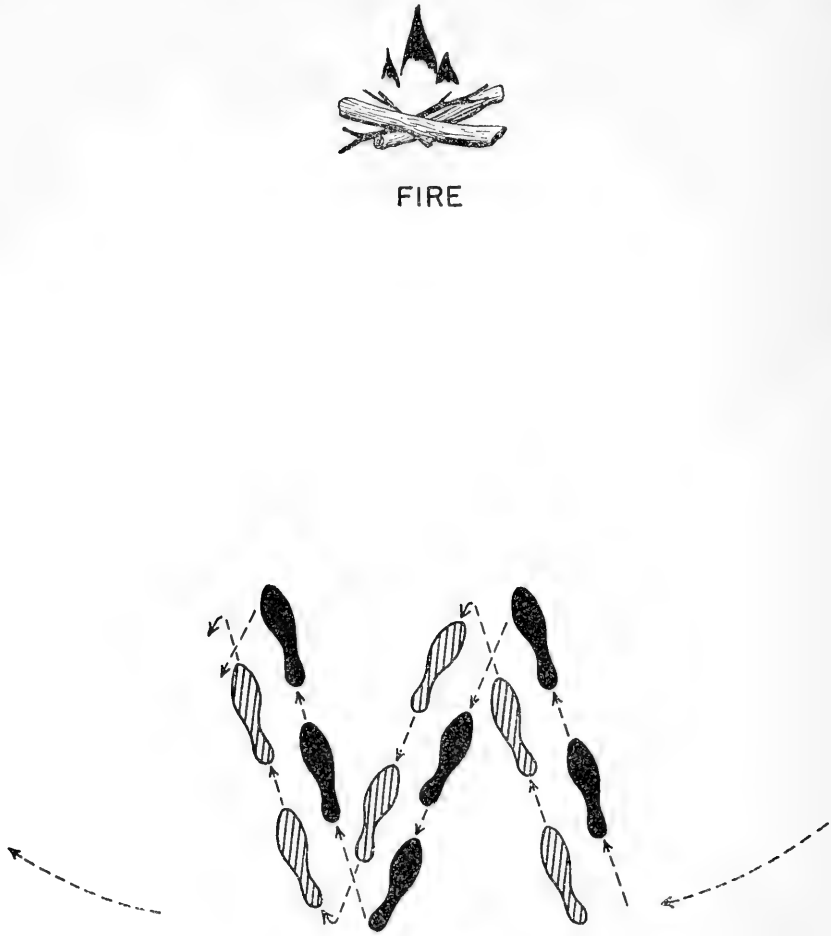


FIGURE 5.—Social dancing.

may be as many as 10 or 12 long lines of dancers. Not infrequently, one line, moving backward, collides with another line going forward. This is expected. It is not harshly criticized and usually causes much laughter.

For unmarried persons, *bi goh ji tal* is a time for courting. Boys and girls arrive at the dance with several members of their own sex, but very little time lapses before they have either paired off or formed dance lines. Older Apaches say that much lovemaking goes on at *bi goh ji tal*. It is easy for the younger people to get liquor, they say, and when slightly drunk, their inhibitions dissolve. I have no way of knowing whether or not this is true, but several things suggest its possibility. First, young people, particularly girls, find it easy to

escape from the watchful eyes of parents and relatives. Second, tulipay and beer are easily obtained. Third, because there are so many people at *bi goh ji tał*, and so much noise and activity, it is easy to wander away from the dance ground unnoticed.

Although *bi goh ji tał* is a festive event, serious trouble can result from too much drinking. Violent quarrels and fights may occur, a source of deep concern to all the people directly connected with *na ih es*. The girl's father and *na ihł esn* try to anticipate trouble, but often this is impossible; they are glad when the last *bi goh ji tał* comes to a close.

Throughout the preparation of the dance ground, the pubescent girl has been inconspicuous. She may help with the cooking, and dance a little at *bi goh ji tał*, but she does not exert herself. *Na ih es* is near and she has been told to conserve her strength.

THE DAY BEFORE *NA IH ES*

On the day before *na ih es*, four important events take place at or close to the dance ground. In order of their occurrence, these are:

Gish ih zha ha aldeh ('cane, it is made')—a sweat bath, held in the morning, which is attended by male relatives of the pubescent girl and *na ihł esn*, and at which the medicine man, assisted by two or three old men, makes the ritual paraphernalia for *na ih es*.

Nił sla ih ka ('food, exchanged')—a substantial gift of prepared food, presented in the early afternoon to the relatives of the pubescent girl by those of *na ihł esn*. The following day, directly after *na ih es*, the girl's relatives reciprocate by making a similar gift to *na ihł esn*.

Bi keh ihl ze' ('she is dressed up')—a short ceremony, at dusk, at which the medicine man sings four songs and, with the help of *na ihł esn*, presents the pubescent girl with the paraphernalia she carries and wears during *na ih es*.

Bi til tih ('night before dance')—a half-night dance, differing from *bi goh ji tał* in that the medicine man sings 12 or more songs, and the pubescent girl joins in the dancing, fully clothed in the costume she wears for *na ih es*.

GISH IH ZHA HA ALDEH

('cane, it is made')

The Apache sweat bath—called *ta chih*—is by no means associated only with the preparation of paraphernalia for *na ih es*. It is held on many occasions, sometimes purely for enjoyment, but usually to get clean before a major religious ceremony. Regardless of its purposes, the procedure at *ta chih* never varies.

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Four to six men, stripped of all clothing except their shorts, enter a specially prepared sweat house where one of them causes hot steam to form by pouring water over a pile of heated stones. The men remain within until they have sung four songs, after which they come out and lie down on the ground or swim in the nearby creek.[15] The length of one 4-song set varies, depending on the duration of the songs and the time between them, but it rarely exceeds 12 minutes. *Gish ih zha ha aldeh*, the sweat bath before *na ih es*, begins about 8 o'clock in the morning. It consists of from 9 to 12 song sets (in which only songs from the *na ih es* corpus are sung) and generally lasts about 3 hours.

While the medicine man, and those who are called his helpers, work on the ritual paraphernalia, 20 to 30 male relatives of the pubescent girl and *na ihł esn* take sweat baths. They welcome *gish ih zha ha aldeh* as an opportunity to get away from the women (who are never permitted to attend *ta chih*) and there is much joking and laughter. At least four times during the proceedings the medicine man stops working and enters the sweat house where he starts each of the four songs.[16] His helpers, on the other hand, wait until their work on the paraphernalia is nearly finished before going inside.

Seated on the ground around a large tarpaulin, they work quietly and deliberately. They do not participate very much in the joking which goes on about them. Selected by the girl's father and the medicine man, they are fully aware that the hurried or shoddy manufacture of ritual items would render *na ih es* grossly incomplete and ineffective. One informant said:

> Each one of those things has to be perfect. They are what the girl prays with. If they are messy or fall apart or something goes wrong with them, the prayer won't be any good.

Before *na ih es*, the paraphernalia is not considered "holy." It becomes so only during *na ih es* and for 4 days thereafter, when the pubescent girl has power.[17]

Around 11 o'clock a man comes from the dance ground and tells the men who have taken sweat baths, most of whom are now lounging around almost completely naked, to get dressed. Presently, a line of women appears, carrying cans of tulipay, beef, corn, potatoes, and coffee. This procession is led by the pubescent girl who presents a basket full of freshly made tortillas to the medicine man. In return, she is given the ritual paraphernalia and is told to take it directly to

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[15] *Gish ih zha ha aldeh* is generally held on the bank of Cibecue Creek, some 400–500 yards from the dance ground.

[16] The medicine man does not take sweat baths at regularly spaced intervals. He enters the sweat house whenever he chooses.

[17] That the ritual items have no power until *na ih es* may account for the relaxed and joking nature of *gish ih zha ha aldeh*. Apaches act differently around paraphernalia which has been used in a ceremony. They become nervous and tense and almost always dispose of the items right away.

her wickiup. If, as sometimes happens, the ritual items are not ready, the girl returns to the dance ground and receives them later in the day. This meal (which the men enjoy alone since the women depart immediately) signifies the end of *gish ih zha ha aldeh.*

THE RITUAL PARAPHERNALIA

Longevity, the most important quality bestowed on the pubescent girl, is symbolized by a decorated wooden staff, called *gish ih zha ha* ('cane'), with which the girl dances throughout the ceremony and which, years later, she uses as a walking stick (fig. 6, *left*).[18]

During *na ih es*, she dances with that to make her live many years. After *na ih es* she keeps it in her wickiup and when she gets old, and has trouble walking long ways, she uses it to help her out in that.

Resembling a modern walking cane in appearance, *gish ih zha ha* is made from a hardwood (sycamore or oak) ". . . so it won't snap when she gets old." It is painted yellow and may vary in length from 32 to 50 inches. Three or four days before *gish ih zha ha aldeh*, one of the girl's male relatives cuts a straight stick of wood. He strips off the bark and fashions the crook by bending over one end and fastening it securely with a rawhide thong. At *gish ih zha ha aldeh*, the medicine man or one of his helpers covers the cane with a mixture of yellow ocher and water.[19] When this paint is dry, two eagle tail feathers are tied to the rawhide thong, which has been left in place. To the base of one feather a turquoise bead is attached; to the other, two orange oriole feathers. The eagle feathers are intended to protect the girl from certain kinds of sickness. The oriole feathers serve a different purpose. The oriole, Apaches think, is an exceptional bird because, as one man put it:

It never says bad words and is happy all the time. It always talks good, and minds its own business and never gets into fights. Every day, the same way with that bird. Always acting good. It is thought that the oriole feathers will cause the girl to have a good disposition when she grows up.

Turquoise is ubiquitous at all ceremonies. Equally omnipresent, at *na ih es*, are the four ribbons (black, green, yellow, and tan) which symbolize the cardinal directions, and which are attached to the rawhide thong on the cane. All informants had difficulty in stating the precise meaning of these items. A typical comment follows.

I don't know what those things are in *na ih es*. We always carry turquoise with us. We pray with that. Everybody has one. In all dances [ceremonies]

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[18] Decorated for *na ih es*, the cane is called *gish ih zha ha*. Unadorned, and used as a walking stick, it is called *zú kish*.

[19] The yellow ocher from which this paint is made comes from a small salt spring in Salt River Canyon, about 40 miles by car from Cibecue. In order to extract the "yellow mud," the following procedure is observed. A small piece of turquoise is thrown into the spring, after which the ocher may be scooped out with the right hand. Apaches claim if they tried to collect the ocher without first putting a turquoise in the spring, a rattlesnake would emerge from it and strike them.

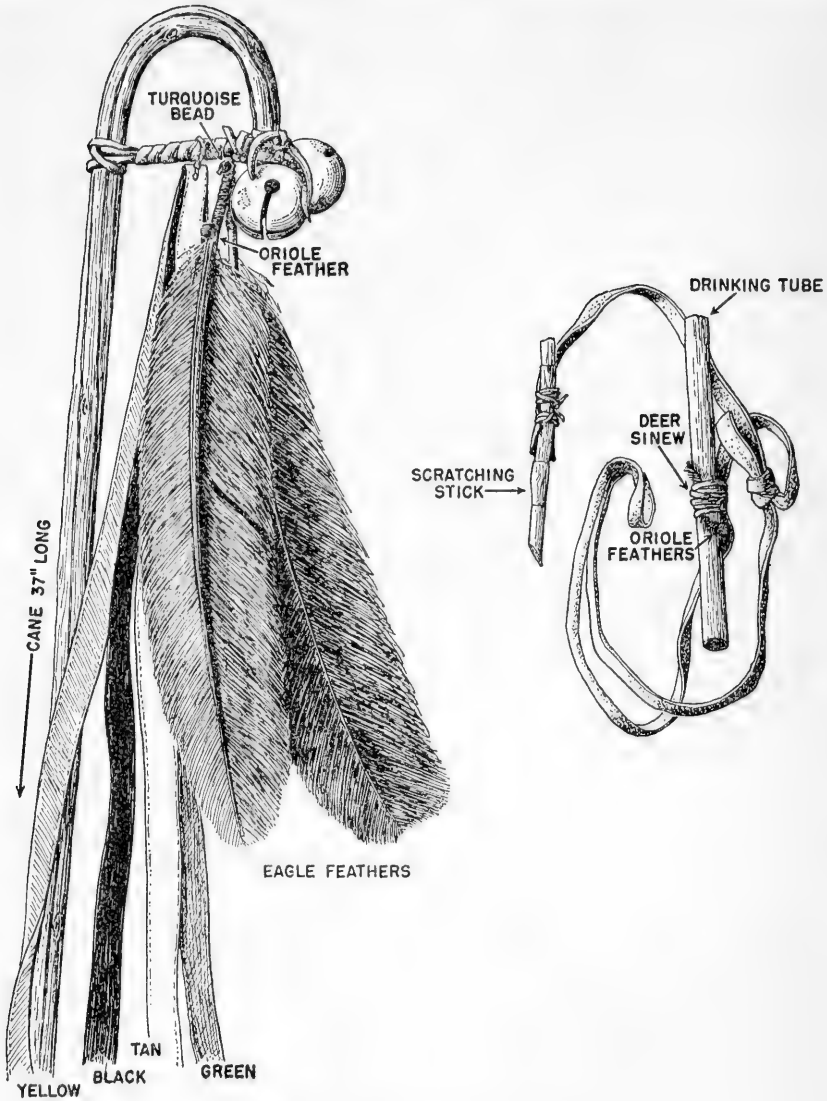

FIGURE 6.—Ritual paraphernalia.

there is turquoise, and they make the four ways, too. I don't know why that is. It makes the power good. We've always done that way. Ever since the earth was set up, it has been that way. I don't know why. It's been that way since Apaches learned to pray.

Turquoise and the four directions may be thought of as agents of prayer. As one medicine man said, "they make medicine strong." An Apache ceremony without turquoise and some symbolic represen-

tation of the four cardinal points would be as irregular as a Catholic service without a cross.

After the ribbons have been fastened to the cane, two bells are attached. These resemble the small bells used on sleighs. As far as I could determine, they have no symbolic significance. This is supported by numerous testimonies from older people, who claim that bells are a recent addition and were never used in the old times. Bells are put on the cane, I was told, because they jingle when the girl dances.

Two other items of singular importance, which are made directly after the cane, are the drinking tube and the scratching stick (fig. 6, *right*). Unlike the cane, these items do not function significantly in *na ih es*. They become important during the 4 days after the ceremony when the girl has power and is holy. At this time she must drink only through the tube (no container may touch her lips) and scratch herself only with the stick (never with her fingernails). The drinking tube and scratching stick have symbolic value as well. For 4 days after *na ih es*, the girl wears them wherever she goes. They symbolize her sacred state.

The drinking tube is fashioned from a species of reed that grows in Cibecue Creek. It is about 2 inches long, painted yellow like the cane, and may have an oriole feather (serving the same purpose as those on the eagle feathers) tied to it. The scratching stick, somewhat longer than the drinking tube, is also covered with ocher and is made from sycamore, oak, or cottonwood. It is pointed at one end and may be carved on the other. Both items are attached to a strip of rawhide which the pubescent girl wears around her neck.

The other pieces of paraphernalia prepared at *gish ih zha ha aldeh* include:

1. A small pendant of abalone shell which is tied to the girl's hair in such a way that it dangles over her forehead. The shell identifies her as *ih sta nedlęheh* (sometimes called White-Shell-Woman or White-Bead-Woman but commonly referred to as Changing Woman), a mythological figure, whom the girl personifies during the opening phases of *na ih es*.

2. A feather taken from the breast of an eagle and four ribbons (the same colors as those on the cane) which are fastened to the girl's hair and hang down behind her. The eagle feather is nearly white, and Apaches say it will cause the girl to live until her hair matches its color.

3. A fringed and beaded buckskin serape, made by the girl's mother or grandmother. At *gish ih zha ha aldeh*, the medicine man covers the outside of the serape with yellow paint and attaches a

downy eagle feather to each of its shoulders. This is done to enable the girl to dance as lightly as feathers fall to the ground.

4. A large buckskin, the forward part of which is painted yellow, to which an eagle feather is tied. Throughout *na ih es* the girl dances on this buckskin. It is thought that by doing so she will never be hungry; there will always be a plentiful supply of deer.

NIŁ SLA IH KA

('food, exchanged')

Nił sla ih ka is a symbolic affirmation of the *shi ti ke* relationship inaugurated at the very beginning of the *na ih es* proceedings (see pp. 132–133). As has been mentioned, it is an uncomplicated ritual involving gifts of prepared food. On the day before *na ih es*, shortly after the termination of *gish ih zha ha aldeh*, *na ihł esn* and her relatives bring their gift to the pubescent girl's camp. On the next day, the girl' skin reciprocate.[20] The same procedure is followed by both camps.

Carrying cans or pots filled with tulipay, coffee, tortillas, beef, corn, and potatoes, 20 or 25 members of a camp line up two abreast and walk across the dance ground led by two men beating drums. There is no singing. When the procession reaches the other camp, it is greeted by the mother or father of the pubescent girl (if *na ihł esn* is giving the feast) [21] or *na ihł esn* (if the girl's relatives are the first to make the exchange). After the food is deposited, the men with the drums begin to sing, and five or six of the girl's close relatives (always including her mother and father) dance with *na ihł esn*, her husband, and a few of their close kin. Similar to the dancing at *bi goh ji tał*, it lasts for 12 to 16 songs, after which the persons who brought the food return to their camp, leaving the recipients to eat by themselves. The pubescent girl, although always present, takes no defined part in the *nił sla ih ka* proceedings.

The presentation of food at *nił sla ih ka* is witnessed by all the members of both camps and excites much comment. A great deal of importance is attached to the size of the gifts. A large amount of food, which provides for seconds and thirds, is taken as a clear indication of wealth, and results in increased prestige for the donors. A large feast is also a sign that clan relatives have been generous which, in turn, indicates that the clan members have been willing

[20] I have witnessed one *nił sla ih ka* at which this pattern was reversed; the girl's camp gave the first feast and *na ihł esn* gave the second. When questioned, informants expressed a definite dislike for this procedure but added, "it didn't really matter," so long as the camp that gave the first feast received one in return the following day.

[21] These gifts of food, among the Cibecue Apaches, are called "feasts."

to help each other. Thus, a large feast at *nił sla ih ka* may reflect clan unity. As one man said:

> When they have a big feed it's because all their relatives have given food or money. All their relatives wanted to help out. Most clan relatives give food because they don't help out on the dance ground. When there is a real big feed they gave a lot of food. Everybody is happy. That happens when they feel like helping each other and are friendly.

Nił sla ih ka ritually and symbolically joins *na ihł esn*, her family, her clan, and her clan set to those of the pubescent girl in a supposedly everlasting reciprocal relationship. In exchanging food, the fundamental premise of *shi ti ke*—"all that I have belongs to you"—is vividly portrayed. *Nił sla ih ka* is a solemnization of future obligations. After *na ih es*, the extended families of *na ihł esn* and the pubescent girl are required to help each other in whatever way they can. Even if no crisis arises in which they can be of assistance, small gifts are exchanged from time to time. In the words of one old man, this custom "keeps *shi ti ke* alive."

In a society where so much importance is attached to persons whose aid can be enlisted in times of hardship, *nił sla ih ka* serves a unique purpose. In affirming the *shi ti ke* relationship it creates the only artificial bond of reciprocal obligation in Apache culture. All others depend on actual or imputed blood ties or bonds of marriage. *Nił sla ih ka* makes "kinsmen" of totally unrelated families and clans.

BI KEH IHL ZE'

('she is dressed up')

At dusk, some 5 or 6 hours after the *nił sla ih ka* exchange, *bi keh ihl ze'* takes place. This is a brief ceremony, consisting of four songs.[22] Here, the pubescent girl appears for the first time dressed in the costume she will wear for *na ih es*, and is given the ritual paraphernalia and instructed how to use it.

To begin with, and before the girl appears, a large blanket or tarpaulin is spread on the ground outside the girl's wickiup and four drums (two from *na ihł esn*'s camp; two from the girl's) are laid nearby. A small bowl of holy powder and five ritual items are then placed on the blanket; the abalone shell, the eagle feather, four ribbons, the drinking tube, and the scratching stick. When these preparations have been made, the girl, clad in a new camp dress and the buckskin serape, comes out of her wickiup and goes to the blanket. She is followed by the medicine man who carries the decorated cane, and by one or two of his assistants—the men who helped him make the paraphernalia at *gish ih zha ha aldeh* earlier in the day.

[22] The number four and multiples thereof are the Apache holy numbers.

After instructing the girl to stand next to *na ihł esn*, the medicine man gives a brief speech requesting all in attendance to gather around the blanket.[23] Following this, *na ihł esn* gives the girl the abalone shell, then the eagle feather and ribbons, then the drinking tube and scratching stick, and finally the cane.[24] After the presentation she walks once around the girl, counterclockwise. Throughout this "dressing" procedure, the medicine man or one of his assistants explains what the paraphernalia means and tells the girl how it must be employed during and after *na ih es*.

After the girl has been given the cane, the medicine man sings the first of four songs, all of which derive from the *na ih es* corpus. With four drummers, he stands behind *na ihł esn* and the girl, who dance side by side on the blanket. They do not lock elbows, as at *bi goh ji tał*, but simply bounce lightly—first on one foot, then on the other—in time to the beat of the drums. The girl is instructed to accentuate the rhythm further by striking the bottom of the cane (held in her right hand just below the crook) against the ground causing its bells to jingle in unison with the drums.

After the first song, a few older people, particularly close relatives of the girl, begin to dance around the blanket in conventional fashion. They continue to do so until the start of the fourth song when the medicine man's assistants sprinkle holy powder over the girl's head and shoulders and her cane. When the medicine man finishes the fourth and final song, he repeats this blessing, thus concluding *bi keh ihl ze'*. The girl, still carrying her cane, retires to her wickiup, and the crowd disbands.

At *bi keh ihl ze'* the pubescent girl becomes the focus of attention for the first time in weeks of preparation for *na ih es*. The reason for this is quite plain. In the eyes of the Apache, *bi keh ihl ze'* readies her for the new and crucial role she must play during *na ih es*. Fully clad and equipped with her paraphernalia, she ceases to be "just another girl." She represents *ih sta nedlęheh* (Changing Woman) the mythological figure whom she will portray during the opening stages of *na ih es*, and upon whose power the success of *na ih es* depends. The girl's new character is symbolized most clearly by the white abalone shell on her forehead.

Apaches make it plain that *bi keh ihl ze'* does not make the girl holy. Nor does it give her power; this will come at *na ih es*. *Bi keh ihl ze'* prepares the girl for the reception of power; it prepares her

[23] The girl stands to the right of *na ihł esn* on the blanket. Both face toward the east throughout the entire ceremony.

[24] *Na ihł esn*, directed by the medicine man, ties the abalone shell and the eagle feather and the ribbons in the girl's hair. She places the drinking tube and scratching stick (attached to a leather thong) around the girl's neck. With the cane, *na ihł esn* does no more than hand it to the girl who takes it in her right hand.

for holiness. She emerges from *bi keh ihl ze'* in a unique transitional state. Although ready for the power which will elevate her above everyone else, she is as yet without it. Nevertheless, she is accorded great respect and deference.

Said one old woman: "*Bi keh ihl ze'* shows everybody who *ih sta nedlęheh* [the girl] is. It shows everybody that tomorrow she will be at the head of her people."

BI TIL TIH

('night before dance')

Whereas *bi keh ihl ze'* readies the pubescent girl to assume the role of Changing Woman, *bi til tih* announces to the community at large that she is ready to fulfill this duty. A half-night dance, *bi til tih* differs from *bi goh ji tał* (see pp. 138–141) in that songs are sung by a medicine man, and the pubescent girl dances clad in her ceremonial costume. She dances in the conventional fashion with two girls (one on either side) who are roughly her age.[25] At no time during the proceedings does she dance with a male partner. "The cane is her partner," the people say.

By the time darkness comes, and a large bonfire has been started in the middle of the dance area, the crowd has swelled to include persons from most of the other communities on the reservation. They have come by any available means—truck, car, horse—and will spend the night at Cibecue in order to be on hand for the beginning of *na ih es* the next morning. At a large *bi til tih* three or four hundred persons may be present. *Bi til tih* offers many people their first opportunity to see the pubescent girl dressed for *na ih es;* and for all there is social dancing. One reason *bi til tih* is held, said a number of informants, is to welcome all visitors to the dance ground.

While the medicine man sings, the girl and her two companions dance with expressionless faces and downcast eyes. Contrasting sharply with their solemnity is the gaiety of the other persons, who laugh and joke. Beyond the light cast by the fire, partially obscured by the darkness, the spectators gossip and drink and watch the dancers.

Bi til tih is usually more restrained than *bi goh ji tał.* There is less drinking and rarely any violence. The presence of the pubescent girl curbs boisterous behavior. Said one informant:

> At *bi til tih* everyone is friendly. Nobody gets mad or gets into trouble. She [the pubescent girl] is there, that's why. Everyone knows she will have *na ih*

[25] The girls who dance with the pubescent girl at *bi til tih* are usually her cousins (parallel or cross, no preference expressed) or her sisters. They dance with her because, in the words of one old woman, if they did not, ". . . the girl would be too bashful to dance alone."

es and get power. If somebody gets mad or into a fight she may not use her power for him when he blesses her.

Another man commented:

She will use her power at *na ih es* for everybody. They respect her because she can have the power to do this. Nobody gets in trouble around her.

The pubescent girl and her two partners dance until the medicine man stops singing. Then they leave the dance area and retire to their wickiups. Some of the older people say that "in the old days" medicine men sang 32 songs at *bi til tih*. Now they sing only 12 or 24. This is to permit the girl to go to sleep early and save her strength for the next day. After the medicine man departs (he, too, must conserve his energy) anyone may sing in his place. In this fashion, dancing continues until around midnight, when *bi til tih* comes to a close.

Bi til tih is primarily a social affair at which all in attendance are "introduced" to the girl who will impersonate Changing Woman. But it is more than that. In a sense, *bi til tih* prepares the spectators for *na ih es*. The girl, clad in her buckskin and carrying her cane, is a moving sight to many Apaches, one which touches something deep in their nature and to which they respond with great emotion. But at the same time they are mildly apprehensive, knowing that soon she will have power. The prospect of power—even Changing Woman's beneficent power—creates a certain tension which, in turn, inspires the sobriety and good behavior considered proper at *na ih es*.

NA IH ES

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the foregoing discussion, frequent mention has been made of power, songs, and the mythological figure known as Changing Woman. These topics should be somewhat expanded before proceeding any further.

Power.—When asked to translate the expression *di yih*, Apaches say 'power.' But this is only an approximation; there is no word in English that accurately can be substituted for *di yih*. "Power," in its *di yih* meaning, is a supernatural force which men may obtain under certain conditions from all phenomena of the Apache universe, including mythological figures, animals, plants, stones, shells, etc. When used properly, *di yih* serves as a vital tool, not only as an aid to the individual in his day-to-day existence, but also as a safeguard against the very source from which it is derived. To ward off lightning, one needs lightning power; to kill bear, bear power; to cure snake sickness, snake power. Certain powers are more potent than others and, as

Goodwin (1938, p. 28) suggests, the strength of each can be roughly gaged by the number of times it is employed ceremonially. The Sun, Lightning, and Deer are referred to countless times, whereas certain birds are mentioned very rarely.

Songs.—In ceremonies, songs are the means by which power is solicited from its particular source and then subsequently controlled. The 32 or more songs sung at *na ih es* are believed to have first been sung by Changing Woman, and are collectively called *goh jon sinh'* ('full-of-great-happiness songs'). With these songs the medicine man first calls forth and then directs Changing Woman's power into the pubescent girl. It resides in her person for 4 days, making her ritual paraphernalia potent. During this period, the pubescent girl personifies Changing Woman and is said to be "sacred." She is able to perform marvelous deeds, even to the extent of curing the sick and bringing rain.

Changing Woman.—Long ago, according to the myths, Changing Woman lived all alone. One day she had sexual intercourse with the Sun, and as a result of this union brought forth *nay en ez gane* ('Slayer-of-Monsters'), the foremost Western Apache culture hero. Four days later, Changing Woman became pregnant by Water-Old-Man and gave birth to *tuh ba tes chine* ('Born-of-Water-Old-Man'). The old people say that these half-brothers, or twins, were the first Apaches. As they matured, Changing Woman taught them all the things Apaches needed to know. As soon as they were old enough, Slayer-of-Monsters and Born-of-Water-Old-Man left home. Making constant use of Changing Woman's advice, they rid the earth of much that was evil.

Along with her sons, Changing Woman is thought of as one of the founders of Apache culture (some informants said the *only* founder) and, as such, is regarded with great fondness and admiration. Myths dealing with her teachings and exploits are still recounted, and a part of one of these myths—her sexual intercourse with the Sun—is enacted by the pubescent girl at *na ih es*.[26]

Changing Woman's power grants longevity. This is because Changing Woman, unlike other mythological figures, has "never died." Although she grows old, she is always able to recapture her youth. Two different accounts of how this is accomplished were related to me:

> Like everybody, she gets old and has a hard time. But when she gets old she doesn't like it. So she walks toward the east and turns around [counterclockwise] four times. Then she is like a young girl all over again.
>
> When Changing Woman gets to be a certain old age, she goes walking toward the east. After a while she sees herself in the distance looking like a young girl walking toward her. They both walk until they come together and after that there is only one. She is like a young girl again.

[26] The best recorded myths of the life of Changing Woman are found in Goodwin (1939) and Goddard (1920).

Changing Woman will give the pubescent girl long life. This is the fundamental theme of *na ih es*. During the ceremony, and for 4 days thereafter, the girl is called *sa ni bi ti gishih*, which means 'old age beckoning to her.' "Changing Woman is calling her," the people say. "Changing Woman makes *na ih es*."

PREPARATIONS

Around 7 a.m. on the day of *na ih es*, two or three of the pubescent girl's male relatives make the few preparations that the ceremony requires. They spread a large tarpaulin (10×10 feet) on the ground near the center of the dance area, on which they pile 8 to 12 blankets, one on top of the other. The ceremonial buckskin is then placed on the uppermost blanket, with the forward part of the buckskin pointing east. From the cooking shade of the pubescent girl's camp, the same men bring six or eight cardboard cartons or *te tza* ('burden baskets') filled with candy, chewing gum, popcorn, and fruit, which they arrange in two rows directly in front of the buckskin. Then two small baskets, one filled with cigarettes, the other with holy powder, and four drums are placed in an arc to the west of the buckskin.

Shortly before the beginning of *na ih es*, some 45 minutes after the blankets have been "laid out," the *nan tan* of the pubescent girl's camp walks out of his shade and moves to the edge of the dance area where he addresses the people. A typical address follows:

> It is time that you should all be awake. Pretty soon *na ih es* will start up. Don't be lazy. We want you all to see this dance. It will be a good one. Everybody should behave real good, and don't get into any trouble. Wear good clothes and get real clean. Don't drink or make any disturbance. We have spent a lot on this dance and we want you to like it. So do us a favor and don't get into trouble. And watch out for your children. There will be lots of people milling around and driving their trucks. Last week over at Canyon Day a little boy got run over because his mother wasn't watching he was behind a truck. Don't let that happen here, please. We want everyone to have a good time. I have said what I have said.

When the *nan tan* has concluded, the medicine man and four drummers walk onto the dance area and take their places directly behind the buckskin, facing east. Suddenly, the medicine man begins to sing and, seconds later, the drums join in. As the song gathers momentum, the pubescent girl comes out of her wickiup, dressed as she was for *bi til tih*, and carrying her cane.[27] She is closely followed by one of her maternal relatives (almost always a maternal aunt) clad in a new camp dress. The crowd, which has gathered around the tarpaulin, parts silently and lets them pass. Directed by the

[27] The girl may wear a different dress than the one she wore at *bi til tih*. Also she may have on an elaborate multicolored bead collar, which is a very full necklace. Aside from this, and with particular regard to her ritual paraphernalia, she is dressed exactly as she was for *bi kch ihl ze'* and *bi tli tih*.

medicine man (who has stopped singing), the girl takes her place on the buckskin in front of the medicine man and his drummers. She faces east, toward the rising sun. Her maternal relative follows her example, standing on her left. The crowd draws closer. *Na ih es* is about to begin.

PHASES

As performed in Cibecue today, *na ih es* is made up of eight distinct parts or "phases." Each phase has a unique meaning, name, and set of ritual actions; each is initiated, perpetuated, and terminated by a group of songs, or "song set." The Apaches do not conceive of *na ih es* as an unbroken continuum, but rather tend to emphasize and stress its different parts.

Each medicine man arranges the 32 or more *goh jon sinh'* songs which comprise *na ih es* to fit his own stylistic scheme. This produces great variation as to the number of songs in a given phase. But the sequence of phases is a stable pattern from which there is rarely any deviation. For example, one medicine man may sing 12 songs in phase I, while another may sing 8 or 16. Nevertheless, phase I always precedes phase II. In short, regardless of the number of songs in a phase, the order of the phases never changes.

I. BIHL DE NIL KE

('all alone, she dances')

During the first phase of *na ih es*, which may consist of 8, 12, or 16 songs, the pubescent girl dances on the buckskin with her companion.[28] In all respects, the method of dancing is identical to that at *bi keh ihl ze'*. The dancers bounce lightly, first on one foot, then on the other, always in time to the drums. With each beat, the girl strikes the bottom of her cane on the buckskin, causing the bells attached to the cross thong to jingle loudly. Her face is expressionless, her eyes fixed on the buckskin. At the end of each song, the medicine man and his drummers pause briefly, while the older woman wipes the girl's face with a handkerchief or smooths her hair.

The songs sung in phase I deal primarily with the Western Apache Creation or, as the people say, "when the earth was set up." Changing Woman is mentioned frequently. With his songs, the medicine man asks for Changing Woman's power (*goh jon sinh' di yih*) on behalf of the pubescent girl. Apparently, there is no given point (or song) at which this force enters her. It is understood, however, that she

[28] I attended one *na ih es* at which phase I lasted for 23 songs. Everyone I questioned admitted this to be highly unusual. The reason discovered later was that *na ihl esn*, who makes her appearance at the beginning of phase II, was sick. Thus, it was felt necessary to continue phase I until she recovered. Throughout, the girl danced in place with her maternal relative.

receives it before the end of phase I. At the beginning of the fifth, sixth, or seventh song, the medicine man tells the girl to pray to Changing Woman. One informant said: "She couldn't make that prayer if she didn't have power." The girl's prayer is a short one—*da hą zhę esh dali. Ih sta nedlęheh* ('Long life, no trouble, Changing Woman').

II. NIZTAH

('sitting')

At the end of phase I, which may have lasted as long as 45 minutes if 16 songs were sung, the singing and dancing cease. Five or ten minutes elapse before the start of phase II. During this recess, the medicine man and his drummers take a drink of tulipay (from a can or pot provided by the girl's camp) or smoke a cigarette. They do not move from their positions behind the girl. Welcoming this chance to rest, she remains on the buckskin.

Shortly before the first song in phase II, *na ihł esn* makes her first formal appearance of the day.[29] She comes out of her shade and walks unescorted toward the center of the dance area. She is dressed in a spotless new camp dress. Her loose unbraided hair has been freshly washed. As she approaches the buckskin, the woman with whom the girl has been dancing in phase I departs. For the remainder of *na ih es, na ihł esn* will be the girl's partner.

Unlike the pubescent girl, *na ihł esn* does not personify a mythological character. Her function is to instruct the girl throughout *na ih es*, nothing more. She does not receive power and consequently is never considered holy. As was explained to me:

> *Na ihł esn* tells the girl what to do, and not to be scared or bashful. The girl does not know what to do next, and someone must tell her. That's what she [*na ihł esn*] does. She doesn't have any power at all, and the reason she does that [instruct the girl] is because she helped put on the dance, and because they are not relatives.

For the two or four songs that make up the structure of phase II, the pubescent girl recreates the impregnation of Changing Woman by the Sun. In 1920, P. E. Goddard (1920, pp. 426–427) was given the following version of this incident.[30]

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[29] At one *na ih es, na ihł esn* did not take the place of the maternal relative until after two songs in phase II had been sung. This was because, until that point, she had felt ill.

[30] Unfortunately, Goddard does not make clear the exact identity of his informants, beyond saying that they were White Mountain Apache. However, further in the account from which the above quote is taken, he mentions the *gan* dance. If my informants are correct in saying that Cibecue and Carrizo never performed *gan* in connection with *na ih es*, we can be reasonably certain that Goddard's informant was not of either of these bands.

This maiden [Changing Woman when she was young] running as you say the sun began it they say. Then in this fashion sun toward this way she sat they say. Then sun from it shone in rays it was they say. Then in here it shone it became they say.

Goodwin's (1939, p. 17) account, taken from a man named Bane Tithla of the Eastern White Mountain Apache band (see also Goodwin, 1942, ch. 1) relates:

Then as the Sun came up she pulled up her dress toward Sun and spread her legs apart, so that Sun shone between her legs. When Sun came up one of his beams went right into her, a red one. Then she got her menstrual period and the blood started to come. After that she became pregnant.

A somewhat fuller description of this episode was told to me by a Cibecue Apache named Teddy Peaches, who is nearly 60 years old.

This way I heard it from my grandfather. He was from Carrizo, but they tell it always the same way over here [at Cibecue]. She was living all by herself and went out one day for berries to get. It was before the Sun came up that she went out. Then when the Sun came up, she felt tired and sat down. She looked at the Sun and kneeled down like the girl does in *na ih es* in front of it. When she did that one of the Sun's red rays came and went in there. After that she noticed that she was bleeding from there and she didn't know what it meant because it was her first time. When it stopped she found out she was pregnant. That's all I know about that part of the story. I don't think there is any more to it.

Before the first song in phase II, *na ihł esn* takes the girl's cane and places it upright between the two baskets or boxes farthest from the buckskin. Then the girl takes a kneeling position, with her knees some 20–25 inches apart. As the song begins, she raises her hands to the level of her shoulder, and then, looking into the rising sun, begins to sway from side to side not necessarily following the beat of the drums. *Na ihł esn* dances beside her.

The emphasis of phase II is on Changing Woman's first menstruation, and not on the conception of *nay en ez gane*. The all important fact that the pubescent girl has recently had her first period is given a vivid symbolic portrayal by her assumption of the posture in which Changing Woman is generally believed to have experienced her initial menstruation. Pubescent girl and mythological figure "share" this in common during phase II, and never is their identification with each other more thorough.

Despite the unmistakable sexual nature of phase II, it is not intended to promote the girl's fertility. Apaches assume that any girl who menstruates is fertile and, moreover, that this quality cannot be heightened effectively by supernatural means.

PHASE III. NIZTI

('lying')

Phase III of *na ih es* is based on the belief that certain parts of the girl's body are made strong by ritualistic massage. The reasoning behind this belief is explained in the following quotation.

> Changing Woman's power is in the girl and makes her soft, like a lump of wet clay. Like clay, she can be put into different shapes. *Na ihł esn* puts her in the right shape and Changing Woman's power in the girl makes her grow up that way, in that same shape. When *na ihł esn* rubs her the right way, she will grow up strong and hard and never get tired.

Shortly after the end of phase II, the medicine man instructs the girl to lie prone on the buckskin, with her arms at her sides and her legs together. (She may also be told to raise her head and stare into the sun.) During phase III, which consists of one or two songs, the girl remains in this position while *na ihł esn* kneads the muscles in her legs, back, and shoulders.

> *Na ihł esn* rubs her legs so she will never have any trouble walking long ways. Also, so she can stand up for long time and never get tired. She rubs her back so that when she gets to be really old age she won't bend over and not straighten up. Her shoulders . . . so she can carry heavy things for her camp and never get tired doing that either; carry wood and water and groceries long ways.
>
> *Na ihł esn* rubs her back and legs so she can always work hard for a long time and never get tired out.
>
> *Na ihł esn* does that for her so she will grow up strong and in good shape and always be able to help out at her camp and whenever her relatives need help.

IV. GISH IH ZHA HA YINDA SLE DIŁ IHŁYE

('cane set out for her, she runs around it')

During the pause (8–12 minutes) between phase III and phase IV, the pubescent girl remains on the buckskin and the medicine man and his drummers relax. The cane, which has been lodged between two baskets or cardboard cartons in phases II and III, is retrieved by *na ihł esn*. Directly east of the buckskin, and approximately 25 feet from it, one of the medicine man's assistants makes a shallow cylindrical hole in the earth with a crowbar. Here, *na ihł esn* inserts the cane, standing it upright.

When the opening song of phase IV begins, the girl runs to the cane, circles it once, and runs back again. She is closely followed by *na ihł esn* who, after going around the cane, takes it from the hole and returns with it to the buckskin. There, she hands it to the girl, and the remainder of the song is danced in place.

This procedure is repeated during each of the three additional songs that comprise phase IV. At the start of each, the cane is placed

farther away from the buckskin, thereby increasing the distance the girl has to run. In song II, the cane is about 35 feet from the buckskin; in song III, about 50 feet; and in song IV, 65 feet.

Each of the four "runs" in phase IV symbolizes a stage of life through which the pubescent girl has passed, or hopes to pass in the future. The first and shortest is childhood. The second represents young womanhood. The third run symbolizes adulthood and the fourth, which is the longest, is old age. Apaches believe that as soon as the girl circles the cane, she "owns" the stage of life it stands for. Thus, after completing the final run, the girl has symbolically passed through all the stages of life and is assured of living until she is very old. This is the gift of Changing Woman, and the essence of *na ih es*. If the girl trips and falls while making one of the four "runs" she is required to return to the buckskin and repeat the entire sequence. Such a mishap is not viewed with alarm, nor is it interpreted as symbolic of early death.

For the girl, that is the most important part. That is where she prays for long life. She has the power to make herself very old when she runs around the cane that way. Each time she runs around the cane that way she will live to be that age. That way, after she makes the last time—when it is far away—she will live until a very old lady.

She goes through her life running around that cane. Changing Woman did that one time and it made her very old. The girl has her power to grow up to a long age.

V.

The structure of phase V [31] does not differ greatly from that of phase IV, and its alleged function is similar to phase III. Before the first four songs, the cane is placed in a hole about 20 feet east of the buckskin. When the singing begins, the pubescent girl and *na ihł esn* run to the cane and circle it, just as they did in phase IV. For the second song, the cane is placed south of the buckskin, Again, the girl runs around it, followed by *na ihł esn*. During song III, they run to the west, and in song IV, to the north.

Whereas phase III is thought to strengthen the pubescent girl's body, phase V supposedly enables her to run fast without feeling fatigue.

After she runs around the cane in the four ways, she will never get tired and will always be able to run fast. Changing Woman gives her power to the girl and that is why it happens this way.

She runs in the four ways so she will never get tired. Changing Woman ran fast long time ago, they say. That is why the girl runs so fast around [the cane]. She wants to be like Changing Woman and run good.

[31] In searching my notes, I have been unable to find any information concerning the Apache term used to describe phase V. That it does have a name is certain. That it cannot be recorded here is due only to my negligence.

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VI. SHA NAL DIHL

('candy, it is poured')

In phases I–V, only the pubescent girl profits from Changing Woman's power. However, in phases VI and VII it is used to the advantage of everyone at the dance ground.

Phase VI begins when the medicine man blesses the girl by sprinkling a small amount of holy powder over her head and shoulders, and on the crook of her cane. He may be followed in this by one or two of his assistants, or by some of the girl's old male relatives. Next, the medicine man picks up a small basket filled with candy, corn kernels, and coins of low denomination. Standing on the buckskin, directly in front of the girl, he pours these contents over her head. As the candy and corn fall to the ground, spectators nearby scramble wildly to pick it up.

After he pours it over her head, everything in all the baskets gets holy. Not just the stuff from the basket he pours over her. All the baskets, even the big ones near the buckskin. Because it is holy, all those things, everybody wants it. If you get a piece of candy, you will have plenty food all the time. If you take one of those corns home and plant it, you have plenty corn to bring in later on. You get some money, that means you get rich and never be poor. The girl's power makes all those things holy and good to have.

Following the "pouring of the basket," the other cartons and baskets containing candy, fruit, etc. are carried through the crowd by several of the girl's male relatives who encourage everyone to reach in and take as much as they can. When all the baskets are empty, they are placed in front of the girl on the buckskin. This concludes phase VI. There has been no singing.

VII. BA NA IHL DIH

('blessing her')

Phase VII begins when the medicine man blesses the pubescent girl and *na ihl esn* with holy powder. At this point, all the adults at the dance ground take a small pinch of powder from a basket held by one of the medicine man's assistants, and line up to repeat the blessing for themselves.[32] Singing continues until everyone has done so. I have witnessed one *na ih es*, attended by an unusually large number of people, at which phase VII lasted for 23 songs and approximately 50 minutes.

The significance of phase VII for the community is enormous, for

[32] By adults I mean persons 18 years or older. Although children may accompany their parents in line, they never sprinkle powder on *na ihl esn* or the pubescent girl.

Apaches believe that whatever wish is made while blessing the girl is certain to come true. "She has power to do that." In phase VII, the girl's power—Changing Woman's power—becomes a means by which anyone may attain his own personal ends. It functions in as many ways as there are individual wishes. A few of these are recorded below.

. . . to have a good crop of corn and beans.
. . . to make my sick wife get better.
. . . my cattle, to get fat for sale time.
. . . to cure up my daughter's face. [In reference to a severe case of acne.]
. . . rain.
. . . my son in Dallas learning to be a barber, not get into any trouble.

VIII. GIHX IŁ KE

('blankets, she throws them off')

Phase VIII begins shortly after the end of phase VII. It usually is made up of four songs (sometimes six), three of which are danced in place by *na ihł esn* and the pubescent girl. During the final song, the girl steps off the buckskin, picks it up with both hands, shakes it, and then throws it 3 or 4 feet towards the east. Following this, she throws a blanket in each of the three other cardinal directions, to the south, then to the west, and finally to the north.

She does this for two reasons. She throws the blanket so she can always have blankets, plenty of them, in her camp when she gets old. She shakes them out, like if they had dust in them, so her blankets and camp will always be clean. The buckskin she throws so there will always be deermeat in her camp, and good hunting for everyone.

Phase VIII concludes *na ih es*. Immediately after the last song, the girl and *na ihł esn* retire to their wickiups. The medicine man and his drummers leave the dance area in search of shade and a drink. When most of the crowd has dispersed, two or three men from the girl's camp gather up the buckskin, blankets, baskets, and tarpaulin and carry them away. Presently, the girl's relatives will complete *nił sla ih ka* by bringing food to *na ihł esn's* camp.

FOUR "HOLY" DAYS

Throughout most of *na ih es*, the girl's power is used to benefit herself. However, immediately after the ceremony, it becomes available to anyone. It is not incorrect, though perhaps an oversimplification, to say that during the 4 days which follow *na ih es* the girl's power is public property.

At this time she is considered holy and continues to live at the dance ground with her family. She is not obliged to stay there all

the time, however, and is free to return to Cibecue during the day or to accompany her parents on trips to other parts of the reservation.

Throughout the 4 days, the girl must observe certain taboos. She may not wash herself, for it is thought that by doing so she would sacrifice her power. She may drink only through her drinking tube. If she were to drink from a container, whiskers would grow around her mouth. A third restriction, and the one I am told is the most difficult to maintain, dictates that the girl not touch her skin with her fingernails. She may scratch herself only with a scratching stick. Apaches say that if she did otherwise, ugly sores (and subsequent scars) would appear where she touched herself.

Wherever she goes, the girl wears her drinking tube and scratching stick around her neck. The four colored ribbons and the eagle feather and the abalone shell are still in her hair, but she has discarded the buckskin serape and has left her cane in the wickiup at the dance ground.

During the 4 holy days, the girl's power is believed to be strong enough to cure the sick.[33] To be healed, a sick person stands facing the girl, who extends her arms in front of her (palms up) and then raises them quickly to shoulder level. She repeats this gesture four times. At no point does she touch the patient. If, after such a blessing, the sick person feels relieved, then the girl's power is considered exceptional in its strength and she is henceforth called *ba koh di yị* ('she-can-perform-miracles').

In addition to healing, the girl's power may be used to bring rain. I have never witnessed the rainmaking ritual, but received the following description of it from a trustworthy informant.

> Inside her wickiup, they stand her cane in the ground. Then she takes water and sprinkles it over the cane. They say rain will come that way. There is a medicine man in there and he sings songs when they do it. Four songs, I think.

Around noon on the fourth day after *na ih es, na ihł esn* unties the ribbons and the feather in the girl's hair and takes the drinking tube and scratching stick from around her neck. Upon the removal of this paraphernalia, the girl no longer has the ability to cure the sick or bring rain, and her taboos are ended.

NA IH ES AND "LIFE OBJECTIVES"

For the pubescent girl, the function of *na ih es* is largely an educative one. By means of symbols and symbolic actions, *na ih es* isolates four all-important "life objectives" toward which, now

[33] A pubescent girl cures a child with bowed legs. See Goodwin, 1942, p. 443.

that she is a young adult, she should aspire.[34] These are physical strength, a good disposition, prosperity, and, finally, a sound, healthy, uncrippled, old age. To understand why these particular life objectives are emphasized, it will be necessary to show their relevance to other aspects of Western Apache culture—the supernatural world, the role of women in the native economy, kinship obligations, witchcraft belief, and the natural environment. It will be seen that the significance of achieving the life objectives is apparent only when the consequences and implications of failing to achieve them are understood.

OLD AGE

Attaining old age is closely connected with triumph over the malevolence of the supernatural world. The Western Apache universe, like that of the Navaho, is thought to be filled with a large number of capricious forces which, unless treated with extreme care and respect, may well cause sickness and death (Goodwin, 1938, p. 28). Perhaps the greatest single source of anxiety for an Apache is that he has unwittingly offended such a force and that disaster is close at hand. Life may be seriously disrupted or ended altogether as a result of such transgressions, and the innumerable curing ceremonies held by Apaches are but attempts to neutralize them.

The people say it is possible to stay on good terms with the supernatural. However, this is difficult and requires a rigid observance of taboos, prayers, and the possession of strong individual power. A man must never boil the stomach of a deer he has killed, nor let the hair loosened by brushing a horse's tail touch the ground. Women must grind corn in a special manner, and take care that water never falls on an eagle feather. Prayers should be offered on a variety of occasions—at the birth of a child, when a new wickiup is built, before the hunt, and prior to a long journey. By adhering to proscriptions such as these, an amicable and "safe" relationship with supernatural forces can be maintained. Apaches are quick to add, however, that there are times when, despite all precautionary efforts, the adverse forces are antagonized, in which case obeying taboos and offering prayers have little protective value. An additional safeguard is needed—personal or individual power. One who possesses such power can avoid sickness and prolong life.

As symbolized by the four runs in phase IV of *na ih es*, Apaches divide life into a clearly defined progression of stages: childhood,

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[34] "Life objectives" refers to those aims in life which, either declared or implied, are considered most desirable and worthy of achievement and which, because of their fundamental nature, stimulate activity and regulate behavior.

In preparing this definition, I was greatly aided by the writings of Opler (1945, pp. 198–206), Linton 1945, pp. 111–113), Kluckhohn and Murray (1961, pp. 58–60), and F. Kluckhohn (1961, pp. 348–361).

young adulthood, adulthood, and old age. It is firmly believed that old age is within the reach of anyone as long as he does nothing to provoke a supernatural force to kill him. The immediate and apparently inevitable reaction to the death of a young person is "He did something wrong," or "His power was weak." Death before old age is feared because it is unexpected and because it reinforces the belief in a basically hostile universe. Death during old age is "as it should be" because what is desired has become a reality, and something approaching victory over evil has been accomplished. Thus, the enviable old person is one who has avoided crippling illness and death by staying on good terms with the supernatural. Conversely, he who is constantly sick or comes to an early end has obviously failed in this respect. Apaches do not dread old age; they consider it an achievement.

Old people are treated with great respect. It is thought best not to provoke them into using their assumed power in a vengeful way, and their advice is sought regularly on matters of importance. They also enjoy the leisure that comes with economic security. (In virtually every case, old people are supported by their daughter's families.) In addition, the aged fill prestigious ceremonial and social roles. Old men assume such positions as imputed clan leaders, *nan tan* at *na ih es*, or head drummer at curing ceremonies. Old women take an active part in family and clan affairs and may be chosen to be *na ihł esn*. In brief, Western Apache culture rewards longevity. By instructing the pubescent girl how to live safely in a world of threatening supernatural forces—by giving her power, and by stressing the need for prayers and taboo observance—*na ih es* shows her how this reward may be attained.

The power to reach old age is vested in the girl through a complex set of symbols. She is provided with a walking cane to use when, as an old woman, she has difficulty getting about. The downy eagle feather in her hair will cause her to live until she herself turns gray. In phase V, she passes through the stages of life by running around the cane four times. Most important of all, she herself becomes Changing Woman; the recognized source and giver of "many years."

The eagle feathers attached to the cane protect the girl from certain illnesses, and the turquoise will cause her prayers "to be heard." Throughout *na ih es* she is instructed to pray to Changing Woman for long life; thus, the crucial connection between prayers and attaining longevity is established.

The need for taboo observance is emphasized during the four holy days that follow *na ih es*, when the girl is not permitted to wash, scratch herself, nor drink from a container. These restrictions are symbolic of countless others she will have to obey as an adult. She

is made to understand that taboos will constitute a very significant, trying, part of her life, and that any violation of them is a serious matter. In explicit, although negative terms, she is told to fear the supernatural. "Do *not* break taboos."

PHYSICAL STRENGTH

Since life in Cibecue makes heavy demands on women, it is essential that they be physically strong. Despite the harsh living conditions—sickness, a poor diet, and insufficient protection from the cold—women nevertheless fill the strenuous roles imposed on them by the native economy.

They do most of the work connected with agriculture: planting, weeding, irrigating, and harvesting. They also attend to a variety of arduous household tasks: preparing huge quantities of food, helping build wickiups and shades, collecting and chopping firewood, and transporting food and water. Few families in Cibecue own trucks (only one owns a car), and it is not at all unusual for a woman to walk over 2 miles from her camp to the trading post and return, often carrying 20 or 30 pounds of goods. Occasionally, though not nearly as often as during prereservation days, women go on long overland treks in search of wild plant foods such as mescal tubers, piñon nuts, and acorns. Hard work is expected of all adult women. Without the physical strength it requires, they place the survival of themselves and their families in considerable jeopardy.

A girl's economic education begins in childhood with a few easy domestic chores. At the age of 5 or 6, she helps shuck corn and carries an empty bottle to the trading post, receiving a few pennies of deposit money in return. At 10 or 11, she is given instruction in the techniques of agriculture, wild plant gathering, and wickiup construction. Consequently, by the time she reaches puberty, a girl is thoroughly acquainted with the duties that await her as an adult.

Na ih es symbolically awards her the qualities of physical strength and endurance she will need to fulfill these duties. In phase III, *na ihł esn* massages the girl's legs, back, and shoulders in order to make them strong. By running in the four directions during phase V, she acquires endurance. Throughout the entire ceremony, the eagle feathers on the shoulders of her buckskin serape invoke a lightness of foot.

GOOD DISPOSITION

Na ih es prepares the pubescent girl for life in society by symbolically granting her that quality considered most necessary for the maintenance of friendly relations with other people—a good disposition.

To understand the significance of this "gift," something must first be said about kinship obligations and witchcraft belief.

It is difficult to overemphasize the importance of kin and clan ties in Western Apache culture. In a very real sense, the Apache categorizes all other human beings on the basis of whether or not they are related to him. As individuals with whom he lives, works, and participates in ceremonial activities, relatives stand fundamentally opposed to nonrelatives, who are generally distrusted and approached with cautious formality. Whenever serious difficulty arises (lack of food, funds, or transportation), or when a major ceremonial is undertaken, the Apache relies exclusively on his relatives for support. Thus it is imperative that he do everything possible to stay on friendly terms with them.

I have seen an Apache go to considerable lengths to help a clan member who lived miles away from Cibecue. But as he himself explained, he did so for a practical reason. "I helped him because he is related to me. Our clans are close together. When I give *na ih es* for my daughter next summer, he will be glad to help me." The principle of reciprocity which underscores all kin ties is reflected in the kinship terminology. Outside the nuclear family, all consanguineal kinship terms are self-reciprocal (Goodwin, 1942, p. 193).

As the following example shows, the consequences of antagonizing relatives can be dire indeed. A woman who drank heavily refused to work around her camp. She roamed about at night looking for liquor. Occasionally, she got into fights. One night, when drunk, she went to the camp of her female parallel cousin. While there she was discovered trying to steal some tulipay belonging to her cousin's husband. A violent quarrel ensued, and she was forcibly expelled from the camp. Some days later, while on her way to the trading post, the same woman tripped in an irrigation ditch and broke her ankle. She was near her cousin's camp and called for help. The latter refused, recalling the liquor incident. The injured woman, unable to move, was left alone for nearly an hour before a nonrelative took pity on her.

One need only consider the part clan relatives play in presenting *na ih es* to understand the importance of keeping on good terms with them. If clan kin should refuse to contribute food, or help with the preparation of the dance ground, it would be impossible for the pubescent girl's family to hold the ceremony.

The possibility of being "witched" makes offending nonrelatives just as dangerous, if not more so, as antagonizing relatives. Witches (*il kashn*) are people who are believed to use their power to harm others. They cause sickness and death, seduce women, and kill livestock. With their surreptitious techniques, they are active mostly

at night. Witches are seldom seen or heard. They are said to be easily angered and frequently act out of jealousy. Apaches say: "You never know who might witch you if they get mad. You must be careful with everyone and try to be friendly. Don't make anybody mad at you."

Although sparse and quite possibly illusory, my data on witchcraft show that the accused witch is usually not related to the victim. Nonrelatives were suspected in four of the five cases of which I have record. The single exception was an old woman who claimed to have been witched by a distant clan member whom she had not seen in over 10 years. This evidence was further corroborated by general statements from informants such as: "Witches don't like to witch their relatives," or "Relatives don't often witch you." Whether or not anyone (relative or nonrelative) actually practices witchcraft is immaterial for the moment. The important thing is that the fear of being witched constitutes a very real source of anxiety.

Western Apache culture places a high value on the passive personality—the personality disinclined toward such displays of hostile feelings as might anger a relative or upset a potential witch. A highly esteemed person is one who is friendly, generous, and adroit enough to avoid situations which might result in interpersonal conflict. Such a person goes out of his way to mask signs of aggression, and is always reluctant to pry into other people's affairs. In *na ih es*, these qualities are symbolically bestowed on the pubescent girl by the orange oriole feathers attached both to the eagle feathers on her cane and to her drinking tube. She is ritually awarded those character traits which her culture considers virtuous and a prerequisite for smooth social interaction. In addition, she is provided with a living model of good conduct—the oriole—to emulate.

PROSPERITY

One of the aims of *na ih es* is to assure the pubescent girl of prosperity. In Western Apache culture, prosperity corresponds in large part to the abundance of nature. More materialistically, it means having enough food and money to withstand times of severe privation. For most Apaches, making a living is difficult and uncertain. Their plots of corn and beans rarely bear an extensive yield, and inclement weather often results in no yield at all. Some years bring rain. Others bring drought, or heavy downpours that uproot seedling plants. Sudden frosts in the early fall ruin near-grown corn, and lightning kills livestock. For all but a few families, private income is low and credit at the trading post soon runs out. It is not surprising that Apaches think of the prosperous man as one who is always free

from hunger. In phase VI of *na ih es*, the pubescent girl is symbolically protected against famine by the corn, the candy (Apaches dearly love sweets), and the fruit which is cascaded over her head. The buckskin on which she dances throughout the ceremony stands as a guarantee of a plentiful supply of meat.

In recent years Apaches have come to place a high value on some of the things money can buy. Trucks, for instance, are a welcome means of transportation, opening up wide areas of mobility, and even the simplest cabin offers protection from the cold. Moreover, the wealthy are able to hold frequent ceremonials, and most important of all, money acts as a safeguard against the economic losses caused by the natural environment. Within the past few decades, the practice of pouring a few small coins (along with the corn, candy, and fruit) over the girl's head has been added to *na ih es*. Supposedly, she is thus assured of wealth as an adult. Old informants point out, however, that in their youth men reckoned wealth in terms of horses, women in terms of blankets. The traditional symbol of wealth, they say, occurs in phase VIII, when the girl throws a blanket in each of the cardinal directions.

It will be immediately understood that the realization of any one of the life objectives defined in *na ih es* increases the possibility of achieving others. Two specific examples of this interrelationship follow:

The attainment of old age depends in large part upon an observance of the proscriptions which mollify the anger of supernatural forces, and thereby bring about good health. Good health is obviously required for physical strength, a life objective in itself.

To maintain a good disposition—again a specific life objective—is to escape antagonizing another and to cause him to seek revenge by employing witchcraft. One result of witchcraft is sickness, which, by definition, makes physical strength impossible.

It is clear that the four life objectives stressed in *na ih es* are not always separate from one another; rather, they may be mutually dependent, forming a "life objective complex."

The foregoing discussion may have left the impression that Apaches conceive of the life objectives as explicitly formulated principles. Actually, these are culturally determined attitudes which are understood implicitly and rarely articulated. Their significance for the pubescent girl is that they define patterns of behavior which lessen the hazards and tensions in those areas of life most filled with uncertainty, and in which failure may result in disastrous consequences. If these patterns are carefully followed, they contribute immeasurably to the equilibrium of society and the psychological well-being of the individual.

NA IH ES AND CIBECUE

Having spoken of what *na ih es* does for the pubescent girl, I will now discuss a few of the things it does for the community. In doing so, I will make use of the ideas of adaptive and adjustive response set forth by Kluckhohn.

> My basic postulate . . . is that no cultural forms survive unless they constitute responses which are adjustive or adaptive, in some sense, for the members of the society or for the society considered as a unit. "Adaptive" is a purely descriptive term referring to the fact that certain types of behavior result in survival (for the individual or for society as a whole). "Adjustive" refers to those responses which bring about an adjustment of the individual, ... Thus suicide is adjustive but not adaptive. [Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 46.]

Kluckhohn's approach differs from that of the older functionalists (Radcliffe-Brown in particular) in emphasis but not in basic theory. Whereas the latter were primarily interested in showing the relations between abstracted elements of culture, Kluckhohn directs his attention to the contributions culture makes toward the preservation of the equilibrium of individuals.

In his interpretation of Navaho myth and ritual, Kluckhohn (1942) found the concepts of adaptive and adjustive response could be used to good advantage. He concluded that from the standpoint of society at large, rituals were "storehouses" of adaptive responses. In the following discussion, I shall attempt to show that *na ih es* functions adaptively; it contributes to the survival of Western Apache society.

Unfortunately, I am unable to explain clearly how *na ih es* functions adjustively. This would require a thorough knowledge of "motivation stimulating the individual" that I do not have at the present time. I know that Apaches cope daily with a wide variety of tensions, frustrations, and anxieties which sometimes result in explosive and violent behavior. But I am not at all sure about the precise nature of these feelings, nor of the cultural and social conditions which foster them. Consequently, in those instances where *na ih es* may function adjustively as well as adaptively, I can do little more than suggest the possibility.

Na ih es brings clan relatives together.—As indicated earlier, a Western Apache clan is not a localized kin group. Its members live in different communities, scattered over the entire reservation. Consequently, certain members of the same clan may see each other very infrequently. *Na ih es* is unique in that it unites large numbers of clan kin at the same place and provides them with a welcome opportunity to visit and work together.

For most Apaches, *na ih es* is the most festive and sociable occasion of the year. It is a time of activity, excitement, and social dances; a time of generosity and abundance with food and drink for everyone.

It is a time when individuals no longer living on the reservation come back to see their relatives and old friends. It is a time for gossip, bartering, and announcing forthcoming events. For the young people, it is a time for courting. People come to *na ih es* to "see the dance and take it easy for a while and have a good time." One man said that, for him, *na ih es* was "like a vacation."

When surrounded by relatives, as he is at *na ih es*, the Apache feels more secure than at any other time. He knows that if trouble should befall, support is close at hand. He shares common interests with his kinsmen and there is always a great deal to talk about. He is relaxed and at ease. He jokes and boasts in a good-natured way. He is cordial. He has a definite sense of belonging, a heightened awareness of those ties which bind him to specific segments of the social organization. One of the major adaptive functions of *na ih es* is that it contributes significantly (if temporarily) to the psychological well-being of the individual by creating an atmosphere conducive to the affirmation of rapport between clan relatives. This results in an increased sense of social membership and reinforced clan loyalties.

Na ih es strengthens kinship obligations.—During the days that precede *na ih es*, the reciprocal obligations which clan kinship entails are put to a crucial test. Without assistance from clan relatives, the ceremony cannot be held. Members of the pubescent girl's clan and clan set are expected to contribute large quantities of food and help make ready the dance ground. *Na ihł esn's* clan relatives are counted on to give food and small sums of money. Preparation for the ceremony stresses the need for economic cooperation between relatives and forces them to recognize their mutual dependency. By demonstrating the *practical* benefits to be had from the fulfillments of kinship obligations, *na ih es* confirms the effectiveness of the existing social order, and encourages the individual to adhere all the more strongly to established patterns of kinship behavior. This has the obvious adaptive function of promoting clan unity.

Na ih es establishes reciprocal obligations between unrelated persons.—Apaches say that one of the most important aspects of *na ih es* is the affirmation of the *shi ti ke* relationship. As previously noted, this bond requires the members of the pubescent girl's family, clan, and (theoretically) clan set to help those of *na ihł esn* whenever the need arises, and vice versa.

Ordinarily, such obligations exist only between blood and clan relatives. *Shi ti ke* functions adaptively by creating reciprocities between nonrelatives, thus greatly increasing the number of persons who can be relied on for support. The *shi ti ke* relationship makes "kinsmen" of individuals who are totally unrelated to each other.

Na ih es relieves anxieties.—Anthropologists have observed that one of the primary functions of rituals everywhere is to give systematic protection against the unpredictable, the unforeseen, and the perilous. Malinowski (1931, p. 624) wrote that ritual was "nothing else but an institution which fixes, organizes, and imposes upon the members of a society the positive solution in those inevitable conflicts which arise out of human impotence in dealing with all hazardous issues by mere knowledge and technical ability." Kluckhohn has commented that rituals help mask the vast role of "luck" in human life. In general, ritual may be thought of as a response to the anxieties of existence, a response which satisfies the individual's demands for a stable, coercible, and comprehensible world and which thereby enables him to maintain inner security against the threat of disaster.

By investing the pubescent girl with Changing Woman's power, *na ih es* protects the members of the community against sickness, drought, famine, and poverty. The people feel that, if used effectively, this power can cause good health, rain, an abundance of food, and material wealth. In a sense, a girl's puberty is merely an excuse to invoke Changing Woman's prophylactic benevolence and bring good fortune to Cibecue. Apaches say over and over again that everyone "gets something" from *na ih es*. The ceremony does much more than prepare the pubescent girl for adult life. It brings "good luck" to the entire populace.

Four 4 days after *na ih es*, the girl is "like a medicine man." With a simple gesture, she can cure the sick. In addition, she can bring abundance. For anyone fortunate enough to pick them up, the corn kernels and coins which are poured over her head in phase VI guarantee good crops and wealth. The fruit and candy which is distributed to all the spectators protects them against hunger. By dancing on the buckskin, the girl assures a plentiful supply of deer. And finally, by pouring water over her cane, she can cause rain.[35]

Changing Woman's power, acting through the pubescent girl, brings the "good things in life" within the reach of everyone. As mentioned before, the good things pertain directly to those areas of life where Apaches can least tolerate insecurity and about which they are the most anxious. *Na ih es* relieves much of this anxiety by promising "better times." It provides the community with a strong weapon—Changing Woman's power—with which to combat natural catastrophe. Thus, for the individual, *na ih es* has an important adjustive function; it reduces the fear of disaster. With regard to the community, however, the ceremony functions adaptively. By forcing community concerns into bold relief, it makes the people acutely

[35] Besides relieving the anxieties common to everyone in the community, *na ih es* functions adaptively to ease strictly personal worries. It will be recalled that in phase VII, the girl makes private wishes come true.

aware of the interests, aspirations, and solicitudes they share with one another. *Na ih es* strengthens communal solidarity by uniting the people under the aegis of a common system of sentiments.

Na ih es encourages "moral" behavior.—Apaches think that the achievement of life objectives is wholly "honorable" and "good." Consequently, *na ih es*, which isolates four all-important life objectives, has a profound effect on the moral attitudes of the community. At *na ih es*, parents tell their children: "It is good to have those things so you can grow up to be old. Be strong and friendly. People will always like you if you grow up old that way." In stressing the need for "virtuousness," *na ih es* incites compliance with the normative standards of ethical behavior. Once, after attending *na ih es*, a young Apache told me: "I've been getting into trouble lately, but I'll behave good from now on. I sure liked that dance. I'll be like that girl who got that power." In the absence of a codified system of ethics, *na ih es* serves a vital purpose. It strengthens belief in those values which are the most important for the smooth integration of Apache society and the psychological stability of the individual.

Na ih es is symbolic of an ideal state of happiness which Apaches claim actually existed long ago in mythological times. "In those days," the people say, "everything was good." The myth of Changing Woman, and her personification by the pubescent girl, link *na ih es* to the past and thus provide the raison d'être for its existence in the present. The ultimate justification and sanction for *na ih es* come not from the ceremony itself but from the long cultural tradition of which it is a product. An old man said to me: "Changing Woman never died and she will always live."

GLOSSARY OF APACHE TERMS

ba koh di yị ('She can perform miracles')—term applied to the pubescent girl when, after *na ih es*, she heals a sick person.

ba na ihl dih ('blessing her')—phase VII of *na ih es*, during which all spectators bless the pubescent girl and *na ihl esn* by sprinkling holy powder on them.

bi goh ji tał ('half-night dance')—social dances which precede *na ih es*, held at the dance ground.

bihl de nił ke ('all alone, she dances')—phase I of *na ih es*, during which the pubescent girl receives Changing Woman's power.

bi keh ihl ze' ('she is dressed up')—brief ceremony on the evening before *na ih es*, at which the medicine man bestows the ritual paraphernalia on the pubescent girl.

bi til tih ('night before dance')—social dance preceding *na ih es*, at which the pubescent girl dances clad in her ceremonial attire.

da hą zhę esh dali. Ih sta nedlęheh ('long life, no trouble, Changing Woman')—prayer uttered by pubescent girl in phase I of *na ih es.*

di yih ('power')—Apache term for supernatural power.

dí yin ('one who has power')—Apache term for medicine man or shaman.

gan ('mountain spirits')—also applied to the curing ceremony at which masked dancers impersonate these supernaturals.

gíhx íł ke ('blankets, she throws them off')—eighth and final phase of *na ih es,* during which the pubescent girl throws the ceremonial buckskin to the east, and a blanket in each of the three other cardinal directions.

gish ih zha ha ('cane')—the decorated staff with which the pubescent girl dances at *bi til tih* and *na ih es.*

gish ih zha ha aldeh ('cane, it is made')—sweat bath, attended by male relatives of the pubescent girl and *na ihł esn,* at which the medicine man and his assistants make the ritual paraphernalia for *na ih es.*

gish ih zha ha yinda sle dił ihłye ('cane set out for her, she runs around it')—phase IV of *na ih es,* during which the pubescent girl, followed by *na ihł esn,* runs and circles the cane which stands upright in the ground.

goh jon sinh' ('full of great happiness')—specifically the name given to Changing Woman's power; the songs sung at *na ih es* are collectively referred to by this term.

hadn tin ('holy powder, yellow powder')—cattail and/or corn pollen considered sacred by Apaches and used in all ceremonies.

ih sta nedlęheh ('Changing Woman')—the mythological figure whom the pubescent girl personifies during *na ih es* and whose power is believed to grant long life.

ih' tsos ba hihł tza ('eagle feather, it is given')—term for the procedure of asking a woman to be *na ihł esn.*

il kashn ('witch')—Apache term for witch.

na e tlanh ('have drinking,' or 'goes before drinking')—informal gathering at which clan relatives of the pubescent girl's family pledge gifts of food and drink (for *na ih es*) in return for being given tulipay.

na ih es ('preparing her,' or 'getting her ready')—Western Apache term for girl's puberty rite.

na ihł esn ('one who prepares her,' or 'one who gets her ready')—woman who dances with the pubescent girl in *na ih es* and with whom the girl's family makes the *shi ti ke* contract.

nan tan ('chief' or 'boss')—prominent member of *ndeh guhyaneh* who supervises the preparation of the dance ground and who formally asks a woman to be *na ihł esn.*

nay en ez gane ('Slayer-of-Monsters')—Changing Woman's first child; his father was the Sun.

ndeh guhyaneh ('wise people')—group of older people who select a time and place for *na ih es;* they also choose a medicine man and nominate a woman for the role of *na ihł esn.*

nił sla ih ka ('food, exchanged')—the exchange of gifts of food which takes place between the families and relatives of the pubescent girl and those of *na ihł esn.*

niztah ('sitting')—phase II of *na ih es,* during which the pubescent girl reenacts Changing Woman's impregnation by the Sun.

nizti ('lying')—phase III of *na ih es,* during which *na ihł esn* massages the legs, back, and shoulders of the pubescent girl.

nja njleesh ('she is painted')—ceremony combined with *na ih es* in communities other than Cibecue, Cedar Creek, and Carrizo.

sa ni bi ti gishih ('old age beckoning to her')—term used with reference to the pubescent girl prior, during, and 4 days after *na ih es.*

sha nał dihł ('candy, it is poured')—phase VI of *na ih es,* during which the medicine man pours candy, fruit, and corn kernels over the pubescent girl's head.

shi ti ke ('my good friend')—term denoting the bond of reciprocal obligation which is contracted between the extended family and clans of the pubescent girl and *na ihł esn.*

ta chih ('sweat bath')—sweat bath.

te tza ('carrying basket')—a large basket, generally with buckskin fringe.

tuh ba tes chine ('Born-of-Water-Old-Man')—Changing Woman's second son; his father was the mythological figure Water-Old-Man.

tulipay (? 'gray water')—Western Apache liquor; made from the fermented pulp of mashed corn shoots.

zú kish (?)—term for the pubescent girl's cane when it is used as a walking stick, and not as an item of ritual paraphernalia.

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THE WAHNENAUHI MANUSCRIPT: HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF THE CHEROKEES

TOGETHER WITH SOME OF THEIR CUSTOMS, TRADITIONS, AND SUPERSTITIONS

Edited and with an introduction by
JACK FREDERICK KILPATRICK

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INTRODUCTION

In September of 1889 Wahnenauhi (pl. 1),[1] a Cherokee woman whose English name was Mrs. Lucy L. Keys, sent from her home in Vinita, Indian Territory, a 70-page manuscript of her authorship to the Bureau of American Ethnology. "Please examine," she wrote, "and if of value to you, remit what you consider an equivalent." After some negotiation the manuscript, entitled "Historical Sketches of the Cherokees: Together with Some of Their Customs, Traditions and Superstitions," was purchased in November of the same year for $10.00.

In a letter to the Bureau of American Ethnology, dated November 8, 1889, the author stated:

> The name, 'Wahnenauhi,' signed to the Manuscript, is my own Cherokee name. You are at liberty to use either Cherokee, or English name in connection with the Manuscript. Major George Lowrey was my Grandfather and I was at his house when George Guess (Sequoyah) left for the West, also when his companions returned without him.

The above-stated relationship to Major Lowrey (pl. 2) provided the editor with the strong suspicion that the author was born Lucy Lowrey Hoyt,[2] a mixblood of distinguished ancestry, connected by blood and marriage to many of the most prominent families in the Cherokee Nation. Subsequent communication with Clun D. Keys,

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[1] *Wa:nino:hi* ('Over-There-They-Just-Arrived-With-It [long]'). This is a comparatively rare feminine proper name.

[2] Wahnenauhi was born in 1831 at Willstown, Ala. After removing to the West she lived at Park Hill, Okla.

of Vinita, Okla., grandson of Lucy Lowrey Hoyt, removed all doubt as to the identity of Wahnenauhi.

Maj. George Lowrey (1770?–1852), of whom Wahnenauhi writes with obvious affection, was her maternal grandfather. Pilling (1888, p. 186), quoting Rev. Samuel A. Worcester (1798–1859) whose missionary endeavors were strongly supported by Lowrey, states:

> He [Lowrey] was one of the Cherokee delegation, headed by the distinguished John Watts, who visited President Washington at Philadelphia in 1791 or 1792. He was one of the captains of light horse companies that were appointed to enforce the laws of the nation in 1808 and 1810. He was a member of the national committee, organized in 1814. He was one of the delegation who negotiated the treaty of 1819 at Washington City. He was a member of the convention that framed the constitution of the nation in 1827; and also that of 1839. He was elected assistant principal chief under the constitution in 1828; which office he filled many years. At the time of his death he was a member of the executive council.
>
> He always took a lively interest in the translation of the scriptures into the Cherokee language, in which work he rendered important aid. One of his written addresses on temperance has been for several years [prior to 1852] in circulation as a tract in the Cherokee language.

Major Lowrey collaborated with the brilliant young Cherokee classical scholar, David Brown (?–1829), the husband of his third daughter, Rachel, in making what has been stated as being the first translation of the New Testament into Cherokee, but what was very probably a translation of the Four Gospels only. This accomplishment was completed on September 27, 1825. Chapters 2–27 of the Gospel of St. Matthew from this pioneer translation were published in the "Cherokee Phoenix" (April 3 to July 29, 1829) (Pilling, 1888, p. 111). At least a part of the definitive translation of the New Testament was based on the Brown-Lowrey version.

Major Lowrey served as head of the temperance organization among the Cherokee in Georgia. The tract, referred to above, was issued at Park Hill in two editions, 1842 and 1855 (Hargrett, 1951, pp. 18, 60).

The mother of Wahnenauhi, Lydia, the second daughter of Major Lowrey and his wife, Lucy Benge, has passed into the folklore of the Cherokee people. At the age of 16, while a student at Brainerd Mission, she was converted to Christianity and baptized on January 3, 1819. "Soon afterwards she had a dream in which the words [of an original hymn] came to her so impressively that on arising in the morning she wrote them out as the first hymn written by a Cherokee" (Starr, 1921, p. 249). Since the Sequoyah syllabary was not perfected until 1821, one wonders whether Lydia's hymn were in English or in some phonetic system. In either event, it is still sung by her tribesmen. It is to be found on pages 17–18 of the American Baptist

Publication Society's issues of the "Cherokee Hymn Book" (on pp. 14–15 of the 1909 Dwight Mission Press edition) and it is called "Une:hlanv́:hi o:ginalí:i ('The Lord and I Are Friends')."

Wahnenauhi's paternal grandfather was the Connecticut-born Rev. Ard Hoyt (1770–1829), superintendent of Brainerd Mission from 1818 until 1824, and subsequently associated with Willstown Mission in Alabama until his death. His wife, nee Esther Booth (d. 1841), was also a native of Connecticut (Walker, 1931, p. 43).

Wahnenauhi's father, Dr. Milo Hoyt, the son of Rev. Ard Hoyt, was also a missionary (ibid., pp. 134–135), as were two of her brothers-in-law: Rev. Amory Nelson Chamberlin (1821–94), sometime superintendent of both the Cherokee Male and Female Seminaries (Starr, 1921, p. 555), and Rev. Hamilton Balentine, who served as superintendent of the Cherokee Female Seminary and whose wife, Nancy, Wahnenauhi's sister, was a member of the faculty (Foreman, C. T., 1948, p. 150). Wahnenauhi's mother's sister, Susan, was the wife of Andrew, the brother of Principal Chief John Ross (ibid., p. 161).

Lucy Lowrey Hoyt was one of the 12 in the first class that graduated from the Cherokee Female Seminary. In the same month, February of 1855, the Cherokee Male Seminary graduated its first class, also 12 in number, and in it was Monroe Calvin Keys,[3] Lucy Lowrey Hoyt's future husband. One of the classmates of Keys was Joel Bryan Mayes (1833–91), Principal Chief of the Cherokee from 1887 until his death.

In Wahnenauhi's day her planter class of mixbloods—wealthy, educated, and receptive to all the Victorian attitudes of the corresponding stratum in Southern White society—was set apart from its full-blood tribesmen by formidable barriers. English was its first language, evangelical Christianity its religion, and acculturation its code. The surprising thing is not how much of the old Cherokee culture Wahnenauhi and those of her social class had forgotten, but how much of it they remembered.

The Christian missionaries—for the most part men of great force and sagacity—swiftly drove most of the aboriginal culture underground; the ruling mixblood class, engaged in a desperate struggle for national survival, in the belief that its cause was strengthened in direct ratio to rate of acculturation, seconded missionary efforts with fervor. What with illustrious missionary blood in her lineage and daily environment, one would expect Wahnenauhi's backward view

[3] Keys was born in Tennessee about 1823. During the Civil War he fought for the Confederacy in the Second Cherokee Mounted Volunteers. Wahnenauhi and her children spent some time during the conflict as refugees in the Choctaw Nation, where she taught school. In the early 1870's Keys established residence at Pheasant Hill, about 6 miles west of the present Vinita, Okla. He died in 1875 and was buried in a family cemetery at Pheasant Hill. After having spent the last 25 years of her life as a cripple from a fall, Wahnenauhi died from apoplexy in 1912 and was buried beside her husband.

over her people to have a decided Christian bias. Although she was actually but a couple of generations removed from the full flower of the old culture, much of it must have seemed to her as remote as does Beowulf to a citizen of present-day London.

And yet, some things of much significance to us she actually saw with her own eyes; her report on Cherokee dress and coiffure, for example, is quite valuable. The myths that she retells, despite much probable loss of details, have the ring of the authenticity of the family fireside of her grandparents. Cherokee curing rites she doubtlessly witnessed, even if she was unable to interpret them fully.

The information that Wahnenauhi has to give us on Lowrey and Sequoyah is not extensive, but nevertheless priceless. If we had been fortunate enough for there to have been competent guidance of the author in preparing her sketch, much data of enormous value might have been saved from limbo. For example, she could have filled in some of the disturbing gaps in our record of Sequoyah (pl. 3). She could have settled for us the question of his parentage; she could have completed the picture of his personal appearance. The glimpses of her grandfather are valuable; but we would also have deeply appreciated a word-picture of John Ross (pl. 4), whom she doubtlessly knew, and of Stand Watie, under whose command her husband fought in the Civil War. Wahnenauhi could have supplied us with fascinating details of plantation life in the Cherokee Nation, of the routine at the Cherokee Female Seminary, of the personality of Rev. Samuel A. Worcester, and of the impact of the Civil War upon her people.

Wahnenauhi's verbiage is replete with young ladies' finishing school posturing. The spirit of Scott and Tennyson pervades her pages. Such would be unworthy of comment in a document penned in Baltimore or Charleston at the time of Wahnenauhi's writing; what is intriguing is the fact that a scant few miles from her desk her tribesmen were "going to the water" with the same frequency, the same earnestness, and for the same purposes as they did in prehistoric times. Neither they nor Wahnenauhi could enter, nor did they want to enter, into the respective worlds of each other; yet, they were indissolubly bound together by the only ties that Cherokees ever understood, or still understand—a fierce loyalty to common ancestry.

In the negotiations over purchase of the manuscript, Maj. J. W. Powell, at that time director of the Bureau of Ethnology (the word "American" was not in the title in those days), wrote on November 14, 1889: "You will thus understand that its value to the Bureau is comparatively small." In view of its being much consulted since its acquisition, Major Powell somewhat underestimated it. But its true value lies not in what it purports to be—a contribution to Cherokee history and ethnology: rather, it is one of the most valuable rec-

ords available to sociologists in examining the psychological posture of a highly acculturated 19th-century mixblood Cherokee toward the fascinating dichotomy of cultures that was the Cherokee Nation.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF THE CHEROKEES, TOGETHER WITH SOME OF THEIR CUSTOMS, TRADITIONS, AND SUPERSTITIONS [4]

By Wah-ne-nau-hi, *a Cherokee Indian*

Fifty years ago, if someone had undertaken to write a History of the Cherokee Nation, he would have done so with some hope of success.

At that time Traditions were learned and remembered by those who regarded it worth while to preserve from oblivion the Origin and Customs of the Tribe. I know of only one person who attempted the task of preparing such a work, Major George Lowrey, who was, for many years, a prominent member of the nation, and well-versed in Cherokee Lore.

The Manuscript was written in the Cherokee Language, and is supposed to have been destroyed during the Civil War of the United States.

The following Sketches and Incidents are given as I remember to have heard them of older persons; and I trust they will be acceptable to those interested in Indian History.

When the English first came to America, a large tribe of Indians, calling themselves the Ke-too-wha, occupied the South Eastern portion of North America; The Country now comprizing the states of Virginia, Pennsylvania,[5] North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama and Georgia.

Very little is known of them, only as Tradition comes to us.

They have always considered themselves the largest and most powerful Tribe on the Eastern side of the Continent, and have been so acknowledged by the other Tribes.

Holding this place of Supremacy made them selfconfident and independent. In disposition they were friendly and generous, though always reserved before strangers. Fearless in danger, intrepid and daring when occasion required, they were slow to take offence at fancied injuries or insults.

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[4] Certain phases of the research necessary for the editing of this paper were made possible by a grant from the National Science Foundation.

Inasmuch as they may be meaningful to students of Cherokee social history, Wahnenauhi's orthography and punctuation have not been altered.

[5] Kentucky, portions of which the Cherokee claimed, was possibly intended (see Mooney, 1900, pp. 14–23).

They were always on friendly terms with the Delawares, by whom they were called Ke-too-whah-kee. So highly were they esteemed that, at one time, a Ketoo-wha was chosen and served as Chief of the Delaware Tribe.[6]

The Whites first met with these Indians in one of their towns, on the bank of a small stream, which they named Cherry Creek, from the number of Cherry trees which grew there; the people they called, the "Cherry Creek Indians." This name, by gradual variations, came to be Cherok, then, Cherokee, as it now is. The Tribe, becoming familiar with their White Brothers, finally renounced their original name, Ke-too-wha, and adopted that of "Cherokee," by themselves pronounced "Dtsah-lah-gee." [7]

There were several different Dialects used in the Language of the Cherokees. [8]

In explaining the cause of this, we have recourse only to Tradition: This tells us that in the "long time ago" there were several Tribes conquered and adopted or "naturalized" by the Ke-too-wha, they retained their own Idiom of Speech, or, used a brogue in trying to learn the Language of their Conquerers.[9] This Story is the generally approved explanation of the difference in the Language of the Cherokees. One dialect is the "Pipestem," another the "Overhill," in this the most noticable peculiarity is the prominent sound of *R* instead of "L," there being no "R" in the pure Cherokee. The Cherokee Tribe was divided into seven Clans, or, Families. There are some interesting facts in regard to the operation and influence of Clanship.

If any one was killed, either by accident, or with malicious intention, his death must be revenged by members of his own Clan.

When the murderer could not be found, a Substitute might be taken from *his* Clan. The Chief Town of the Nation was the only place of safty for the Slayer, should he succeed in reaching this Refuge, he must remain in it until after the Annual Green Corn Dance.[10]

He was then at liberty to leave, his life being no longer in danger.

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[6] Documentation exists for proving that the Cherokee and Delaware came into conflict within the historic period; we have not discovered documentation for Wahnenauhi's statement to the effect that a Cherokee served as a Delaware chief.

[7] Folk etymologies such as this and the hypotheses of Mooney (1900, pp. 15–16) and Swanton (1946, p. 217) are equally unacceptable to conservative Cherokees. I (Kilpatrick, 1962, p. 39), strongly supported by fullblood friends and relatives, suggest the possibility that the tribal name may be derived from the word *tsa: dlegi* ('he-[or she-] who-just-turned-aside').

[8] Even at this late date the Cherokee dialects have been incompletely identified. Cherokee speakers in Oklahoma employ such terms as *Gi:dhahyo:h(i)*, *Itsodi:yi*, *Atsi:sgehnagesdí:yi*, and *Dla:y(i)go:h(i)* for modes of speech which they consider to be distinct dialects.

[9] Cherokees themselves are quite aware that certain words, especially specific proper names, in common usage are of foreign origin. A study of "similar terms [in Cherokee and Creek] for certain plants, animals, and other things," observed by Haas (1961, p. 22) would be especially profitable.

[10] Cf. Gilbert (1943, pp. 324–325, 356–357).

The marriage of persons belonging to the same Clan, and of the father's Clan was strictly forbidden; and also marriage was prohibited between relatives by blood. Capital punishment was the penalty for breaking this Law.

Clan-kin was held most sacred.[11]

The mother was the Head of the Family, and the children were called by the name of her Clan. Affectionate regard for kindred was cherished; and old persons were treated with great respect and tenderly cared for. Persons, who had at any time, especially distinguished themselves by deeds of Courage or Bravery were highly esteemed, we give an illustration—

Once, a town was surprised by a band of enemies, and the Chief killed: His wife, whose name was "Cuh-tah-la-tah," [12] on seeing her husband fall, immediately snatched up his hatchet, shouting, "Hi-lu-ki! Hi-lu-ki!" (Kill! Kill!) [13] rushed forward on the invaders, striking down all who opposed her.

Her bravery so inspired the discouraged warriors with fresh Courage that they hurried on to the fight and gained a complete victory. Many instances could be quoted, of brave deeds and victories won by Cherokee Patriots.

The Cherokees believed in one God, whom they called "Oo-na-hlah-nau-hi," [14] meaning "Maker of all Things," and "Cah-luh-luh-ti-a-hi," [15] or, "The One who lives above." They acknowledged Him as their Friend, and believed that He made every thing, and possessed unlimited Power.

They also believed in an Evil Spirit, called in their language, "Skee-nah"; to his malicious influence they attributed all trouble, calamity and sickness.[16]

They believed in Familiar Spirits, Witch-craft and Conjurers. Witches were supposed to be able to do much harm, both to persons and to property. they received their power from the familiar spirits, who were emissaries of the Evil one. The more easily to affect their plans, witches were thought, sometimes to assume the form of birds or beasts.

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[11] Cf. Gilbert (1943, pp. 203–253).

[12] *Go:dhale:da* ('Perforated, It').

[13] *Hi:lugal* ('kill you, (imp.)').

[14] *Une:hlanv:hi* ('Provider, He'). Mooney and Olbrechts (1932, pp. 20–21) theorize that this term for the Supreme Being is a synonym for the sun. I discover in Cherokee theology little to support this concept.

[15] *Galô:la?dí é:hi* ('Resider [or One-Who-Properly-Belongs] Above, He [or She]').

[16] There is no universal evil spirit, corresponding to Satan, in Cherokee theology. Properly an *asgi:na* is any sort of spirit, but it is usually considered to be a malevolent one. Wahnenauhi derived her connotation from the Cherokee New Testament (Worcester, 1860) in which this term is employed for a devil, or the Devil. Cf. Matthew 4:1 (p. 6): "*Hna:gwohno: Ada:n(v)dho i:nage? wudhi?nv:sdane Tsi:sa, asgi:na ugo:-li:yedi:yi ayelv:se:i.*"

Conjurors were doctors who, besides curing deseases, were thought to have power to counteract the evil doings of Witches, and even to destroy the witches themselves, without ever going near, or, seeing them.

If a person was suddenly taken with a new or uncommon desease, a Conjuror was immediately summoned by the friends of the afflicted one. He first examined the patient, looking intently at him, and asking questions about him.

He then made tea of some kind of roots, giving the sick one to drink, and bathing his face and limbs with it. He then had recourse to incantations, blowing his breath on the patient, making manipulations over his body and all the time muttering or speaking in a low tone as if conversing with some one.[17]

In cases of severe pain, the Conjuror procured bark from a particular kind of tree, and burned it to coals, then after warming his hands over the fire, would press them tightly to the pain, then rub them briskly over the fire. after performing this operation several times, quite often the patient recovered.[18]

If this treatment proved unsuccessful then some one suspected of being a witch was accused as the cause of the trouble.

Various methods, at different times, were resorted to, to find out and punish the offender. one way was, to make a picture representing the accused and shoot it. if the person died soon after, that fact was proof conclusive of his guilt.[19]

Many medicinal plants and roots were known and used by the people in common deseases. The bark of the Birch Tree was considered a specific for Cancer and malignant ulcers.[20] A leaden-colored, oval-shaped stone, thought to be *solidified lightning*, as it was dug from near the roots of a lightning-struck tree, was a cure for Rheumatism.[21]

I think the Cherokees were not more superstitious than some Civilized Nations.

A few birds and some wild animals were said to be messengers of evil tidings.[22]

There is a Legend of a large serpent, called the "Ground snake," being the color of the ground was said to betoken death to the one who

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[17] Wahnenauhi undoubtedly saw a *dida:hnvwi:sg(i)* ('one who cures them') at work, but in this account she confused specific curing procedures with general. The bathing of the face and limbs, for example, suggests treatment for apoplexy.

[18] This treatment would be appropriate to a number of unrelated medical situations. The "bark from a particular kind of tree" would be lightning-struck hickory or red oak bark.

[19] This is not one of the standard techniques employed by a *dida:hnvwi:sg(i)* in "working against" someone who is molesting his patient.

[20] Hickory bark and post oak bark are used nowadays. Perhaps they are substitutes necessitated by a lack of correspondence of the flora of the old Cherokee locus and the new.

[21] I have seen these stones (star-shaped, not oval) among the Eastern Cherokee, but not in Oklahoma.

[22] Some, such as squirrels (good luck), have apparently not been reported. (Cf. Gilbert, 1943, pp. 367–369.)

saw it; if it appeared to several persons a National Calamity was apprehended.[23]

A buzzard feather placed over the door prevented the witches from entering their cabins.[24]

The Cherokees had many Traditions. Some are interesting, some appear simply foolish, but hold some hidden meaning; others sound strangely familiar, and are so like the Bible stories that Christian mothers tell their little children, as to make one say, "Where, or, how did they obtain them? Such is the one about the Boy who was swallowed by a fish.

The Cherokee Story is, that the boy was sent on an errand by his father, and not wishing to go, he ran away to the river. After playing in the sand for a short time, some boys of his acquaintance came by in a canoe, who invited him to join them. Glad of the opportunity to get away, he went with them, but had no sooner got in than the canoe began to tip and rock most unaccountably. the boys became very much frightened, and in the confusion the bad boy fell into the water and was immediately swallowed by a large fish. After lying there for some time he became very hungry, and on looking around he saw the fish's liver hanging over his head. Thinking it was dried meat, he tried to cut off a piece with a mussle shell that he had been playing with and which he still held in his hand the operation sickened the fish and it vomited the boy.[25]

The story of how the world was made is this,—Observe that in telling of the Creation, the plural number "They" is used for the Creator.

It is said, They took a turtle and covered its back with mud. This grew larger and continued to increase until it became quite a large island.

They then made a man and a woman, and led them around the edge of the island. On arriving at the starting place, They planted some corn and then told the man and the woman to go around in the way they had been led, this they did; returning, they found the corn up and growing nicely.

They were then told to continue the circuit; each trip consumed more time, at last the corn was ripe and ready for use. Then fire was wanted.

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[23] This "Ground snake" is undoubtedly the mythical sea-dragon, the *Ugh(a)dhe:n(i)* (the spelling of this word in manuscripts is variable). (Cf. Mooney, 1900, pp. 458–461.)

[24] I have found no evidence to support this statement, paraphrased by Mooney (1900, p. 284), nor that of Mooney and Olbrechts (1932, p. 76) to the effect that buzzard feathers are hung over doorways for the purpose of warding off disease. In Oklahoma a buzzard feather is placed above a front door to serve as an *agh(a)dhi:di:sgi* ('watcher of it [the house], it'), and this is a representative charm that accompanies the placing of the feather: *A?hni gvnv:dhodhe:sdi hno:gwo nihi niga:i go:hù:sdi tsugv:wahl(o)di sgihwa:dhve:hi ge:se:sdi* ('I am going to leave you on watch here. Now you will be the finder for me of all valuable things') [*Atsi:sgvhnagesdᵭ:yi* dialect].

[25] This myth is quoted in Mooney (1900, p. 321).

The animals were called together, and the question asked, "Who will go and bring fire?" The 'possum first came forward and offered to go; he was sent, but returned with out it; he had tried to carry it with his tail, but had that member so scorched and burned that he made a failure. They then sent the buzzard, he, too, failed, returning with his head and neck badly burned [26]. A little spider then said, "I will go and get fire," upon which the beasts and birds raised an uproar, ridiculing the spider, but not one was willing to undertake the hazardous journey, and the spider was allowed to go. She made a little bowl of mud and placing it on her back started, spinning a thread as she traced her way over the water on arriving at the fire, she carefully placed some coals in her cup and returned crossing safely on the bridge which she had spun [27].

Another story is told of how sin came into the world. A man and woman brought up a large family of children in comfort and plenty, with very little trouble about providing food for them. Every morning the father went forth and very soon returned bringing with him a deer, or, turky or some other animal or fowl. At the same time the mother went out and soon returned with a large basket filled with ears of corn which she shelled and pounded in a mortar, thus making meal for bread.

When the children grew up, seeing with what apparent ease food was provided for them, they talked to each other about it, wondering that they never saw such things as their parents brought in.

at last one proposed to watch when their parents went out and follow them.

Accordingly next morning the plan was carried out. Those who followed the father, at a short distance from the cabin, saw him stop and turn over a large stone that appeared to be carelessly leaned against another.

on looking closely they saw an entrance to a large Cave and in it were many different kinds of animals and birds, such as their father had sometimes brought in for food. The man standing at the entrance called a deer, which was lying at some distance and back of some other animals, it rose immediately, as it heard the call, and came close up to him.

He picked it up, closed the mouth of the cave and returned, not once seeming to suspect what his sons had done.

When the old man was fairly out of sight, his sons, rejoicing how they had outwitted him, left their hiding place, and went to the cave,

[26] This, of course, is in explanation of the hairless tail of the opossum and the colored head and neck of the buzzard.

[27] Cf. Mooney (1900, pp. 239-242) for North Carolina versions of the origins of the world and of fire.

saying, they would show the old folks that they too could bring in some thing. They moved the stone away—though it was very heavy, and they were obliged to use all their united strength.

When the cave was opened, the animals, instead of waiting to be picked up, all made a rush for the entrance, and leaping past the frightened and bewildered boys, scattered in all directions and disappeared in the wilderness, while the guilty offenders could do nothing but gaze in stupified amazement as they saw them escape. There were animals of all kinds, large and small—Buffaloes, deer, elks, antelopes, raccoons and squirrels; even catamounts and panthers, wolves and foxes, and many others, all fleeing together; at the same time birds of every kind were seen emerging from the opening, all in the same wild confusion as the quadrupeds:—Turkeys, geese, swans, ducks, quails, eagles, hawks and owls.

Those who followed the mother, saw her enter a small cabin, which they had never seen before, and close the door.

The culprits found a small crack through which they could peer.

They saw the woman place a basket on the ground, and standing over it shook herself vigourously, jumping up and down when lo! and behold! large ears of corn began to fall into the basket. when it was well filled she took it up, and placing it on her head came out, fastened the door and prepared their breakfast as usual. When the meal was finished in silence, the man spoke to his children, telling them that he was aware of what they had done, that now he must die, and they would be obliged to provide for themselves, he made bows and arrows for them, then sent them to hunt for the animals that they had turned loose.

Then the mother told them that, as they had found out her secret, she could do nothing more for them, that she would die, and they must drag her body around over the ground, that where ever her body was dragged, corn would come up, of this they were to make their bread. she told them that they must always save some for seed and plant every year.[28]

I have heard a story about the "Little People", or, "Children." "Nuh-na-yie" [29] is the Cherokee name for them. It was said that in old times they were very numerous; they were inoffensive, and would often help any persons whom they found in distress, especially children who were lost, if a child were found, the Nuh-na-yie would appoint several of their number to take care of it and supply it with food until it could be restored to its parents or friends. for this reason they

[28] Mooney (1900, pp. 248–249. 431) quotes the Wahnenauhi versions of these myths. I taped a rather lengthy version of the "Origin of Corn" myth in Cherokee County, Okla., in the summer of 1961 (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, 1964, pp. 129–134).

[29] *Nv:néhi* ('they who continue to live'). *Gz:néhi* is the form more often used in everyday speech.

[were] very much loved by the Indians who took great care not to offend them, but for all that something happened by which the Nuh-na-yie felt themselves very much insulted, and for which they determined to leave. The Indians were aware of their intention, and exerted all their arts of persuasion to induce them to remain, but without success. there was nothing for them to do but to see the last of them. There was an arm of the sea which the Little People were to cross.

The Indians assembled on the bank near the place of crossing, looking at them sadly as they passed: on they went into the water, the Indians watching all the time until on the opposite side they disappeared in what seemed to be the mouth of a large cave in the margin of the water. nothing more was ever heard of them. In appearance, the little people were described as being wellformed, not more than two feet tall, with an abundance of long black hair almost trailing on the ground. It was said that they were very fond of music.

The drum seemed to be their favorite musical instrument, it was used on all occasions; when on a journey they marched to the sound of the drum.

It was often heard by the Indians, before the Nuh-na-yie went away, sometimes in the mountains, or, in lonely situations far from human habitations. sometimes in the night folks were awakened by the sound of a drum very near their cabins, then it was said that the Nuh-na-yie were about, and on going to their work in the early morning, as gathering in their corn, or, clearing off land for a new field, sometimes they were greatly surprised by finding it all finished up, corn all gathered and put away, or, ground made ready for planting, trees and brush all taken off and put up around the sides, making a fence much better than they themselves would have done.[30]

In early times, the clothing of the Cherokees was made entirely of the skins of animals which they killed in hunting.[31] The Cherokee women became quite skilful in making clothes for their families, when very young, girls were instructed in the art of preparing material for, and making clothing. After dressing, the skins were rubbed and polished until they were very smooth and soft, often nicely ornamented, by painting in different colors; for paint, or dye, the juices of plants were used. The men wore a turban on their heads, their other clothing consisted of a hunting-shirt, leggins and moccasins, all deeply fringed.

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[30] Numerous tape recordings made in eastern Oklahoma by me in 1961 prove that the Cherokee by no means believed that the "Little People" disappeared. The recordings corroborate Wahnenauhi's statements as to the physical appearance, musical proclivities, and helpful attitude toward human beings of these creatures. (See Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, 1964, pp. 77–95.)

[31] This is an oversimplification. The use of vegetable fibers and featherwork is discussed in Swanton (1946, pp. 460–461, 472–473).

The hunting-shirt was worn wrapped tightly around and folded over the chest, fastened with a belt around the waist.

Belts, in later years, came to be very much prized, being worn as an ornament.

They were made of bright colored worsted yarn interwoven with white beads, and were several yards in length, so as to fold many times around the body, they were worn tied at the left side, the ends, ornamented with tassels, hung nearly to the knees. Garters, made to match the belt were tied over the leggins below the knees, the tasseled ends left dangling.

The women wore a skirt and short jacket, with leggins and moccasins, the jacket was fastened in front with silver broaches, the skirt was fringed and either painted or embroidered with beads, and the moccasins were trimmed with beads, in many colors. Their hair, they combed smooth and close, then folded into a club at the back of the head, and tied very tight with a piece of dried eel-skin, which was said to make the hair grow long.

The men, in cutting their hair, always left the lock growing on the crown of the head, this was braided and hung down the back. It was called a "coo-tlah." [32]

Both sexes were fond of wearing ornaments. Some wore broad bands of silver on the arms above the elbows, and on the wrists and ankles, they wore rings on their fingers, and in the nose, and ears; I have seen old men with holes made in their ears from the lower edge to the very top; [33] I never saw them wear more than two pair of ear-rings at one time. They liked very much to wear beads around their necks.[34]

Their dwellings were sometimes made by bending down saplings and tying the tops together and filling in between with poles tied with bark and interwoven with cane or withes, and a space left open for a door, also a small opening near the top for smoke to escape.

For winter sleeping room, the saplings were bent quite low, making the hut not more than four or five feet high in the centre; after finishing off as the other, it was thickly daubed on the outside with mud, leaving only a small opening near the ground, large enough for a man to creep through; a large fire, of bark and dry sticks, was made, and when burned up, the ashes and embers were taken out, and two persons crawled in, and, with turkey wings, fanned out all the smoke, and closed the entrance by hanging a skin over it.

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[32] This word appears to have dropped out of the vocabulary of the Oklahoma Cherokees.

[33] The portrait, reputed to be that of Major Lowrey, in the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Okla., is highly informative (pl. 2).

[34] Wahnenauhi's statements as to early 19th-century Cherokee dress are strongly supported by the brushes of Francis Parsons, George Catlin, and John Mix Stanley. Throughout this whole passage there is some confusion of dress at the time of contact with what the author saw in her childhood. The scalplock, for example, she may never have actually seen.

This hut was called a "hothouse" and it was sometimes used to steam a sick person in this is the way it was done,—The hot-house being made ready, the invalid was given as much cold water as he could drink, then taken in and left upon the ground until he was in a profuse perspiration, when he was taken out and plunged into a cold water bath.[35]

In their intercourse with all, except most intimate friends, the Cherokees were reserved and independant, though very hospitable and often generous; they preferred to give favors rather than to ask them.

All Indians were called by them, "Yuh-wi-yah-i" which means, "The real People," others were designated by their color, as white people, were, "Yuh-wi-na-kah" and black people, "Yuh-wi-kuh-hna-ka." [36]

As before mentioned the Cherokees were given to hospitality; On rude side-boards, in their camps or cabins, prepared food was always kept, and any persons coming in, were at liberty to help themselves, food was always offered to visitors or strangers stopping, and a refusal to partake of it was considered an insult.

The women made bowls and cooking vessels of clay, and the men made spoons and bowls of wood, and spoons of buffalo horn, which were really pretty, as they were capable of being highly polished.

The women and girls prepared the food as is customary with other nations. The principal dish, "Con-nau-ha-nah," [37] was made of Corn, Cuh-whe-si-ta [38] was meal made of parched corn, and was used when on a journey, the hungry and weary traveler on arriving at a spring of water, alights and taking his bag of Cuh-whe-si-ta, puts a few spoonfuls into a cup which he carries for the purpose, mixes it with water and drinks it down, the requirements of Nature are satisfied—and the traveler goes on his way as much refreshed as when he began his journey in the early morning. The Cherokees also used a drink called "Con-nau-su-kah," [39] it was made of grapes which were boiled, strained and sweetened with maple sugar or honey. Corn was beaten in a mortar to make meal for bread, walnuts, chestnuts and hickory-nuts were often used in cooking, so were different kinds of berries, of which the huckle-berry was the favorite.

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[35] Although the *o:si*, or 'hot-house,' is mentioned in Adair (1930) and Timberlake (1929), the brief description in Mooney (1900, p. 462) is probably the clearest to be found in the standard Cherokee bibliography.

[36] In every case Wahnenauhi presents here the designation for an individual who is a member of a specific race: *yvwi:ya* ('person, entirely'); *yvwine:ga*, usually contracted to *yone:ga* ('person, white'); *yv:wigv:hnage.* ('person, black').

[37] *Ghvno:he:na*, a hominy prepared with lye leached from green hardwood ash.

[38] *Ghvhwisi:da.*

[39] *Ghvnv:su:ga.* Before contact with the Whites, the sweeting was probably obtained from honeylocust pods.

The men provided meat, and when game was plentiful, there was no lack of such food.

Boys were taught when very young, to shoot with bow and arrows, to hunt and to fish. Wrestling, foot-racing, ball-playing and corn-stalk-shooting [40] were continually practiced, not only as a pastime, but as a necessary exercise.

Before starting on an expedition, or, engaging in a contest of any kind, they were obliged to take medicine, scratch and bathe, the scratching was done with a small instrument having six points, some said the points were rattle-snake teeth, but the one I saw was made of a half dozen pins [41] fastened together with two pieces of wood or bone.

This practice was strictly observed by ball-players when preparing for a "big play"—it was thought to make them brave and strong. and, before the Annual Festival of the Green Corn Dance, which lasted seven days, all must be scratched, none might partake of the feast unless he had performed this operation; After this Festival, green corn and all other vegetables were freely eaten.

At the Stomp Dances,[42] terrapin shells enclosing pebbles, were worn, fastened to the ankles, by the dancing women.

When the English came to America they were peaceably received by the Cherokees, who presented them with food in token of their good will. 1730 [43] is the earliest recorded date of a Treaty being made by the Cherokees with the English; in 1755 [44] they ceded territory to the British Colonists, and permitted them to build forts. Prior to any treaty, a band of Cherokees utterly rejecting proposals of Peace, used all their powers of eloquence to prevent the Tribe from making a treaty.

They said that the Foreigners would get possession of a little now, then a little more and would not be satisfied until they had taken all the land, and there would be nothing left for the Indians.

Finding their efforts were unsuccessful, they determined to abandon the Tribe, going far away into the Wilderness, crossing the "Ummie Aquah," [45] and on to the "Cuh-too-sa Aqua," [46] they would find a Country for themselves, where the "Yuh-wi-na-kah" could not follow: Possessed by this one wild idea—to retreat from the neighborhood of

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40 A study of these sports is much needed.

41 A ceremonial scratcher customarily has seven teeth, not six (see Mooney and Olbrechts, 1932, pp. 68–69).

42 The Green Corn Festival and the stomp dances, as performed in Oklahoma, also stand in need of investigation.

43 This was the Treaty of Nequassee, negotiated by Sir Alexander Cuming (Mooney, 1900, p. 35).

44 This was the Treaty of Saluda, negotiated by Gov. James Glen of South Carolina (Corkran, 1962, pp. 59–61).

45 *Ame:gwa* ('Big Water'), contraction of *ama e:gwa:* 'the Mississippi River.'

46 *Gadu:se:gwa* ('Big Mountain[s]'), contraction of *gadu:si e:gwa:* 'the Rocky Mountains.'

the Whites,—deaf to the passionate entreaties of their friends, they made hurried preparations for their departure.

Although the greater part of the Tribe was very unwilling to have them leave, yet, finding their efforts to persuade them to remain, were unsuccessful, they assisted them in making preparations for the journey: some furnished "pack ponies," while others loaded them with "Cuh-whe-si, tah," "Cuh-nuh-tsi," [47] dried venison and other things, They were led by the Chief, "Yuhwi-oo-skah-si-ti." [48]

For many weeks communications were kept up between the two divisions, by "runners," who were sent from either side to enquire of their welfare, or to take messages.

A company, each member selected for their courage and perseverance, were sent to assist the travelers in crossing the "Big River", After this all intercourse between the two parties was ended, and no more was heard of the wanderers. In the course of time the run-away band was forgotten, or, remembered as only an old tale which no one believes.

A long time afterwards, some adventurous hunters met with a band of Indians who spoke the Cherokee Language and lived as the Cherokees did before they had learned any thing of civilized life.

These Indians were found at the Eastern side of the Rocky Mountains, They were supposed to be the lost Band.[49]

After the Wanderers left, the remainder of the Tribe continued friendly with the Whites, trading with them and learning much that was useful to them; but alas! they also learned much that was bad, the vices of civilization, the worst for the Indians being drinking and gambling, but soon as the evil tendencies of these practices were known the Chiefs and Headmen made exertions to suppress them.

It is an established principle with the Cherokees, in common with all Indians, that Air, Water and Land is the free gift of the Creator to all men, and when Land is traded it is always understood that only the right to use it is meant.

Soon after the English began to settle in America, the Cherokees were persuaded, for a compensation, to relinquish the Northern part of their Domain. By this arrangement, they were forced into more narrow limits.

The Creeks were their Southern neighbors. Peace between these two Tribes was continually disturbed by feuds and war. This state of affairs was caused by a misunderstanding about their Boundary

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[47] *Ga:nvtsi* the Cherokee consider to be their national dish. It is a soup made of hominy and crushed hickory nuts.

[48] *Yu:wi usgá:sidh(i)* ('Person Fierce, He').

[49] Retold by Mooney (1900, pp. 391-392).

Each Tribe was accused of encroaching on the hunting grounds of the other. These disturbances were continued until Cherokee and Creek were names considered antagonistic almost by nature. As late as 1813 the two Nations were yet enemies. The Cherokees and Choctaws assisted the United States, under command of General Jackson, in the famous Creek War.

The decisive battle was fought at the Horse shoe Bend in the Tennessee River, it was the most terrible battle with the Indians, of which we have an account, it is said, that the river for several miles ran red with blood. But it was not until 1821 [50] that a Treaty of Peace was finally made by the Cherokees and Creeks. it was modified in 1822, '23, by which the question of "Boundary Line" was decided, and, "forever hereafter acknowledged by both Nations to be permanent."

Members of either Tribe living within the boundaries of the other, were permitted to become Citizens of that Nation, if they chose to do so.

About other matters, the most liberal provisions were made.

The obligations of this Treaty have never been broken, and as a consequence these two Nations are still at peace.

During the time of the Colonization of North America, by the Whites a number of English and Scotchmen came to the Cherokee Nation on trading expeditions, and on becoming acquainted with the people, soon found themselves so much pleased that they persuaded the Cherokees to adopt them and give them wives.

Most of these men became very much interested in the welfare of the Indians, and tried to make their home-life more pleasant and comfortable

An Englishman, named Edward Graves, [51] who had married "Lah-to-tau, yie," [52] sent to England for a spinning wheel, cards and cotton, and taught his wife to card and spin, he then made a loom, and taught her how to weave, and make clothing for herself and children. Lah-to-tau-yie learned the art very easily, for she was interested in the work, and wished to please her husband by dressing herself and children neatly. Edward Graves was a Christian and told his wife and children about God and the Savior, Jesus Christ and taught them to pray.

Lah-to-tau-yie received this good news of salvation with a glad heart. she said, she knew about the great Being who made every thing, but she had never heard of the Savior, She told the Story to all her neighbors and relatives, and many of them became Christians,

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[50] This was the Treaty of Indian Spring, January 8, 1821.

[51] Mooney (1900, p. 214) states: "The anonymous writer [Wahnenauhi] may have confounded this early civilizer with a young Englishman who was employed by Agent Hawkins in 1801 to make wheels and looms for the Creeks (Hawkins, 1801, *in* American State Papers: Indian Affairs, I, p. 647)."

[52] We cannot translate this name with certainty. It might be *u:hl(i)dhado:h(i)* ('Bearer-of-Seeds-on-Top').

quite often many of them would meet in her cabin for prayer. Lah-to-tau-yie is supposed to be the first Cherokee converted to Christ. Her children all became Christians, and many of her decendants are now living, and honor the profession by consistent living.

The first Treaty with the United States was made in 1785, [53] by which land was again given up and Boundary lines confirmed. Owing to the encroachments of white settlers, and the miserable wars with the Carolinas, in 1791, [54] and '98 [55] still more land was ceded away.

By this time many of the people had become disgusted and dissatisfied with so much "Treating for Land" and their thoughts, instinctivly, turning west, they soon decided, in that direction to seek for themselves a future home.

Adventurous persons then started out on prospecting tours, going as far as the Arkansas River.

The first Company who returned gave wonderful accounts of the Good Country at the "far West," they had found plenty of water, good timber, rich soil for farming, and game in abundance: immense herds of Buffalo, deer and antelopes, flocks of wild turkeys, geese and ducks, and the waters teeming with fish of all *kinds. A veritable paradise, go they must.*

George Lowrey was the son of Charles Lowrey, a Scotch trader, who had married a cherokee woman named Tah-nie, [56] and had settled in the Cherokee Nation. George was the oldest of several children, and was born about the year 1770 at Tah-skeegee a place on the bank of the Tennessee River, [57]

He grew up as most other Indian lads of his time, but was very observant and selfreliant; when he was ten or twelve years old he had the misfortune to lose his father; he was killed and robbed while crossing the Mountains in Tennessee, with pack-mules.

George Guess, or "Se-quoh-yah," as he was usually called, and John Leach, his cousins, and about the same age as himself, were his constant companions, and the Trio grew up together intimate friends.

Once, when about seventeen years old, while out on a hunting expedition, with several others of the Tribe, they met with a Company of white hunters; this accidental meeting proved to be quite an important, as well as a very pleasing incident to the Indians, as it was the means of changing the life-purpose of at least two of them.

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[53] The Treaty of Hopewell, November 28, 1785.

[54] The Treaty of Holston, July 2, 1791.

[55] The Treaty of Tellico, October 2, 1798.

[56] *Da:ni*, a feminine name that we cannot translate. It is encountered in old manuscripts, and it is borne by living individuals.

[57] These statements are somewhat at variance with Starr (1921, pp. 366-367), whose genealogical table shows that the name of Major Lowery's father was also George, not Charles, and that Major Lowrey was the second son, not the first. According to Starr, the name of Major Lowrey's mother was Nannie, but such may well have been the English form of *Da:ni*.

Lowrey was the only one of his party who spoke the English Language and this he did very imperfectly.

One of the white men who gave his name as "Dickey," by his affability, quite won the Indians from their natural reserve and diffidence, and had a very interesting conversation with Lowrey, the leader of his party.

The whites and Indians camped near each other, ate and smoked together, and spent several hours in pleasant intercourse.

Dickey persuaded them to tell him many curious incidents relating to Indian habits and customs, while he gave them some ideas of civilized life.

He had with him a small book which he showed and explained to them; Lowrey acting as Interpreter for both parties—the Indians were filled with astonishment at the new and interesting things they had learned; and soon after separating with the white hunters they decided to return home. For the first time in their lives, Lowrey and Sequoyah felt an intense and longing desire for improvement; they had had a glimpse of a better way of life, and they determined to reach it.

From this time their careless, wild life lost all attractions for them; they were often taunted and ridiculed for their change of deportment; their friends tried to cheer and enliven them by persuading them to attend the ball-plays and dances, by making them many valuable presents, and in other ways showing kindness to them.

Out of regard to their friends and kindred, they still attended the gatherings of the people, as, Green Corn Dances, Foot-races, and Ball-plays they were dissatisfied, inattentive and listless. They both embraced every opportunity of learning the "white man's ways."

Indeed many of their relatives and other friends were persuaded by them and followed their example, they began to build better houses, make larger fields and gather around them cattle, horses and hogs.

Many years passed bringing changes to all, and much inprovement to the Cherokees.

Sequoyah often wandered away alone avoiding every one, at such times he was absent for hours, no one knew where. One day, a hunter on his way home, in passing Sequoyah's cabin, and seeing his wife at the door, called to her and said that he had seen Sequoyah in the woods, seated on the ground, playing like a child with pieces of wood that he had chopped from a tree. that he spoke to him but could not attract his attention, he was so intent at his play. After this he was often seen in this way; always making odd little marks, sometimes on rocks, using paint rocks as pencils, and sometimes, with his knife cutting them on wood.

After trying for a long time to divert his attention from these "Worse than childish ways" his wife and other friends left him alone to

do as he pleased. From being very indignant, they became very much alarmed about him; they knew not what to think.

Some said, he was crazy, but that was impossible, for who ever heard of a crazy Indian?

They then decided that he was in communication with the Spirits, and for this reason many of his friends neglected him and refused to have any thing to do with him. [58] He endured with seeming indifference the neglect of friends, and the annoying sarcasm of opponents.

In all this time Sequoyah had been industrious and prudent, had gathered some property around him, and neglected nothing that would bring comfort to his family, endearing himself to them by kind attention to their simple wants; and by his proverbial hospitality and conciliating manners, enlarging the circle of his friends. Sequoyah did not speak the English language, and understood only a few words, of which he could make but little use; though he had seen but few books, he had learned something about them, and how distant friends could communicate with each other by writing. He was convinced that if a written language was beneficial to one people, it would be equally so to another so he determined to make this for his people, the Cherokees. Once the resolution formed it was never given up.

Many years Sequoyah dreamed, studied and worked until success crowned his efforts: and he presented to his people a methodically arranged alphabetical language, containing the eighty six sylables of which the Cherokee language is composed. He first taught his Alphabet to his little daughter, a girl of about ten years old, afterwards he persuaded a few of his friends to learn it

However, it was not received with favor by the people generally, until after many experiments, it was proved beyond a doubt that Sequoyah had indeed devised a most wonderful invention, He sent a letter to some friends, who had removed to the Arkansas Territory, and on receiving a reply, all doubts were forever banished.

Nearly every member of the Tribe became interested in the new movement, and learned [to learn] the letters and to read and write.

Sequoyah now became a most popular man, and was respected, as almost super-human; for he was regarded as a great benefactor of his Nation.

Valuable presents were given to him by the Chiefs and men of influence, and a sum of money, out of the National Treasury was paid to him, in consideration of his inestimable service.[59]

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[58] The basis for the antagonism toward Sequoyah's experiments was the fear that he was practicing sorcery.

[59] The General Council of the Cherokee Nation presented a medal to Sequoyah in 1825. The United States Government promised him $500.00 in the Treaty of 1828 with the Western Cherokees. He never received the full amount (Foreman, G., 1938, pp. 8, 16–17).

Afterward, a pension, to be paid out of the Public Treasury, was settled on him for life, to be continued to his wife after his death.[60]

George Lowrey spent his time very differently from Sequoyah, being generally engaged in more active Public Life.

However, they continued to be firm friends, and Lowrey was one of the first to recognize the great advantages which would come to his people by the use of the native Alphabet, and used his influence to have them learn it, speaking unthusiastically of it on all occasions.

He embraced every opportunity of learning the Customs of Civilization.

Being a very fluent speaker, he often talked to his people about these things; urging them to forsake their careless, disorderly life, and try to improve their condition, by learning from and imitating the whites who had settled near them, many of whom were wealthy and refined people, to whom Lowrey was a steadfast friend. it was his earnest endeavor continually to improve his own mind, and his outward circumstance, always, by precept and example, trying to induce others to do the same.

It was customary with the Cherokees to name a person for, either some fancied resemblance, for something said or done, or some trait of Character: On account of Lowrey's peculiar Characteristics, his friends sometimes called him "Ah-gee-hli," which words means "Rising" or "Aspiring." [61] and the name seemed so appropriately chosen, that from this time, in Cherokee, he was spoken of as "Dtsah-tsi Ah-gee-hli," "Dtsah-tsi," meaning George.[62]

In early manhood, George Lowrey distinguished himself by important services rendered, both to his own people and to the United States.

He was employed, at one time, by General Washington, to convey to the French in Canada, a secret message of great importance.[63]

Most of the way lay through an unbroken Wilderness, inhabited only by hostile Tribes.

As the greatest caution and skill were necessary; to ensure the success of the undertaking, he made the journey on foot. accompanied only by Billy, a colored slave; one other Indian began the journey with him, but on account of the hard-ships to be encountered, his resolution failed, and he returned.

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[60] Reliable information upon Sequoyah is, considering his historical importance, astonishingly meager, and some of these sidelights are of value. There exists among the John Howard Payne Papers in the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Okla., a one-page fragment of a manuscript in syllabary on Sequoyah by Major Lowrey.

[61] Mooney (1900, p. 507) suggests that Major Lowrey's name may be a contraction of the Cherokee for "Rising-fawn," and takes issue with "Dog," another interpretation. In modern Cherokee, at least, the word *agi:hli* means 'pain' or 'anguish'; *gi:hli* means 'dog.'

[62] *Tsa:ts(i)* is the universally accepted Cherokee form of George.

[63] We can discover no documentation for this.

The success gained by means of this perilous journey, won for Lowrey, Washington's warmest approval and esteem; and the greatest confidence and regard of his people.

In 1791, George Lowrey was chosen one of a Delegation sent to Washington City, to solicit payment of the Annuity which had been promised in the Treaty of 1785, and had not been paid. This expidition met with a favorable issue, and the payment was made in the following year.

When about twenty years old, George Lowrey was married to Lucy Benge, a Cherokee girl, also of Scottish descent, she, too, owned quite a considerable amount of property, as, slaves, horses, cattle &c. It was customary, in those times, for a young Indian man, contemplating marriage, first to prepare a dwelling place, making it as comfortable as he knew how; then the consent of the girl must be obtained, as also that of her mother, after which, at a time previously agreed upon, the girl accompanied him to his home and became his wife.

Thus it was that Mr. and Mrs. Lowrey began their wedded life.

They were truly devoted to each other, and up to old age treated each other with the greatest respect and kindness Their children, in after years, in speaking of their parents, were heard to remark, "Never a hard word passed between them, and they never had a misunderstanding.

Mrs. Lowrey was very industrious, and kept every thing around her in beautiful order.

She also learned to spin and weave, and took great delight in making clothing for her family, in making quilts, in embroidery and other fancy work.

She was very skilful in making the beaded belts, so highly prized by Cherokee braves and warriors.

She and "Wuttie," [64] the wife of John Lowrey, George's younger brother, so improved and embelished these belts, that they generally sold for twenty five dollars apiece.

In sickness, being unwilling to trust the members of her family to native doctors and conjurers, Mrs. Lowrey attained great skill in the use of medicinal roots and herbs, especially in cases of the bite or sting of reptiles or poisonous insects.

The years brought increasing prosperity to Mr. Lowrey, and he became the owner of a large number of slaves, over whom, as a reward for his faithful services, Billy was advanced to the position of overseer, which station he occupied as long as he lived.

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[64] I have encountered this name several times among those of Wahenauhi's social class. We suggest that originally it may have been *Awo:di*, a fairly common feminine name probably derived from *wo:di* ('paint').

One instance only of Billy failing the confidence reposed in him is known.

Mr. Lowrey had a large piece of ground cleared, broken up and planted with watermelons,[65] he had it fenced with picketts, a strong gate made, fastened with a lock with two keys, one of which he gave to Billy, reserving the other himself.

When the melons began to ripen, one morning, Mr. Lowrey went in to get a melon that he had selected the evening before; to his great surprise it was gone, however he said nothing about it: but when the same thing happened again, and yet another time he decided that it was time for him to investigate. Accordingly, when evening came, he concealed himself just outside the gate and waited.

Pretty soon Billy came to the gate and opening it walked in, carefully closing and locking it. he soon came out with a large melon under his arm.

His master, leaving his place of concealment, met him, saying, "Ah! Billy, I find it no harm watch honest man!" To cover his confusion, Billy handed the melon to his master trying to pretend that he had gathered it for him: it was haughtily refused, with the words, "no, I got key, I able get my own melon." nothing more was said of the affair, and no more melons mysteriously disappeared.[66]

Mr. and Mrs. Lowrey were the parents of six children, three sons and three daughters,[67] all of whom grew up, and worthily filled respectable places in the Nation, Mr. Lowrey was very anxious that their children should be educated in the English Language, for this purpose a white man was employed to teach them.

That the children might make more rapid progress, the teacher was required to live with the family while teaching. a small cabin was builded in a pleasant locality near the dwelling house, and fitted up for a school house. Mr. Lowrey paid the teacher a liberal salary, expecting in return the best work. He invited some of his neighbors to send their children to his school, which privilege they gladly accepted. After trying three or four men, at different times, and not being pleased with their manner of educating, he gave up this plan, and sent the older children to a distinguished school near Nashville, Tenn.[68]

About the year 1803, Mr. and Mrs. Gambold, Moravian Missionaries, came to the Cherokees, who received them joyfully.

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[65] Even among themselves the Cherokees' predilection for watermelons is proverbial.

[66] This vignette is one of the few authentic glimpses available to us of the relationship of the Cherokee planter class to its slaves.

[67] Starr (1921, p. 367) states that there were seven children: James, Susan, George, Lydia, Rachel, John, and Anderson Pierce. It would appear that John never married; perhaps he died in childhood.

[68] We cannot identify this school.

Arrangements were immediately made by the Chiefs and Headmen to select a suitable locality for a Mission Station. A school was soon put into operation, [69] and Hicks, Ross, Lowrey [70] and many other influential men immediately availed themselves of the privilege of sending their children to a Christian School. In 1804, Presbyterian Missionaries [71] were sent to the Cherokee Nation, and in a short time several Mission Stations were located in different parts of the Nation, Schools were established and Churches organized. But many of the people still adhered to the old ways, would have nothing to do with the Missionaries, and ignored all their efforts made for educating and civilizing the Indians.

At their dances and ball-plays, whiskey was brought in and freely used; very often the gatherings were broken up by drunken quarrels, and sometimes by brutal murder.

However, the most influential persons, who were followed by the greater part of the Nation, anxious to secure educational advantages for their children, made great exertions to assist the Missionaries in building houses, and providing things necessary for their comfort while working among them.

In 1817 the Station at Brainerd [72] was begun and the school put into successful operation. And in a few years several other Mission Stations were established, and the schools well attended and prosperous. The Baptist [73] and Methodist [74] also had Mission Stations among the Cherokees. As a Nation, they were now prepared to receive the Gospel, brought to them by the Missionaries.

Many were converted, among others, Hicks, [75] who was then Principal Chief, Lowrey and his wife, Rising-fawn, Sleeping-Rabit, Mr. John Brown, the father of Catherine and David [76] of whom so much was written at the time by the Missionaries, and a great many more. The Missionaries were greatly loved by the Cherokees, who had by this time received such an impetus towards Christianity and Civilization that it was impossible for them to return to barbarism.

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[69] Springplace Mission was dedicated on July 13, 1801 (Schwarze, 1923, p. 65). Rev. John Gambold (1760–1827) and his wife Anna Rosina (1762–1821) came to Springplace in October 1805 (Starr, 1921, pp. 82–83).

[70] Charles Hicks (1767–1827), Assistant Principal Chief (1817–27), Principal Chief for 13 days prior to his death; John Ross (1790–1866), Principal Chief (1827–66).

[71] The Presbyterian missionary Rev. Gideon Blackburn began work on the Hiwassee River in 1803 (Schwarze, 1923, p. 79).

[72] Brainerd Mission was established on Chickamauga Creek in 1817 (Starr, 1921, p. 248).

[73] The Valley Town Baptist Mission was established by Rev. Humphrey Posey in 1820 (ibid.).

[74] Methodist work among the Cherokee began with the evangelical efforts of Rev. Richard Neely in 1822 (ibid., p. 259).

[75] Hicks was converted to Christianity in 1812, prior to his incumbency either as Assistant Principal Chief or Principal Chief (Schwarze, 1923, pp. 180–181).

[76] As may be seen in several issues of the "Cherokee Phoenix," Rising Fawn was an officeholder from Hickory Log District. Sleeping-Rabbit and John Brown were tribal leaders associated with Wills Valley in Alabama (Walker, 1931, pp. 175, 311). David Brown has been discussed. His sister, the saintly Catherine (1800?–22) was, so to speak, the Cherokee Kateri Tekakwitha. Her moving story is told by Rufus Anderson (1825).

Some years before all this, the Chiefs, Headmen and Warriors, had met together in Council and agreed, for the general good of the Nation, to make a more united Form of Government; instead of each Clan working for its own, they chose one Principal Chief, an Assistant and a Council, consisting, at first of thirteen members, upon whom devolved all the business of the Nation, as making laws, appointing officers, &c. They immediately organized Companies, called Regulators, or, Lighthorse whose duty it was to suppress theft and robbery, and to protect the peace. This Legislative Body made laws, as they saw needful, for the protection and improvement of the Nation. As early as 1808, prohibitory laws were made to prevent the introduction of intoxicants into the Nation, for, when the Annuities were to be paid, vicious whites were ready with Whiskey to give, or, sell to the Indians that they might obtain possession of their money; this nuisance became so prevalent as to make it an absolute necessity to the Nation to act in its own defence. Although the law could not wholly eradicate the evil, it proved a wholesome check to the flood of intemperance and, with amendments, has continued in force in the Cherokee Nation to this time. Black Fox was Principal Chief at that time.

About the same date, laws against poligamy were enacted.

The first Public use made of Sequoyah's Alphabet was to print the Gospel of Mathew, and a Collection of Hymns in the Cherokee Language.[77]—In 1828 Public Schools were established by the Council, to be supported by the National Government.

Educational exercises conducted in both Cherokee and English Languages.

Two years previously measures were taken by the National Council to have published at the National expense, a News Paper, devoted to the Interest of the Indian People.

This paper, called "The Cherokee Phenix," printed in both languages, continued to be published until the removal of the Tribe, West of the Mississippi.[78] In History, little is said of this event, so laden with loss and suffering to the Cherokee Indians.

It is only what has been repeated many times since, in the case of other Indian Tribes.

If the Cherokees could have been united and acted under one Leader, they might have escaped much of the trouble and loss by which they were overtaken. The dissatisfaction, already mentioned as existing in the Nation, on account of selling land to the aggressive

[77] The Cherokee hymnal, first issued at New Echota in 1829, is still in use after having gone through many editions. It is largely the work of the brilliant fullblood Cherokee scholar, Elias Boudinot (1802-39), and Rev. Samuel Worcester.

[78] The Cherokee Phoenix was founded in 1828; it was suppressed by Georgia militia in 1834. Elias Boudinot was its first editor. Although bilingual, it was in one sense the first newspaper in an American Indian language.

whites continued, and no wonder, for no less than sixteen treaties were made with the United States, each one requiring land to be given up, and likewise, each one promising to protect the Cherokees in their homes.

Companies of Emigrants were very frequently seen, on their way to the "Far West." Reluctant, indeed, they were to leave their loved homes, and the "graves of their Dead." Love of peace urged them on. And they believed that only by seeking a new Country, they could build up permanent homes for their children. Sequoyah, whose English name was George Guess, went with that division of his people who emigrated prior to the "Treaty of 1834–35." [79] and continued to be one of their leading men. Aaron Price [80] for quite a number of years, was Principal Chief of the "Western Cherokees," who after the Union were called, "Old Settlers." After Price, John Jolly was chosen Principal Chief and filled the office acceptably to his people. Black Coat and Col. Walter Webber were elected Second and Third Chiefs; the three Chiefs were invested with equal authority and received the same Salary,—one hundred dollars each.

The Western Cherokees manifested the same zeal in improvement, in civilization, and educational advantages as before their emigration. The difference of climate was a severe tax on their health, and many of them died.[81]

Besides this, they were obliged to be always on their guard, on account of the Osages, who were continually committing depredations, as driving away their horses and cattle, &c.

All this led to long and troublesome wars with the Osages. The difficulty was eventually settled by a Treaty with the United States, and the lines of boundary between the two Nations settled decided.[82] In a few years the Western Settlers began to be very prosperous; and were very much pleased with their change. During all this time, the majority of the Tribe continued in their homes, looking to their Chiefs for advice and protection.

The Chiefs and Headmen relied on the good faith of the Government of the United States, who had in the Treaty gauranteed to them their Country for ever, using the expression, "As long as grass grows, and water runs."

In no case had the Cherokees signed away their inheritance.

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[79] Treaty of New Echota, December 29, 1835.

[80] *Tahlonteesgee* immediately preceded John Jolly. This personal name and also designation for the Old Settler capital near what is now Vian, in Sequoyah County, Okla., is possibly derived from *aᵊdhalvᵊdi:sgi* ('One-Who-Makes-a-Notch-in-a-Tree').

[81] The reports of missionaries attest to the high incidence of malaria.

[82] It is not clear which treaty is in reference here—the Treaty of St. Louis, June 3, 1825, or the Treaty of Fort Gibson, January 11, 1839.

The declarations of the Government, and of the Indian Agents, had been always directed to one point,—that was, to satisfy the Cherokees that the Government would deal justly and fairly with the Indians, and would perform all its engagements to secure to them the permanent possession of their Country. They had been constantly urged to become farmers, to educated their children, and to form a regular Government for themselves. and all this they had done.—In 1826 this opinion was written by a Missionary, a faithful friend of the Cherokees,—

"It is now too late to talk of the impracticability of Indian civilization,

Strangers who pass through the Nation now, and who had passed through it several years ago, are often heard to express their astonishment at the change which has taken place."—

"The mass of the people in their dress, houses, furniture, agricultural implements, manner of cultivating the soil, raising stock, providing for their families and in their estimate of the value of an education, would not suffer by a comparison with the whites in the neighboring settlements."[83]

The mass of the people had practically embraced Christianity.

Intemperance had been checked—some, notoriously intemperate, had been reformed.

Owing partly to political disturbances, the encouraging aspect of the Nation became clouded with confusion and depression. The Public men manifested much firmness and dignity of character, and remained steadfast friends to the moral and intellectual elevation of their people; and advised them to remain at home, quietly attending to their usual business of farming and taking care of their stock.

They firmly believed that the United States would fulfil its treaty obligations, and protect them in their homes.

Since 1819 the Cherokees had refused to sell any more land.[84]

Gold had been found in some parts of the Nation, and this fact, by exciting the cupidity of the Whites, had brought to a crisis the circumstances which resulted in the removal.[85]

In 1827, Georgia assumed an arrogant attitude towards the Cherokees, declaring that they had no title to the land, only that of occupancy, determinable at the pleasure of Georgia, that *she* had a perfect title by right of discovery, to all the land within her chartered limits, that the United States were bound to extinguish the Indian title.

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[83] We cannot identify this quotation, doubtless from some missionary journal.

[84] The cession of 1819 was agreed to by the Treaty of Washington on February 27, 1819.

[85] Starkey (1946, pp. 110–111) states that gold was first discovered by a child near Dalonega in 1815 and rediscovered in 1828 or 1829. By 1830, 4,000 Whites had intruded into the goldfields.

In 1828 Georgia extended her laws over the Cherokees.[86] Their Government was hindered in its operations, their laws counteracted, and some of their citizens imprisoned, the missionaries were forbidden to preach to them, and on their non-compliance, were shamefully treated, and imprisoned in the penitentiary. The Cherokees appealed for protection, to the President of the United States, who informed them that he had no constitutional power to protect them.[87]

They then petitioned Congress,[88] and while their Petition was pending, a Bill was introduced into Congress for the purpose of enabling them to remove west of the Mississippi; the Bill for the removal was passed, and preparations were immediately begun to have it enforced.

To give some show of law to this deed of violence, a Sham Treaty was made with a few irresponsible Cherokees, who, for love of money, accepted a bribe, and immediately left for the Western Country.[89]

Meanwhile, many acts of lawlessness were perpetrated on the Cherokees, horses and cattle were driven away, hogs were taken without the consent of the owners, murders were committed, and the friends of the slain were powerless to bring the offenders to justice,

Even the graves of the dead were not safe, but were opened in order to obtain the treasures supposed to be buried with them.

The Headmen and Chiefs called the people together for the purpose of deciding what course to pursue as the best means of protection.

Many eloquent speeches were made, but nothing was decided; A few spoke of resistance, that was evidently so unavailing,—it would only be self-destruction; and to the helpless wives and innocent children, more suffering and distress.

This was a critical time for the Cherokee Nation, its very existence was threatened, and all was to be determined by the Chiefs now in Council. How this great responsibility pressed upon them! perish or remove! it might be,—remove *and* perish! a long journey through the Wilderness,—could the little ones endure? and how about the sick? the old people and infirm, could they possibly endure the long tedious journey; Should they leave?

This had been the home of their Ancestors from time out of mind.

Every thing they held dear on the earth was here, *must* they leave?

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[86] Wahnenauhi is probably in reference here to the act, passed by the Georgia legislature on December 19, 1829, extending State law over a large portion of the Cherokee Nation (Foreman, G., 1932, p. 229).

[87] This is seemingly in reference to the visit of the delegation, headed by Principal Chief John Ross, to Washington, January-May, 1833 (ibid., p. 247).

[88] "Memorial and Protest of the Cherokee Nation to Congress, June 21, 1836."

[89] The Treaty of New Echota, December 29, 1835. The United States commissioner, Rev. J. F. Schmerhorn (who still lives in Cherokee folklore as "Devil'shorn"), himself reported that only 300-500 Cherokees out of a total population of over 17,000 attended the conference for the making of this treaty (Foreman, G., 1932, p. 269)

The graves of their kindred forsaken by them would be desecrated by the hand of the White Man! The very air seemed filled with an under-current of inexpressible sadness and regret.

They could almost hear the reproaches and wailings of the dear dead they were leaving.

How must these Chiefs decide for their people? No wonder it seemed that Despair in its thickest blackness had settled down and enfolded in gloom this assemblage of brave and true-hearted Patriots.

But no time could they spend in regrets and forboding, although their own hearts were torn with grief, throwing aside their private troubles, they set themselves to the task of preparing the people for the inevitable journey. A Delegation was appointed and authorized to make arrangements with Major General Scott for Supplies required for the Removal.

For convenience in protecting, providing for and distributing to, so large a Body of people, they were divided into Companies, or, Detachments, as they were called, each provided with a Captain, whose duties were to attend to the necessities of all in his particular Detachment.

Some of the Cherokees, remained in their homes, and determined not to leave.

For these soldiers were sent, by Gorgia, and they were gathered up and driven, at the point of the bayonet, into camp with the others. they were not allowed to take any of their household stuff, but were compelled to leave as they were, with only the clothes which they had on. One old, very old man, asked the soldiers to allow him time to pray once more, with his family in the dear old home, before he left it forever. The answer was, with a brutal oath, "No! no time for prayers. Go!" at the same time giving him a rude push towards the door.[90]

In many instances, the families of settlers were at hand, and as the Indians were evicted, the whites entered, taking full possession of every thing left.

It is useless to attempt to describe the long, wearisome passage of these exiled Indians.

The journey had but just begun when sickness attacked them.

Many of the old people, already enfeebled by age, were unable to endure the fatigue and hardships of the way, and sank unresistingly.

Every camping place was strewn with the graves of the dead.

Not one family was exempted from the tax of the Death-Angel. It was estimated, on reaching their destination, that fully two-thirds

[90] Wahnenauhi may have witnessed this scene.

of the number that began the journey fell by the way. Many more died after their arrival. [91]

As the emigrants arrived too late in the Season for planting, an Appropriation was made for their subsistance during that year.

Some of the Missionaries, true and beloved friends of the Cherokees, went with them and shared with them the trials and hardships by the way; others followed them very soon.

Forever revered be their memory for that Act of Sympathetic Mercy!

At the time of the Removal, Mr. John Ross was Principal Chief, and Maj. George Lowrey, Assistant Principal Chief.

Both had occupied these Stations for several years, having been repeatedly elected by the People.

As soon as practicable after the arrival of the Emigrants a Convention of all the people was held in order to form a union between the two Divisions. [92]

George Lowrey was chosen President of the Eastern Cherokees, and Sequoyah, George Guess President of the Western.

By an Act of this Assembly, the two parties agreed to form themselves into one Body. [93]

A system of Government was matured, adapted to their changed condition, providing equally for the protection of all in the enjoyment of their rights. An Instrument was modeled, considered and approved by the respective Chiefs; John Ross, Principal Chief of the Eastern Cherokees; and John Looney, Acting Principal Chief of the Western Cherokees, and signed by a great number of Old Settlers and Late Emigrants. The long journey from the Old Home to the New had caused much suffering and Loss.

The people, however, were not wholly disheartened;—Friends and kindred welcomed and sympathized with them, the Missionaries were still with them, their leading men were earnestly interested in their welfare and advancement. and in a few years Prosperity again smiled upon them. However, success did not come to them without great effort on their part.

Besides the usual difficulties, incident to the Settlers of a new Country, the Cherokees were harrassed by internal strife; Party feeling ran high. Several men, accused of being implicated in the loss of their old home, were killed at the instigation of a Secret Organization, formed by a few who felt themselves called to avenge the wrongs of their people.[94] Anarchy almost prevailed.

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[91] Approximately 4,000 Cherokees perished in the course of the removal (Foreman, G., 1932, p. 312).

[92] The Council of June 3, 1839, at Takatoga.

[93] There were two Acts of Union—July 22, 1839, and June 26, 1840.

[94] This refers to the June 22, 1839, assassination of Elias Boudinot, Major Ridge, and John Ridge, leaders of the faction that had advocated removal.

Had it not been that the Almighty had designs of mercy for the People, and in His Providence placed at the Head of Government wise and good men, the Nation would then undoubtedly have been destroyed.

A Constitution for the Government of the Cherokee Nation was framed, and established subject to amendments by the National Council. This Constitution stands an advantageous comparison with that of the United States. [95]

In 1828, the proceeds of a Sale of Land was vested in a permanent School Fund; and the interest divided between the two Branches of the Cherokee Family.

After the Reunion, as payment was made for the Lands east of the Mississippi, a part of the money was added to the original School Fund; more Public Schools were established, and also two High Schools were located near Tahlequah, the Capital of the Nation. [96]

Provisions were made for an Orphan Asylum, which, later on was firmly established, and has since continued in a prosperous condition. Besides these schools, an Asylum for the Blind and other unfortunates was founded, and is maintained by a National Fund appropriated to that purpose.

The barbarous practice of punishment by Public Whipping has been long ago abolished, and confinement in Prison substituted.

In closing these imperfect sketches, the reader will be interested to know of the last days of the two men of whom I have made most prominent mention.

On account of Sequoyah's declining health, he was advised to travel.

He had thought much of the Legend of the Rockey Mountain Cherokees, and the hope of satisfying his curiosity with regard to this myth made him anxious to take a westward trip; he was also very desirous of seeing and exploring the western outlet belonging to the Cherokees. These inducements led to his decision.

On the early spring of 1842, he, with about twelve attendants, two of whom were his sons, set out on the journey.

Not caring to be needlessly burdened the Company carried with them only a small amount of provision, expecting to supply their immediate wants by killing the wild game with which they supposed the Country to abound. for this purpose they were provided with a sufficient stock of ammunition;

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[95] This is the Constitution of September 6, 1839.

[96] The two seminaries were established by an act of the National Council on November 12, 1847 (Starr, 1921, p. 142). As early as November 16, 1841, the National Council created the position of Superintendent of Education and established 11 public schools. In 1845 there were 18 public schools; in 1867 there were 32; by 1877 there were 75; there were over 120 at the time of the dissolution of the Cherokee Nation (ibid., pp. 226-229).

By traveling slowly, examining the nature and appearance of the Country as they passed along, stopping to camp or hunt whenever it suited Sequoyah to do so, the time passed pleasantly and swiftly. Sequoyah's strength returned, and his health improved so rapidly that strong hopes were entertained of his permanent recovery.

His pet idea of visiting the Rockey Mountains seemed about to be fulfilled, and all rejoiced in the apparrent success of their journey.

Almost suddenly, the features of the Country changed, water became scarce, and what there was, very bad. Game was hard to find, and the Company was obliged often to make forced marches in order to obtain water and shelter, while on account of having no food, some of the men must continually hunt the game which seemed to have eluded them. Sequoyah, supposing this arid land to be only a narrow strip that could be crossed in a very short time, persuaded his companions to persevere in their course, still hoping to gain his wish of reaching the Rockies.

Not strong enough to endure the fatigue and privations to which he was subjected, Sequoyah's new-found health gave way, and he gave orders to turn and retrace their steps; his strength now failed so rapidly that he was unable to travel, he gave up all hope of recovery, but wished to get home before he died. he became so reduced, they could make only short distances with him, often they were obliged to stop in very unfavorable situations.

In all his journey, he had busied himself with writing descriptions of the country through which they passed; this he continued to do, at intervals, as his strength allowed.

Coming to a Cave, Sequoyah thought he might gain strength by resting here for a few days; they remained at this place perhaps a week, the men going every day to hunt, always leaving one of their number to take care of him.

One morning he sent them all off. On their return in the evening, he was gone, but had left a skin hanging at the entrance of the Cave.

On this he had written directions for them to follow him to a certain place, indicated in the directions.

They immediately set out but failed to find him until the next evening, they found him dead, the appearance of the body showed that he had been dead for several hours.

The time being the heat of summer, it was impossible to take him home;

Carrying the body far back into the Cave, and placing his writing with him, they wrapped it in skins as securely as they could.

They marked the place so that it would without difficulty be found, and then set out on their return.

Immediately on their arrival, preparations were made and a Company organized and sent with the men to convey the remains home. They did not find even the place where they had left him. Thus Sequoyah, the Indian who most deserves the respect and gratitude of his people, sleeps in his last resting-place with no Monument to mark the spot.

Every true-hearted Cherokee will ever hold his Memory dear, and will speak with pride of their gifted Brother.

All men, whatever their Nationality, whether friend or foe to the Indian, will acknowledge the wonderful genius of Sequoyah, he who gave to his people their written Language.[97]

George Lowrey continued to be a ruling spirit among his people—their trusted Friend and Adviser. He rejoiced with his people in the peace and security which assured prosperity to them; and in the steady progress they had made toward Civilization.

His own individual peace was soon to be disturbed by a great sorrow.

He was called home from the National Council by the sickness of his wife, whose death occured in October the 20th 1846.

Five years later Lowrey was declared too old to perform the duties of a Chief, and a younger man was placed in the office so long and ably filled by him.

Old, very old he was—his formerly erect frame bowed with the weight of years, yet he possessed all his native energy of mind. Declining to retire from Active Service, he was assigned an office in the Executive Committee; [98] a position of high trust.

Death found him at his post, faithfully discharging the duties of his office, He was compelled, by his own sickness, to leave the Council.

Six years after his wife's death:—Oct. 20th 1852, George Lowrey entered into that "Rest" prepared for the people of God.

His remains were followed to their last resting place, in the Cemetary at Tahlequah, by a multitude.

Besides his immediate relatives and friends, there marched in the long procession, all the Members of the National Council, headed by the Chiefs and the two remaining members of the Executive Com-

[97] There is much in Cherokee oral tradition and not a little in untranslated manuscripts that, were it available to scholarship, would surely enrich our knowledge of Sequoyah. It is indeed strange that although Sequoyah methodically kept journals, as Wahnenauhi and Grant Foreman (1938, p. 37) inform us, none of them have come to light. Incidentally, the name of this distinguished Cherokee, all etymological conjecture to the contrary, is apparently not of Cherokee origin (*see* Kilpatrick, 1962, p. 41).

[98] In the government of the Cherokee Nation, the Executive Committee corresponded somewhat to the Cabinet of the President of the United States.

mittee, the Students from both Seminaries, Free Masons, Sons of Temperance and many other persons, [99]

All appeared to realize that "A Great man had fallen!"

As a fitting close to this Sketch, I will give a quotation from the Monument which marks his grave.

"Erected
by order of the
National Council."
"He filled the duties of every office well,
An Honest Man—
A Spotless Patriot—
A Devoted Christian."

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[99] Carolyn Thomas Foreman (1948, pp. 89–90) informs us that the Rev. Samuel A. Worcester was requested by the National Council to deliver a funeral address to "both branches of the National Council, officers of the government and many other citizens." George Lowrey was probably a Freemason and possibly affiliated with Cherokee Lodge No. 21, chartered on November 8, 1848, at Tahlequah, although "Some history of Freemasonry in Indian Territory before the War Between the States and the organization of the Grand Lodge" (n.d., MS.) does not specifically so state. We infer from this document that the first Masonic funeral conducted in the Cherokee Nation was that of G. W. Lavender in 1851. Lucy Lowrey Hoyt would appear to have been a student at the Cherokee Female Seminary at the time of her grandfather's death and burial.

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Wahnenauhi (Mrs. Lucy L. Keys). This photograph was taken sometime between 1900 and 1912, according to Clum D. Keys, grandson of Wahnenauhi, who supplied it.

Portrait thought to be of George Lowrey. Attributed to J. M. Stanley, 1844. Courtesy, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Okla.

Sequoyah. Ca. 1760–1843. Also known as George Gist (Guest, Guess). Copy from a lithograph in McKenney and Hall's "Indian Tribes of North America." The original source is thought to be a painting by C. B. King, Washington, D.C., 1828. (The original painting is not known to be in existence.)

John Ross. 1790–1866. From a photograph by A. Z. Schindler, Washington, D.C., 1858.

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THE "PRINCIPAL PEOPLE," 1960: A STUDY OF CULTURAL AND SOCIAL GROUPS OF THE EASTERN CHEROKEE

By HARRIET JANE KUPFERER

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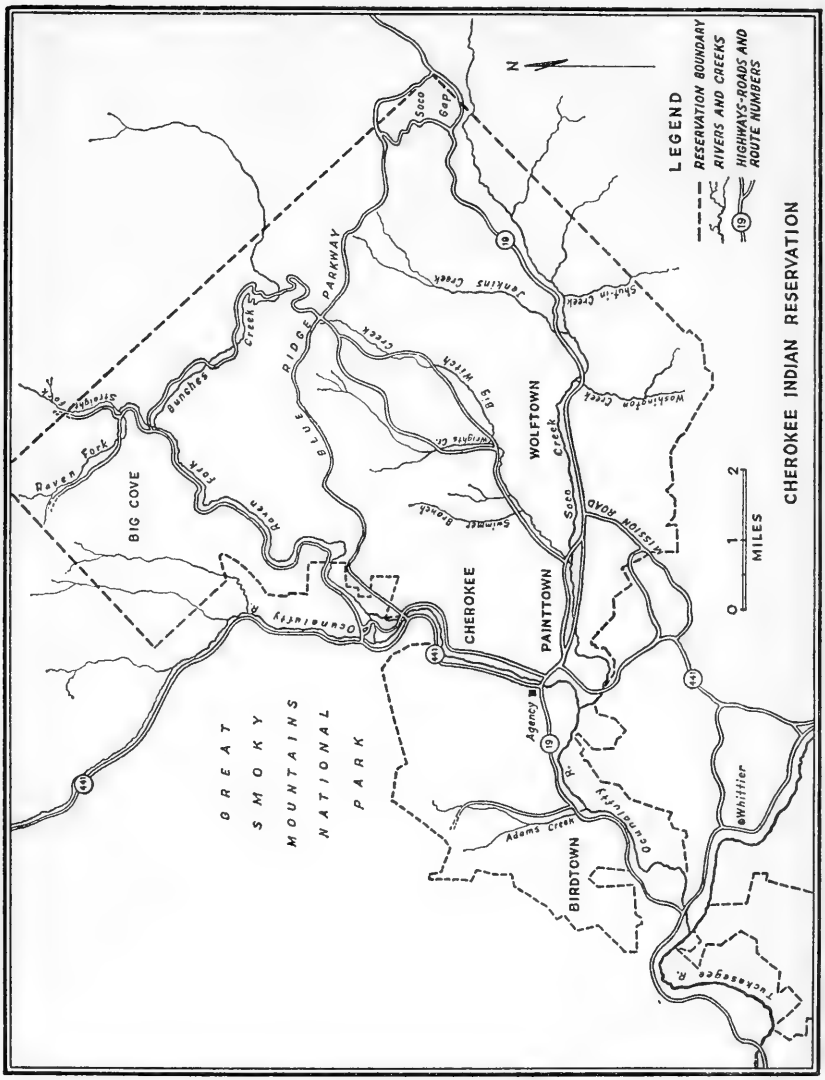

MAP 2.—Cherokee Indian Reservation.

THE "PRINCIPAL PEOPLE," 1960: A STUDY OF CULTURAL AND SOCIAL GROUPS OF THE EASTERN CHEROKEE

By Harriet Jane Kupferer

INTRODUCTION

The first intruders into the country of the Cherokee were the conquistadores of DeSoto, who encountered the Cherokee in their search for gold. From this time, early in the 16th century, the Cherokee were left undisturbed until the English courted them for military and diplomatic advantages and trade a century later (Malone, 1956, pp. 1–5). The colonial period had its inception in approximately 1654; the first trader among the Indians took up his residence in 1690 and spent the remainder of his life among them (U.S. Congress, 1915, pp. 141–147). From this period until 1838 the fortunes of the Cherokee vacilated between peaceful coexistence with the Whites and sporadic hostilities and broken treaties with them. In 1838 the tenuous grip of the Indians on their land was broken, and they were removed to the Indian Territory. All but a thousand or so of the people went west to establish a life from the shattered fragments. It is with the descendants of the remnants who remained hidden in the mountains, and the few who came back, that this research is concerned. They now occupy a tract of land in the Great Smoky Mountains of North Carolina which is held in trust for them, as a reservation, by the United States Government.

THE SETTING

Together with the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, the Cherokee Reservation constitutes one of the most visited seasonal sites in the Southeast (map 2). Each Saturday and Sunday from early spring until late fall automobiles carrying families of sightseers converge on the area. The Fourth of July is the biggest weekend of the summer. At this time, automobiles form a long serpentine line as they descend the mountain, traveling only a few feet in every 10 minutes on the highways leading into the main village of Cherokee.

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As the vehicles reach their destination, the occupants tumble out to crowd their way into the craft shops to purchase souvenirs, only a limited number of which are made in Cherokee. By noon the motels exhibit "no vacancy" signs; the campgrounds in the adjacent park are closed to any more campers; and the drama "Unto These Hills" is sold out. At the end of the day some harassed parents and tired children make the slow return trip over the mountains to Asheville, N.C., or Knoxville, Tenn. Those who do not leave and who do not have accommodations sleep in their cars or on a blanket by the side of the road where the unwary walker may stumble over them. The doors of the shops are closed, but the neon lights continue to burn and the owners of the businesses congratulate themselves on another good weekend.

The visitors have eaten in the restaurants or picnicked in the crowded wooded sites. Some have ridden on the miniature railroad which whistles its way around a quarter-of-a-mile track; others have gone on a chairlift to the top of a small mountain ridge overlooking the village. A few have filed through a trailer said to contain the largest snake in the world, and in the midst of the tumult most of them have seen Indians.

In front of the commercial enterprises stand stalwart Indian braves dressed in the fringed trousers and war bonnets of the Plains Indians. They are there to promote the business in front of which they stand. For a quarter they will pose for pictures, shake hands with an overwhelmed small boy, and send an even smaller child into paroxysms of fright. Other Indians sit quietly in front of the bus station or on benches in front of the older buildings murmuring softly in Cherokee. Farther down the road, on the bridge over the Oconaluftee River, Indian men, boys, and girls sit on the wall or slouch against it, watching the endless stream of traffic. The tourists see many others whom they do not realize are Indians. Light-haired, light-eyed people who own some of the trading posts; girls who serve the tables; and others who wander up and down the road on this busiest weekend in all the year are also Indians.

After the autumn foliage is gone and the mountains stand stark and gray, only an occasional traveler comes through. When the rime on the peaks is visible from the valley, the gaps through the mountains are slippery and travel is hazardous. The shops close, the costumed Indian disappears, and only two eating places remain open to serve the bus passengers, salesmen, and the personnel of the Government offices. A few motels stay open, offering winter rates. The tenor of life at Cherokee changes dramatically, although the people are still to be seen on the main roads making their quiet way from the Agency offices, the hospital, or the grocery store. Except on one of the rare but pleasant warm winter days, the bridge is deserted. The buses unload

their passengers without the stares of the summertime audience, and the village is singularly empty and still.

But in any season the visitors to Cherokee seldom go far from the business center. A turn on the road leading to "Shut In," "Adams Creek," "Swimmer Branch," or "Straight Fork" would reveal ways of life not apparent in the village. Hidden in narrow valleys are cabins, concealed in the summer by hovering trees and blended into the gray-black background of the winter hills. Only faint streams of smoke tell of their presence. Others are set on sides of mountains approachable only by footpaths. Some of the trails cross swinging bridges and wind through rhododendron slicks. A few well-tended farms, and some not so well tended, surround other homes. Concrete blocks, wooden poles or logs, and roughhewn boards covered with tar paper are the materials which have gone into these buildings. Other houses closer to the main village are modern "ranch style." But regardless of the place or kind of home, a daily and seasonal round takes place in it which is characteristic of Cherokee's people.

THE PROBLEM

Who are these people? According to the old people who speak Cherokee, they are *Ani-yun-wiya,* the 'real people,' or 'principal people.' Others who speak only English refer to themselves as Indians and members of the Eastern Band of Cherokee. Phenotypically, they range from copper-skinned, black-haired, black-eyed people to blond, blue-eyed individuals. There are college graduates among them, and some whose formal education ceased with the second or third grade. There are those whose English is so limited as to be virtually useless, and many whose knowledge of Cherokee is confined to only a few words. Veterans of military service have been overseas, while some of their parents and neighbors have never been farther than Asheville.

It is with this apparently bewildering heterogeneity that this research is concerned. The lack of homogeneity is not a recent phenomenon among the Cherokee. Early writers hint of it in their descriptions of the Indians. In 1827 the parents of Catherine Brown, a mixblood, were described as members of the more intelligent class of their people. It was said about Catherine,"If you were to see her in a boarding school in New England, as she ordinarily appears here, you could not distinguish her from well educated females of the age either by her complexion, features, dress, pronunciation or manners" (Anderson, 1827, pp. 17–37). Malone (1956, p. 127), commenting on the clothing of the 19th-century Cherokee, says that it varied as widely as did the social scale. Thomas Parker points out that there was a marked split

in the nation with respect to culture. "There was, as a matter of fact, a division of the nation into Upper and Lower Cherokees. The former had abandoned the hunt and were engaged in pursuits of civilized man while the Lower Cherokees still preferred their old life" (Parker, 1907, p. 12).

In 1958, Robert K. Thomas, a member of the Cross Cultural Laboratory of the University of North Carolina, lived among the Cherokee for a year. On the basis of his experience he proposed a typology of groups which comprise the present population: Conservative Indian; Generalized Indian; Rural White Indian; and Middle Class Indian (Gulick, 1960, p. 127). These categories were established according to differing integrative values and differing world views. The Conservative views himself as an order of man different from the rest of men. Overtly, he is still the stoic red man. Insofar as there are Indian traits present (native speech and medicine), he preserves them. The Generalized Indian considers himself an Indian but also an American. He demonstrates inconsistency in statements on values, shifting between western values and Conservative values. As a group, the Generalized Indians interact more readily with Whites and are more open in their behavior. The Rural White Indians are much like southern Whites from rural areas. The Middle Class is composed of people who are derived from both the Rural White group and the Generalized Indian group. These people have arrived financially, and adhere firmly to an orientation which emphasizes progress and individual efforts (Thomas, MS. a, 1958, pp. 19–24).

Objections have been made to the names given these groups, and the distinctions between them are not always clear. John Gulick says, however, that they seem more appropriate to the specific Eastern Cherokee situation than such terms as "native," "native modified," and "White," which have been used to describe situations on other reservations (Gulick, 1960, p. 128). It is our purpose to explore the range of behaviors and attitudes among the Cherokee, using Thomas' continuum as a tentative guide, with the ultimate aim of affirming it or of suggesting another.

Typologies have been described for other Indian groups. Notable among these has been the work of George Spindler (1952) and Irving Hallowell (1952) who have used projective material to determine boundaries. Fred Voget (1951) and Edward Bruner (1956) attend to the same problem, utilizing sociocultural data to draw distinctions. In both these approaches to the question of differential acculturation, health and medical practice are frequently mentioned in general terms as indicators of a particular cultural orientation, either toward

"native" or toward "White." The literature also mentions education as one basic criterion for separating disparate groups of people.[1]

Consequently, in the effort to place Cherokees in groups according to the degree of acculturation, I propose to focus this study on two sociocultural variables: health and medical practices, and attitudes and behavior toward education. Although these variables have been described as pertinent in the literature and although Thomas has talked of them in conjunction with the Conservative Cherokee, with few exceptions they have not been the object of deep examination. In an examination of culture change among Mescalero Apaches, Peter Kunstadter (MS., 1960) used, as an index of health behavior, the number of visits to the free Public Health Service clinic made by individuals during a 2-year period. Although such an index was appropriate to his study, I include under the rubric of health and medical practices a greater range of verbalizations and behavior. To what extent are Indian doctors used? Are the skills of both Indian doctors and White doctors combined in treatment of illness? Are Public Health physicians or physicians in private practice used most frequently? Are there discernible differences in attitudes and behavior among those who attend scheduled Public Health clinics? What is the response of children to health instruction offered in the Indian schools?

In addition to what the informants say about education—is it valued or disvalued—I am interested in knowing what is done in regard to it. How have the educational experiences of the adults affected them in terms of their behavior and in respect to the goals or aspirations which they hold for their children? Do the children attend school regularly? What schools do they attend—reservation schools or nearby community schools?[2] If they attend public schools, why do they? To what extent do the children communicate what is learned in school to the parents?

Dominant values and constituent behavior—interpersonal relationships, concept of self, nonempirical beliefs—will be examined to determine whether there are sufficient differences in these variables to identify groups and whether these differences correspond in any meaningful way to disparate behavior in health and education.

In summary, the task of this study is a threefold one. Do health and medical practices and educational practices vary sufficiently among the Cherokee to employ them as primary variables in describing acculturation? Are there other cultural variables which cluster about the key ones in a salient manner? On the basis of the

[1] See, for example: Warner et al., 1947; Voget, 1952, pp. 89–92; Spindler and Goldschmidt, 1952, pp. 68–83.

[2] County and city schools adjacent to the reservation are called public schools by the Indians.

answers to the foregoing questions, does the Thomas continuum apply to the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians?

TECHNIQUES OF THE STUDY

Gaining acceptance among the Conservative Indians is not a simple task. However, it was made considerably easier for me as a result of the fieldwork done in Big Cove, one of the more traditional communities, by my colleagues in the Cross Cultural Laboratory. In the summer of 1959 I lived in Big Cove in the home of an elderly Cherokee, and in close proximity to the families of her two daughters and one of her granddaughters. During the following winter and spring of 1960, I was located about half a mile from the center of Cherokee on the banks of the Oconaluftee River. Close neighbors were young married people, some of whom were living in rented quarters. Others were living in their own trailers. The owner of the cottages and of the land on which the trailers were parked lived on the premises in his own trailer. Late in the spring I moved to Soco, the first reservation section approached from the east. The home in which I lived was owned by an elderly widow and was located in a somewhat isolated section.

I tried to explain my purpose in living on the reservation, but only the more sophisticated understood. Some thought I was a Quaker who had come to work among them; others suspected that I was a writer or a teacher. Some simply considered me eccentric, but all eventually tolerated my presence.

Through visiting with people, attending box suppers, church prayer meetings, and funerals, I was able to participate as much as is possible in their life. Most of my interviewing was unstructured and informal. It consisted of gossiping about the happenings of the day and the coming and going of the people around. Inquiries about the health of the host or hostess, often made in Cherokee, elicited the data desired. Other conversations were directed toward the schools, the aspirations of the parents for their children, and their own educational experiences.

Observation in the schools and clinics provided insights into the behavior associated with these institutions. Members of the health staff and school faculty were very helpful in orienting me toward their goals.

I made a few house calls with the social workers from the Bureau Welfare Office (now Social Services Branch) and accompanied the home demonstration agent on several occasions. I substituted in the high school for part of a day during the absence of a teacher and waited on tables in the cafe of one of the White Indian business owners, and sat in the sun at the bus station. I provided trans-

portation for people on their numerous errands and trips to town. On one occasion my home was used as a refuge by members of a family escaping from the potential violence of a drunken son.

There are weaknesses in the participant-observation method, of course. Obviously a population numbering over 4,000 is too large for one person to know. Sex and age preclude interacting at some levels, and the personality of the anthropologist as well as of his informants will determine in some measure the individuals to whom he is attracted and those who are attracted to him. Given these limitations, however, the method has enabled a description of the members of the Eastern Band of Cherokee, 1960.

In order to find the answers to the questions posed in this study, families and individuals who seemed to resemble Thomas' four types were selected as cases for intensive analysis. Field notes were kept of every visit and conversation. They were subjected to a content analysis according to the variables.

Early in my stay in the field, the extent of the belief in immanent justice among the Indian children was examined. The tests used by the staff of the Indian Education Research Project were adapted for use with the Cherokee (see Havighurst and Neugarten, 1955). The sample included all the children in the third and sixth grades from four Indian elementary schools. The 9th and 12th grades from Cherokee High School were also included. An additional control was obtained by administering the test to a similar sample of White children from the public schools of Jackson County. The responses of both groups of children were compared for statistical significance of differences (cf. p. 294, footnote 21).

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THE CHEROKEE

THE PAST

Following the Removal in 1838, the history of the Cherokee branches into two nearly discrete streams. One stream holds in its current those who went west during the Removal. Apparently many of the better educated and mixbloods were among this group. In examining a roll compiled by Mullay, a Federal enumerator, Gaston Litton (1940, p. 209) says that the great predominance of Cherokee names suggests that the emigration of 1838–39 took away most of the mixbloods. Judging from the elegance of the prose of the letters written by the Ridge, Watie, and Boudinot families, one is probably justified in concluding that a significant portion of potential leadership was drained off by this event (Dale and Litton, 1939).

The other historical course involves the fortunes of the fugitives from the roundup, "principally . . . mountain Cherokee . . ., the purest-blooded and most conservative of the Nation" (Mooney, 1900, p. 157). As a result of Tsali's historic sacrifice,[3] General Winfield Scott granted permission to the people hidden deep in secluded recesses of the mountains to remain in the east. Col. Will Thomas ("Little Will") spent 6 years in Washington, D.C., seeking official recognition of the right of his adopted people to remain in their homeland. Permission was finally granted, and Thomas, using the moneys due the Cherokee for property confiscation and damage, purchased tracts of mountain land for them. The titles to the property were held by

[3] Tsali and his sons killed a soldier while escaping from the Removal roundup. They, like other escapees, fled to an inaccessible mountain cave. General Scott, recognizing the tremendous task involved in capturing all of the fugitives, offered permission for them to remain in their homeland in exchange for Tsali. Tsali and his two older sons surrendered and were executed for the murder.

Thomas as trustee for the Indians, who were not permitted by the laws of North Carolina to own land (Mooney, 1900, p. 159). These parcels of land still comprise the bulk of the present reservation.

In rebuilding a life, the people were achieving some success by 1848, for Mullay wrote:

> I was gratified to find the Cherokees who inhabit the valleys and coves of this wild, interesting and romantic region, a moral and comparatively industrious people—sober and orderly to a marked degree—and although almost wholly ignorant of our language (not a single full-blood and but few of the half-breeds speaking English) advancing encouragingly in the acquirement of a knowledge of agriculture, the ordinary mechanical branches, & in spinning, weaving, &c.[4]

In spite of the migration of many mixbloods, some stayed behind. It can safely be presumed that many of these were not as acculturated as the migrants. Their lack of facility with English demonstrates this conviction. However, many of their descendants figure prominently in the present-day mixed population of Cherokee. One of the most prolific of the "White Indian" families traces White ancestors back at least as early as 1840.

About the same time that Mullay visited the area, another traveler spent a week with Will Thomas. He describes his impressions of the people as follows:

> . . . probably as temperate as any other class of people, honest in their business intercourse, moral in thought word and deeds. Three fourths of them can read in their own language, and though a majority can understand English few can speak it. They practice to a considerable extent the science of agriculture . . . they are in fact the happiest community that I have met with in the southern country. [Lanman, 1849, p. 95.]

In 1851 the Siler Roll was taken. This roll is of interest, for, in connection with it, Siler, the compiler, wrote to his superior in Washington requesting instructions in regard to listings of Negro admixtures. The directions came back saying: ". . . if they are recognized as Cherokees by their council, you will enroll them as such with some special mark." [5] This donation to the Indian gene pool was made by slaves and probably a few freed Negroes. In the comments accompanying the roll, references are made to some marriages with Catawba Indians. This is not unexpected, for in 1840 one hundred or more of them took up residence among the Cherokee. However, because of discontent and some conflict, most of them wandered back to South Carolina. The genealogy of one elite Cherokee family today includes a Catawba ancestor.

The Swetland Roll, completed in 1860, states that there were 800 fullbloods in the Qualla settlement and nearly 400 people, mostly fullbloods, in Cheoah. A group of 500 that came in for registration

[4] Litton, 1940, quoting from a letter from Mullay to the Washington office, 1848.

[5] Litton, 1940, p. 212, quoting from a letter from Lea to Siler, 1851.

at Murphy, N.C., was partly or largely of White blood. This roll had a majority of Indian names although there were many English forms (Litton, 1940, pp. 216–218).

The progress and the achievements of the people after the Removal were transitory, for the Cherokee were not to be permitted to continue their rebuilding. The Civil War broke around them, leaving turmoil and property loss in its wake. It also created cleavages among the people, for, although the majority joined the Confederacy and were members of the Thomas Legion, others fought for the Union forces, and some changed allegiances. In 1892 there were 14 Union veterans surviving, and about 39 Confederate veterans (Carrington, 1892, p. 21).

It was after the Civil War that the first serious attempt toward the organization of a tribal government was made. On December 1, 1870, a constitution was adopted and first and second chiefs were elected. They served until 1875 when further amendments were made to the constitution (Litton, 1940, p. 201). At this time the Indian office assumed regular supervision over the Cherokee. The first agent (sent out 10 years after the war) reported that he found the Indians destitute, discouraged, and almost without stock and farming tools. There were no schools. Very few fullbloods could speak English, but nearly all could read and write in their own language (Mooney, 1900, p. 174). The poverty and disorganization which he describes were a bitter legacy of the war.

Several succeeding rolls were taken which are pertinent to this research. The Hester Roll (1884) reported 2,956 Eastern Cherokee: 1,881 in North Carolina; 758 in Georgia; 213 in Tennessee; 71 in Alabama; 3 in South Carolina; 8 in New Jersey; 5 in Virginia; 1 in Illinois; 3 in Kansas; 1 in Colorado; and 1 in California. In connection with the compilation of this roll, Chief Nimrod J. Smith wrote:

> . . . another difficulty is presented in the fact that we have been for a long time living in the midst of and surrounded by two other races of people with whom there has been more or less intermarriage and cohabitation producing a result which makes it very difficult to trace the Indian blood. [Litton, 1940, pp. 222–223.]

A particularly curious fact is mentioned in the comments on this roll: that there were at the time of the enrollment 10 Cherokees in attendance at Trinity College (now Duke University) (ibid., p. 223).

In 1889 the Cherokee became a corporate group under the laws of the State of North Carolina. In 1890 the total within the State was 1,520, of which 774 were males and 746 were females. Subsequent to the 1884 roll some moved to adjoining States and others to the Indian Territory (Donaldson, 1892, p. 7).

Nine years before the incorporation of the tribe, a school was established. The Quakers contracted with the Tribal Council to operate a training school for 10 years; the term expired in 1890. At the time of the expiration, the majority of the council favored its continuation, but the principal chief, Nimrod J. Smith, opposed the renewal of the contract (ibid., p. 16). In 1901 the Federal Government assumed the responsibility for education.

During the Friends' administration of the school, Virginia Young visited it and was much impressed by what she saw:

> A whole army of scholars came marching to the dining hall . . . the girls were taught to sew, mend, and darn. Instructions were given in laundry and cooking. They were such accomplished mistresses of these arts that the demand for them in Asheville as house servants could not be supplied. [Young, 1894, p. 172.]

She credited the wife of the superintendent with the success of the enterprise.

> The inspiration of the school is Mrs. Spray. She is a strong believer in woman's suffrage. . . . It is her housewifely skill which has made refinement and neatness and system characteristic of this home in the wilderness . . . the motive power by which she rules being love. [Ibid., p. 173.]

A typical day at the training school was a rigorous one indeed: 5 a.m., morning bell; 5:30, breakfast; 6–9:00, industrial work; 9–11:15, school exercises; noon, dinner; 12:30–1:30 p.m., industrial work; 1:30–4:00, school exercises; 4–6:00, industrial work; 6 p.m., supper; 6:30–7:00, recreation; 7–8:00, evening study; 8 p.m., evening prayers; 8:30, retiring bell (Carrington, 1892, p. 16). Under circumstances such as these, those who survived were undoubtedly rapidly indoctrinated in ways other than Indian—perhaps through "love," but certainly through regimentation.

In 1892 Donaldson observed that:

> . . . they [the Cherokee] have few wants. They are peaceable, sociable and industrious, with marked ambition to acquire wealth . . . the main occupation is that of farming. Although the acreage is limited in each tract, the crops realized are more than sufficient for home necessities. [Ibid., pp. 13–14.]

The average earnings of males per year was estimated at $166, and the per capita wealth of the band was $217.25. It is not clear whether this is an annual figure or represents total per capita assets. Donaldson (1892, p. 9) said that the Cherokee earned as much and lived as well as the White people about them. We infer from this picture of the economic situation that by this time some recovery had been made from the postwar devastation. It is well to recognize, however, that average figures are misleading.

In 1907 another roll, known as the Churchill Roll, was taken. On this one appears for the first time a predominance of English names over Cherokee forms. This would not necessarily mean that the

White admixture was much greater than in prior times, for many names when translated or anglicized do not reveal their origin. However, on this roll many blood fractions are listed. Among the most typical are $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{3}{8}$, $\frac{5}{8}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{7}{16}$, $\frac{13}{16}$, $\frac{15}{16}$, etc. (Litton, 1940, p. 226).

From 1848 to 1907 the Cherokee once more evolved from a nearly fullblood group to one which counts its Indian inheritance in a welter of confusing fractions. As I have pointed out, not all the mixbloods emigrated, but the bulk of this admixture is post-Removal. At the time of the 1890 census, there were 56 White families who were unlawfully on the tract, occupying and farming 6,000 acres of good land (Donaldson, 1892, p. 8). Family histories suggest that in addition to the reservoir of White blood existing from earlier times, much of it came into the population about this time and from some of these intruders.

The Baker Roll was started in 1924 as part of a Federal termination-type program. This was to have been the final roll, and it included all those of at least $\frac{1}{32}$ Indian inheritance plus those born no later than June 4, 1924. This roll has been surrounded by controversy and acrimony. Allegations have been made that many were enrolled with no more eligibility than $5. Of the 3,146 names recorded, 1,222 are contested cases (Litton, 1940, pp. 229–231). This is a touchy subject in Cherokee now. There are people who are scornfully described by others, usually fullbloods, as "five-dollar Indians." As Gulick (1960, p. 16) points out, the Baker Roll has many problems associated with it, not the least of which is the fact that no one under 37 (in 1961) is legally a member of the tribe.

In 1958 the council voted to take a new roll. The blood requirement is now set at $\frac{1}{32}$, although initially there was a movement for a $\frac{1}{4}$ requirement which was defeated in the council. In addition to the inheritance stipulation, there are residence requirements. The roll at the time of this writing is not yet complete, nor will it be closed; those eligible will be added at birth. During the present enrollment, some applicants have been refused, but those refused may request special hearings on their applications. The tribal enrollment clerk said, "Some of these people must think that they are going to get some money. That's why they are so eager to be enrolled."

In 1929, Cherokee had not burgeoned into the vacation area that it is today. There was no town, and, exclusive of the school and the agency, the settlement had no electricity. The small cluster of buildings around the Cherokee station on the Appalachian Railway and on the banks of the river was composed of three fairly large stores, one small store, a warehouse, and two Indian dwellings. The largest store was owned by the chief, John Tahquette, a fullblood.

Across the river on the west side was another small settlement. One of the stores was a craft and curio shop. The Cherokee language was spoken by more than three-quarters of the population. All but a 10th could speak English and all could understand it. During this year two boys were in college, and three boys and two girls were in junior college. Prior to 1929, according to Henry Owl (MS., 1929, pp. 133–161), four boys had received college degrees, and two girls had completed nurses' training.

The preceding glimpse into the turbulent past of the Cherokee helps set the stage for Cherokee, 1960, for in that which exists today are threads from other days.

THE PRESENT

The present-day Cherokee occupy a reservation of 56,572 acres. Included in this are 159 acres controlled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and used for schools and other service areas. The region is mountainous; coves are sheltered by thickly wooded hills; good bottom lands floor the valleys. As a consequence of this topography, 46,582 acres are forest land, 4,053 are agricultural, and the remainder are in grass, pasture, and wasteland. The main reservation, Qualla Boundary, straddles two counties: 29,504 acres are in Swain County and 19,347 acres are in Jackson County. In Graham County, the Snowbird section includes 2,249 acres. Approximately 5,571 acres of land are held in Cherokee County in fragmented tracts. If all the land were to be distributed according to families, each family would hold approximately 95 acres. The largest landholder lives in Big Cove and controls between 500 and 600 acres, most of which are in timber.

Elevations in the area range from 1,900–4,700 feet. Although the valleys may be bare, snow is frequently visible on mountain tops during the winter. Spring arrives gradually in March and April, reaching the lowlands first and creeping up the mountains as shades of green blend into each other. Trees are just budding at the top of Soco Gap when lower regions are a panorama of green. Rhododendron and flame azalea bloom long after they have gone from the riverbanks below. In February, the coldest month, the temperature averages 29.7° F. and in July, the warmest month, the average is 80.5° F. The mean for the year is 54.9° F. Although the temperatures vary from year to year, the climate is relatively mild and there is an abundance of moisture.

The land is held in trust for the people by the U.S. Government. Individuals do not hold title to their lands, but have possessory rights to certain tracts. These holdings are freely bought, traded, and sold among the Indians, and they may be willed and inherited within the band. Just prior to my first period of fieldwork, one landholder, an

elderly widow, had all her land surveyed and distributed among her heirs. Several days later she returned to the Agency and took it back again. During this period she put a son and daughter off her land and had the former "lawed" so that he could not come on her land for 6 months! A land sale was recorded during this period of fieldwork in which $30 was given as a downpayment for a piece of bottom land costing $50. But the informant said that the owner had not signed anything over, and in the meantime had sold 4 acres from the same bottom to a mission group. The first purchaser was worried that the owner had sold the same land twice. However, on a later visit, I found that the foundation for the informant's new home was being erected on the plot.

In 1929 Henry M. Owl (ibid., p. 136) said, "It is very remarkable and a credit to the tribe that there has been absolutely no misunderstandings and disagreements among individuals about boundaries and ownership of the individual tracts." This may have been the situation at the time of his work, but our field notes include several cases of disputed boundaries. Moreover, one of the routine responsibilities of the Tribal Council is arbitration of land disputes.

THE PEOPLE

In 1960 the population of the band was enumerated at 4,494. Since the 1924 roll listed only 2,540 members, it is evident that the population has nearly doubled in 36 years. At the time of the 1924 count the genetic composition of the roll was analyzed, and the data are available. Unfortunately we have no comparative figures for 1960. However, Gulick (1960, pp. 16–17), using figures based upon the composition of the school enrollment for 1956–57, suggests that some notion of the inheritance of the population can be estimated. Nevertheless we must keep in mind that, in the case of children with one-half or less Indian blood, there is the possibility that the child's

TABLE 1.—*Comparison of Indian blood degree in 1924 roll call with that in school figures in 1956–57*

1924 [1]			1956–1957 [2]		
Blood degree	Number	Percent	Blood degree	Number	Percent
4/4	525	20.67	4/4	197	22.89
3/4	326	12.83	3/4–4/4	223	25.90
1/2	183	7.21	1/2–3/4	172	19.97
1/4	180	7.09	1/4–1/2	140	16.26
1/16	613	24.13	Less than 1/4	129	14.98
Less than 1/16	713	28.07			
Total	2,540	100.00	Total	861	100.00

[1] Tribal file data, 1960.
[2] Based on school enrollment data only.

inheritance may differ markedly from either or both of his parents. Table 1 compares the Indian blood degree of the 1924 roll with the figures obtained from the schools in 1956–57. Analysis of the age distribution in 1960 reveals that over half of the band is 40 years of age and under. There were 750 children aged 10 or under, and 158 old people aged between 80 and 100 years.

Serological data on the Cherokee were obtained by William Pollitzer in 1958 and again in 1960. Phenotypic distribution of blood types is what we might expect, for it is characteristic of Indian tribes, not including the Blood and Blackfoot groups. Table 2 summarizes these findings. Hemoglobin levels were studied; less than 5 percent of the sample had fewer than 12 grams of hemoglobin. There was no abnormal hemoglobin, i.e., sickle cell.[6]

TABLE 2.—*Blood type distribution*

Type	Fullblood		Less than fullblood	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
O	157	94.58	265	71.62
A	6	3.61	87	23.52
B	3	1.81	17	4.59
AB	0	0.00	1	0.27
Total	166	100.00	370	100.00
M	50	64.11	42	49.41
MN	25	32.05	32	37.65
N	3	3.84	11	12.94
Total	78	100.00	85	100.00

THE DAILY BREAD

The main sources of earned income derive from the tourist industry, two factories, miscellaneous wage labor, and, to a much lesser extent, timbering. Farming as an exclusive occupation is confined to so few that it can scarcely be regarded as an important source of cash. However, for the purposes of this research, I have chosen to designate fulltime farmers as those who operate farms which include more than kitchen gardens. Many of these farmers have an additional source of income deriving from their own efforts or those of their spouses. Even with this qualification there are only 44 people living within the Qualla Boundary who may be regarded as farmers.[7]

The farms are spread unequally over the reservation. There are 5 in Cherokee, 4 in Painttown, 18 in Soco, 6 in Big Cove, and 11 in Birdtown. Because several people have suggested that fullbloods are not attracted to farming, or that the general tendency is for the more

[6] William Pollitzer, personal conference, February 17, 1961.

[7] This figure does not include data from Graham or Cherokee Counties.

progressive farmer to be less than fullblood,[8] the data on agriculture were examined with respect to Indian inheritance. Table 3 seems to confirm the impression.

TABLE 3.—*Analysis of the Indian inheritance of full-time farmers* [1]

Indian degree of inheritance	Number	Percent
1/64–19/64	20	45.45
1 1/64–29/64	8	18.19
2 1/64–39/64	4	9.09
3 1/64–49/64	6	13.63
4 1/64–59/64	1	2.27
5 1/64–69/64	0	0.00
6 1/64–64/64	5	11.37
Total	44	100.00

[1] Data secured from Extension Office, Cherokee, July 1960.

Raymond Fogelson (MS., 1958, p. 25) suggests that, "The ready adoption of white-Euro-American farming techniques originally took place mainly among the mixed blood population occupying the favorable Georgia bottom lands." This is true, but writers on the Eastern Band also remark on the quality of farming among the Cherokee in the 19th century.[9] An informant describing Big Cove said:

> You know, when I was a girl this whole bottom was covered with corn and beans, and people had hogs. We had all we wanted to eat. The man that raised me had about thirty hogs. (My mother gave me away.) He said that when he died, it would all go away and it did, too. People don't farm any more—rather work for cash, I guess—but things were better then.

In examining these reports more closely, the farming which is mentioned so often is actually a subsistence type and follows closely the aboriginal pattern of hunting-gardening. Thomas (MS. a, pp. 33–34) states that cash-crop farming was taken over by a few as game declined, but was discarded at the first opportunity for wage labor.

Today the dominant type of farming is subsistence. The main cash crop is tobacco; however, the average allotments are very small. The largest farmer, who has more than 100 acres of land, has nine-tenths of an acre allotment. He recently put in an acre of strawberries as an additional cash crop. Beef is becoming more important as a result of improved pastures, but the largest herd has only about 30 head. Vegetable production for commercial markets is very limited, although a few of the village restaurants purchase beans and potatoes grown locally. The goals of the Extension Division include a movement toward part-time farming and good home gardens.[10]

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[8] County Agent, personal conference, June 15, 1960.

[9] Cf. above, pp. 229, 231.

[10] Personal conference, County Agent, July 1960.

As a result of forest management on a sustained-yield basis, the timber stands have improved. The forest is of the moist-soil type. Of the hardwoods, oak and hickory predominate. The native coniferous trees are pine and hemlock; the balsam, red spruce, and Norway pine were introduced by the Civilian Conservation Corps in the 1930's.

The regrowth estimate is 2 million feet a year. Consequently, annual cutting is limited to this amount. Cutting permits are given contingent upon the possession of cuttable timber; each such permit allows the removal of 2,000 feet. However, in hardship cases exceptions are made, and in the case of large landholders, permits can be issued in the name of different family members. For instance, the largest landholder has had as much as 9,000 feet cut in a year.

Logging is not very rewarding, for the average value of 2,000 feet was only $80 in 1960. Of this, the owner must pay a stumpage fee of 10 percent of the selling price to the tribe. Should the owner not have the means to snake out the logs, he must pay to have it done. Ultimately the owner may realize as little as $40 annually from his timber. Timbering regulations, which include the exclusion of stock from wooded land, are a source of irritation to many.

The tourist industry is an important element in the economic base of Cherokee. Aside from the profits which accrue to owners of businesses, many are employed as waitresses, sales personnel, and motel maids.

In order to operate a business of any sort on the reservation the owner must hold a trader's license for which there is no charge. White business operators who are not married to a tribal member must procure a lease that is individually negotiated. The length of the lease depends upon the size of the given investment. During the period between 1950 and 1960 there was a trend away from White lessees. At the time this information was acquired, there were no White-operated motels. Despite this trend a close look at the licenses issued

TABLE 4.—*Trading licenses of Indians*[1]

Blood degrees	Number	Percent
1/64–10/64	25	45.46
11/64–20/64	7	12.72
21/64–30/64	2	3.63
31/64–40/64	4	7.29
41/64–50/64	8	14.55
51/64–60/64	2	3.63
61/64–64/64	7	12.72
Total	55	100.00

[1] Data secured from Agency Office, July 1960.

demonstrates that although those businesses are Indian-operated, the entrepreneurs are seldom fullbloods.

Table 4 illustrates these data. The mean for these figures is $^{24}/_{64}$, the median is $^{18}/_{64}$, and the mode is $^{4}/_{64}$. Mean averages notwithstanding, these figures indicate that the greatest number of businesses are owned by people of $^{1}/_{16}$ Indian inheritance.

Table 4 does not reveal the kinds of businesses which are being operated by people with variations in Indian inheritance. These data are illustrated in table 5. The fact that there is a difference in totals between the two sets of data is a result of the number of licenses held by any one person, for a license must be obtained for every enterprise, even though the same person may run all of them. Among the licenses for 1960, for instance, six were issued to one woman of $^{1}/_{16}$ inheritance and four to a man of $^{1}/_{8}$ inheritance.

TABLE 5.—*Types of businesses operated by Indians, by blood degrees*[1]

Business	Blood degrees—						Number
	1/64–10/64	11/64–20/64	21/64–40/64	41/64–50/64	51/64–60/64	61/64–64/64	
Tourist:							
Restaurant	6	------	2	------	------	------	8
Crafts and souvenirs	11	1	2	[3] 3	------	------	17
Motel	8	[2] 3	------	[4] 3	------	1	15
Trailer court	1	1	------	------	------	------	2
Service:							
Garage	1	1	1	------	1	[2] 1	5
Taxi	1	------	------	------	1	5	7
Grocery	2	1	------	2	------	[5] 1	6
Miscellaneous	------	------	1	------	------	------	1
Total	30	7	6	8	2	8	61

[1] Data secured from Agency Office, July 1960.
[2] Of these, one is an Indian woman married to a White man.
[3] Of this group, one is subleased to a White man.
[4] One of this group is married to a White man, a second is in partnership with a White man.
[5] This is an Indian woman married to a White man who operates a small store in Big Cove.

The range in the size of these businesses is great. The taxi service involves no more than the ownership of a vehicle. The net income from this type of operation is low, although taxi owners do not pay the 3 percent levy to the tribe as the others do. On the other hand, the gross income figures reported for two of the larger operations for 1959 were $307,131.35 and $96,220.78.

Associated with the tourist industry, but separate from it in the technical sense, are crafts. Beadwork, basketmaking, and woodcarving are the main ones. Estimates of incomes derived from these crafts are difficult to make, for much depends upon the inclination of the individual. Crafts are sold either to the Qualla Cooperative or to the individual craft shops. Some are taken over to Asheville and Gatlinburg. In addition to the wholesale price for their work,

Qualla Cooperative members receive a dividend check based upon the profits of the organization. At one meeting checks were distributed ranging in amounts from $2 to $60. A near-White Indian boy has earned as much as $40 a week from woodcarving. An industrious basketmaker earns somewhat less, for if she uses cane, the material is usually purchased. It does not grow near Cherokee.

Two White-owned-and-managed industries are present on the reservation. Saddlecraft, Inc., which manufactures moccasins and a few other items, employs 49 people in the plant and 55 fireside workers. This business rents an old dairy barn from the tribe, but it is constructing a new building with funds lent to it by the tribe. Harns Manufacturing Co., which makes quilted products and padded infant accessories, is housed in a modern building which was erected with tribal funds. The company has a 25-year lease with a renewal option. At present it has 102 employees who are paid $1 per hour under a training program, of which the Federal Government pays part. The building is capable of housing 300 workers. Together the two provide a weekly payroll of $8,000. However, all of this does not go to Indian employees, as each business has a few White workers. In regard to this a mother of an Indian employee asked me:

"How come White people down there get paid more than Indians?" "Well, I don't know," I replied, "unless they are men who came with the plant as management." "No sir," she said, "these are two White girls from Sylva and they are getting $1.25 and they just got hired. I know that they can hire White if they can't find Indians who can do the work, but they all oughta git [sic] paid the same."

Other people work for the Government either as Indian Bureau employees or as seasonal employees of the Park. Still others are hired by the tribe as policemen, firemen, and sanitation workers.

In addition to earned income, some Indians are recipients of public welfare aid from the counties in which they live. To receive it they must qualify in one of three categories: aid to dependent children, old age assistance, or aid to the permanently disabled and handicapped. For those who are not eligible for public assistance, a special Federal Indian welfare program is available. This service is administered by two trained caseworkers who also do family counseling. The expenditures from these funds for the fiscal year ending in 1960 are shown in table 6 and correspond with the tourist season in amounts expended.

Estimates of family income are most irregular. A current figure was set at an average of $1,662 (Anonymous, 1961); another made available to the public listed the average income of rural families as $600 (Cherokee Historical Association, 1960, p. 4).

TABLE 6.—*Federal Indian welfare expenditures, fiscal year 1960* [1]

Month	Amount [2]
July	$4, 474
August	4, 433
September	3, 848
October	7, 679
November	12, 613
December	13, 401
January	13, 495
February	13, 850
March	14, 457
April	13, 365
May	10, 173
June	2, 617
Total	$114, 405

[1] Data secured from Welfare and Family Counseling Office, July 1960.
[2] Add approximately $200 per month for emergencies.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE

The religious life of the people is provided for by 21 churches. In addition to 15 Baptist churches, there are 3 Methodist, 1 Pentecostal Holiness, 1 Catholic, and 1 Episcopal. During the summer several tent sects move in for a week or two. Many of the churches provide used clothing either for nothing or for a very nominal fee. Weekly prayer meetings are held, sometimes in the church and sometimes in the homes of parishioners. Notes taken after a prayer meeting in a home in Big Cove describe it thus:

We entered an oil-illuminated room with three double beds in it. The walls were lined with cardboard taken from packing boxes. Nan Driver was sitting on the edge of a bed, crutches nearby and her one leg dangled from a soiled dress. Her husband was there. Numerous children sat in the shadows, almost indistinguishable from the lumps of blankets. There were eight other adults present. The meeting opened with hymns, some of which were sung in Cherokee. The preacher started his sermon which gradually reached a rythmic crescendo in which we were exhorted to love God and quit sinning. The room was very hot. During the most enthusiastic part of the sermon several of the men dozed on benches at the side of the room. At the conclusion prayers were said in Cherokee by some of those in attendance. We arose and walked around the circle and shook hands with everyone else. The handgrip was limp with a jerky up and down motion.

In general, the churches follow community orientation. Some have predominantly fullblood communicants, and others have mixblood congregations. The Catholic Church serves its largest numbers during the summer when travelers avail themselves of services.

At present, recreation is largely physical. There is a softball league in the summer, and each community has an entry. Little

League baseball or a variant of it was started during the summer of 1960. The school custodians were the team managers. After several sessions of general practice, they met early in the summer to bid for players with the points allotted to them. Consequently, the little league teams are not community entries. The director of the program stated that Big Cove was not as well represented with children as were the other communities.

Indian ball is played during the Indian Fair in October and at least once or twice during the summer. In the summer of 1959 regular games were scheduled and interest was high. Several games eventuated in injuries to the players and squabbles among some fullblood women spectators.

The high school has teams in the three major sports, and the football games and basketball games are well attended. However, observations made at several basketball games suggest that many utilize the occasion for visiting as much as for appreciation of the game.

Much of the leisure of Conservative women is occupied with visiting. Some make baskets together, talking softly between long periods of silence; others may bring their washing to the home of one who has a machine. Perhaps working together lessens the load.

AS OTHERS SEE THEM

A description of the milieu in which the Indians live is incomplete without some notion of the esteem in which they are held by their White neighbors. The Cherokee are forced into interaction with Whites, and at least part of their behavior and their self-image is conditioned by this interaction. The Whites act toward Indians in accordance with the opinion held by them. Thus the White behavior stimulates Indian reaction. This web of interaction produces a feedback which reinforces attitudes and behaviors of both the Indians and the Whites.

The Whites who surround the reservation are not of the same strata. They can be classified into three categories, one of which is the local power—professional people and businessmen—of Jackson and Swain Counties. Most of these people are native to the area. The second category is comprised of Federal employees, many of whom are not native to the area. The final stratum includes traders, missionaries, and farmers whose land is adjacent to the reservation. The farmers (old residents of the area) can, in turn, be divided into two groups. There is one group which operates modern farms with as much mechanization as the terrain will allow. Their stock is good, and their homes and farm buildings are substantial. Others farm marginal land off the main roads. This latter group is diminish-

ing in numbers. To the extent that there are characteristics typical of rural mountain people, they retain them. The generalizations to be drawn do not include comments from these people.

These three categories of Whites express somewhat different attitudes toward the Cherokee; some are more critical of certain "Indian traits" than others are. Yet, they are in substantial agreement on most points. Typical of all these people is a certainty that there is an Indian way of behaving. This behavior, they argue, is different from the way White people comport themselves. Indians, they say, are sexually promiscuous (although, they state some of the Whites in the hills are, too). Indians are inclined to be dirty and shiftless. They have large families which they are unable to support, and they constitute a drain on the county's financial resources. They are "devils when they are drunk." They live from day to day with no planning for the future. In spite of such stereotypic pronouncements, some respondents add that they are not all this way.

The observer is not made acutely conscious of race prejudice or discriminatory activity. All the local community schools now have Indian pupils or will admit them. Nevertheless, many Whites imply that they have some reservations about Indian-White marriages except in the cases where the Indian spouse is nearly White and is prosperous. The farmers appear to be more race conscious than the others. "No matter how White some of them get, Indian ways will crop out," is a sentiment often expressed by farmers.

The Government is blamed by almost all of the respondents for the deplorable state of the Indians. As a result of Federal intervention and protection, the Indians have been drained of initiative. Because of the Government, they are lazy and look to a benevolent and paternalistic agency for support. Some add to this belief the opinion that Indians are naturally perverse and that the combination has produced this "sorry mess."

IDEAL TYPES

I have reviewed the development of a heterogeneous society from one which, in 1838, was almost homogeneous. Changes in Indian inheritance, occupation, and land use were described. It is now necessary to examine the covert and less tangible aspects of the way of life of the people. In the pages to follow, I shall present representative portraits of typical Cherokees to illustrate Thomas' postulated continuum. The reader will recall that one of the tasks of this investigation is an appraisal of the accuracy of the typology. Is it sufficiently precise to depict the diversity among the people at Cherokee?

THE TYPOLOGY AS AN APPROACH TO CULTURAL DIFFERENTIATION

Interest in the differential development of once-homogeneous groups is not without precedent. Latin American scholars have attended to this question at great length.[11] With the exception of the Pueblo tribes, the presence of subgroups with differing cultural orientations is probably a feature of most North American Indian reservations at present. Scudder Mekeel (1936, pp. 5–6) called attention to this segmenting tendency. Among 932 Oglala of the Teton Dakota tribe, three different strata existed. These were "divided not only according to generation but also according to the particular way of getting a living which was in vogue during the impressionable years of those within the given stratum." The first group was old; it remembered the hide tipi, it had counted coup and hunted buffalo, and it yearned for the old life. The second group knew of the old life only through tales. "Their minds were tuned to a parasitic life due to treaty rations." The third group was better educated. It knew of neither of the above-mentioned experiences. It resented the leadership of the older men, and thought "it could handle Washington better." Some of the members of this group were making a genuine effort to support themselves.

Mekeel's work was early and crude in its categorizing, but it presaged a flood of research using the basic notion of social gradients. Outstanding among these scholarly productions is the work of Irving Hallowell, which is based upon groups who at one time participated in a common Ojibwa culture. To examine changes in personality organization which, he hypothesized, might derive from acculturation pressures, he divided the Ojibwa into four groups. The groups represented four different communities: three in Canada, and one in the United States. They were placed on a scale of acculturation proceeding from level one, the least acculturated, through level four, the most modernized. The identification of these categories was made on an impressionistic basis (Hallowell, 1952, pp. 106–107).

George D. Spindler (1955, p. 6) comments on Hallowell's impressionistic differentiation of levels of acculturation, stating that this basis of ordering is only partly explicit and is, therefore, subject to no critical test of validation. Admitting that this method may be appropriate to samples drawn from distinct areas, he questions its application to a single population on one reservation. In such a situation the attributes used to place individuals on a scale must be

[11] See, for example, Redfield, 1941, p. 13: "In short, the Yucatan, considered as one moves from Merida southeastward into forest hinterland, presents a sort of social gradient in which the Spanish, modern and urban, gives way to the Maya, archaic and primitive." Others who have dealt with Latin American typology construction are Wolf, 1955, pp. 452–469, and Wagley and Harris, 1955, pp. 428–429.

made explicit (ibid.). Consequently, Spindler employed a schedule including amount and source of income, type of home, knowledge of Menomini language, belief in native lore and medicine, and religious and group affiliations. In an analysis of the data, he found that sorting by these variables resulted in grouping unlike individuals. Therefore, religious affiliations, which are structured groups, were selected as the classifying device. Among the Menomini he identified four categories: Medicine Lodge-dream dance group; Peyote cult group; a category of persons in transition; and members of the Catholic Church who were subdivided on the basis of socioeconomic status (ibid., pp. 12–14). These four segments were examined for association with other sociocultural indices and with psychological data.[12]

Fred Voget (1952, pp. 89–92) posited a continuum which, with but few modifications, he applied to three North American Indian tribes. There are four sociocultural groups among the Crow: native, native modified, American modified, and American marginal. The marginality of the fourth group stems from local discriminatory activity of surrounding Whites toward Indians of mixed ancestry. On an Iroquois reservation, Voget (1951, p. 222) identified three groups: native modified, Euro-American modified, and Euro-American marginal. There is no native segment.

From his work on the Shoshone (1950, p. 53), he asserts that "The contact of cultures of differential complexity has produced not only social and cultural disintegration of the less complex but new social categories and cultural integrations." Among the Shoshone the new social categories are: native, native modified, White modified, and White.

Postulations of unilinear continua of acculturation have not gone unchallenged. At least one writer (Polgar, 1960, p. 233) states that his data suggest that a state of stabilized pluralism exists among the Mesquakie. He confined his major observation to boys and found that they are socialized into Mesquakie and White culture simultaneously. Biculturation is both process and end result at the Tama Reservation. In the evaluation of this study and the criticism of the lineal analyses which it makes, two factors should be taken into account. The Tama community is composed of only 500 Indians of all ages and both sexes. There are but 3,000 acres in the reservation. The economic base is similar for the largest number of wage earners (ibid., pp. 217–218). Given these conditions, the emergence of disparate groups with different cultural content could hardly be anticipated. The Tama people seem to resemble the Makah as Elizabeth Colson

[12] For amplification of this continuum and further uses of it, see Spindler and Goldschmidt, 1952, pp. 68–73, and Spindler, 1952, pp. 151–159.

describes them (1953, p. 280). She finds that they are a single group which, although having a body of tradition not shared with Whites, have been successfully assimilated to the extent that the forms of their current culture are largely derived from Whites.

THE THOMAS CONTINUUM

Throughout this paper certain of the Cherokee have been referred to as "fullblood"—the term has carried a connotation of traditional or Conservative Indian. Biologically, the term is misleading as, of course, blood has no relation to genes. The term is used because the Indians refer to themselves in degrees of blood and the expression has been adopted by census recorders and the Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel. "Fullblood" is also misleading culturally, for not all fullbloods are traditional and, conversely, not all mixbloods are oriented toward White viewpoints. There is, nevertheless, a tendency for more of the fullbloods to be conservative in their outlook, and for those of mixed ancestry (particularly under three-fourths or one-half) to be more "progressive" in theirs.

As stated on page 224, the Thomas continuum is composed of Conservatives, Generalized Indians, Rural White Indians, and Middle Class Indians. Although one might quarrel with the labels, they will suffice for the present. Thomas depicts the Conservative Cherokee as being much like the early contact Indian, as he can be understood from early literature. He conceives of himself as a "different order of man from the rest of the world." He verbalizes a few White values from time to time, such as "Don't drink and don't gamble." But, most often, he lives by Cherokee values and gives expression to them. According to Thomas (MS. a, p. 22), in his behavior he is still the stoic red man. His basic personality has remained unchanged. He prefers to speak Cherokee and regards generosity as a prime virtue. As seen through his eyes, the population of the reservation is divided into only two groups: Indians, of which he is a member, and White-Indians. The latter are not part of his community. Conservatives are frightened of White people, but they are not apprehensive about White opinions of them. White-Indians as a whole are disliked by Conservatives.

"Generalized Indian," a term coined by Thomas, is similar in connotation to Spindler's "transitional group" and somewhere in between the "native modified" and "American modified" of Voget. He considers himself as an Indian, but also as an American. This is an important distinction between the Generalized Indian and the Conservative. He is impelled toward White ways rather than Indian ways. Inconsistencies in enunciations of values are characteristic of him. This category is difficult to define. The difficulty is apparent

in Thomas' construct. Therefore, direct quotation may further the comprehension of a blurry picture.

> He is much more inconsistent in regard to how he verbalizes value and world view than the Conservative. And individuals in this group vary as to the extent of how much white values and how much Indian values they verbalize. Behaviorwise they generally behave as if they still believed in the old Cherokee values and view of the world . . . there is a range in this group as to how many white values they have internalized. Overtly, their personality seems more "open" than the Conservatives. They are friendly and open to whites and Indian strangers. Perhaps because they are much more anxious about their relations with whites, they seem to have less emotional control than Conservatives. . . . They have ceased to use Cherokee because it seems to serve no purpose in the modern world. Most of them still believe in Indian medicine, although they don't like to admit it . . . the institution which most exemplifies Cherokee values, the Free Labor Society, they preserve. [Ibid., p. 22]

The Rural-White category is almost self-explanatory. First and foremost, the individuals in it are nearly White; in some instances Indian inheritance is not visible at all. They are very much like the rural White people of the area surrounding the reservation. The Conservatives define them as White, and, by this definition, they do not belong on the reservation. According to Thomas, one reaction to this is often defensiveness and guilt about their status. Some, however, do not seem to care as long as they are left alone. They seldom belong to a Free Labor society. It is doubtful whether some of these people have any Indian ancestry (ibid., p. 23).

The fourth group, and the most recent to develop, is the Middle Class. The bulk of these people are nearly White, but there are some who are not. Members of this category have their origins either in the Rural White group or the Generalized Indian segment of a generation ago. Their major occupation is business. Thomas states that the near White Middle Class people identify with the entire community in an attenuated manner; most of their ties are outside of the community. The segment deriving from the Generalized Indians identifies with the community and is "intellectually" Indian. These people interact with Whites of their class level. Ideologically and behaviorally, they seem to resemble Whites. In personality organization, Thomas (ibid., pp. 23–24) says that they show similarities to the Generalized Indians, but they are more stable and more sophisticated.

The outline which Thomas has given us discloses a skeleton of acculturative types. To further illustrate his concept, we will present a composite picture of a family in each of the four categories, both for the purpose of enriching the preceding description and to propose a series of ideal types to use as a benchmark from which to judge our data.

The use of ideal types as a methodological tool stems from the work of Max Weber, appearing in his essays on religion and bureaucracy. "Ideal" does not, in this case, refer to an exemplary type but to a pure or abstract one. It is a conceptual scheme to expedite understanding (Weber, 1958, p. 59).[13]

Redfield puts this concept to use in his study of the problem of folk-urban relationships. He says:

> With others, I have found the imagined construction of a generalized typical primitive or folk society useful in directing attention to certain kinds of questions about societies and people. The conception asks special questions; it does not answer these; only particular facts can do that. [Redfield, 1953, p. 224.]

To be sure, Redfield deals with societies and in no way can the Cherokee types be regarded as societies or communities, but to the extent that our types exist in a culturally definable manner, the concept is heuristic.

The research of George and Louise Spindler (1957, pp. 147–149) seems to be a case in point. Although they perceive their descriptions of certain personality types among American Indians to be reasonable hypotheses, in fact the authors seem to be postulating ideal or pure types. They say that a study of the variation from their core of psychological features will lead to greater understanding of the behavior of Indians, both historically and in the present.

PORTRAITS OF FOUR FAMILIES

JOHN AND LIZA RUNNER (CONSERVATIVE)

About 50 yards away from a dirt and gravel road there is a three-room house perched precariously on four columns of rocks. Only the weight of the house assures its continuous contact with the foundation. The framing is largely of two-by-fours; some of the joists and rafters are two-by-sixes. All of it is rough-sawed lumber from the local mill. The exterior siding is of oak slabs covered with tar paper. The interior is lined with pieces of cardboard from packing boxes. The labels Carnation Milk, Kellogg's Cereal, and Campbell's Tomato Soup, add the only color to the drab surface. In two of the rooms there are two double beds and an iron cot. A wood-burning iron stove occupies a corner of the "front" room. The stovepipe makes its erratic way to a hole cut in the outside wall, providing a hot and dry spot for an unceasing accumulation of wet diapers. A large wood- coal-burning range in the kitchen is the only kitchen appliance. It is lighted at least twice a day to prepare meals for the family. In winter it is another source of heat, but in summer it

[13] See also Bendix, 1960, p. 281; "Typological simplifications . . . these models are artifacts of the researcher based on historical materials."

creates an oppressive atmosphere in the small kitchen. Near the stove are a table and an odd assortment of chairs. Fuel for the stove is cut from the wooded uphill land behind the house; seldom is there a large supply of cut wood for it. More often wood is cut as needed, so that in wet or dry weather one of the Runners can usually be found "getting in some wood." John and the older boys bring it down from the mountain, but Liza frequently splits it.

A small spring courses down from the mountain near the house; its travel is interrupted by a half-circular dam over which the water continues to flow. Here Liza does her washing, the little children play, and several ducks take their noisy turn in the water. A kitchen garden is in the small flatland beyond the brook. John seldom works in it, except to do the initial soil preparation. Liza really "makes" the garden.

John sits on the porch during the first days of spring; such days are warm with an ethereal quality. In the summer, he sits there after work. Liza joins him when her work is done, or she makes her baskets there. They break the silence to exchange comments, murmuring in Cherokee. The little children sometimes play there too, pushing a battered toy over the rough boards. The porch affords a view of the road, and John rocks forward on his straight chair to watch either a neighbor or a stranger passing along it.

John Runner works about 6 months out of the year for the Park Department as a wage laborer. One of his sons works as a guide in the Indian village during the summer. Liza supplements the family income by making oak-split baskets. Some welfare assistance is provided during the winter when John is idle. The Runners are in their late 30's, but they have a large family, as they were married before they were 20. There are three older boys; one is in the ninth grade and two have dropped out of school. John is the "bread daddy" but not the "real daddy" of the oldest boy. Three girls between 7 and 12, a 4-year-old, and a baby of about 15 months make up the rest of the family. The older boys have little to do around the house. Liza is glad that one of the girls is finally old enough to help with the washing, and she does all the cooking when Liza is menstruating. Liza has been worried about John and the boys eating her cooking when she was "that way." When the Runners go to a box social, or down to Cherokee to play Indian ball, Liza carries the baby on her back anchored there by a sheet or a blanket.

John attended boarding school through the fourth grade, but he did not like it. Despite the fact that he was made to wear a girl's dress to keep him from running away, he succeeded in escaping from school. Liza attended school a year longer than her husband did.

John and Liza believe in signs, and many of their coping techniques are of the sympathetic or contagious variety of magic. Although they have never seen a witch themselves, they are sure there are witches, for they know people who have seen them. One day Liza was berrying on top of the mountain when she saw a large snake. She was frightened, left her picking, and came home to tell John about it. He told her that it was not a snake, it was a sign; and "sure enough, the next week one of her relatives died."

In the old days, before Will West Long died, John and Liza used to go to the Indian dances, but now there is no one left who can lead them.

Liza is concerned about the health of her children. All of the young ones have had Salk vaccine and other preventive inoculations which are given in the clinic. However, she thinks that Indian doctors know more about babies than White doctors do. One of hers had hives. "Hives are something inside the baby which makes him irritable and at night he cries and tosses in his sleep. White doctors know nothing about this condition. We took him to an Indian doctor and that baby got all right." John and Liza fondle the young ones, and the baby is always held, patted, or nursed. He never crawls about on the floor. His hair is long, because to cut it before he walks would make him grow up weak. Liza doctors the children at home, too, with Vicks or aspirin, and takes them down to the hospital for shots. She has great faith in the power of injections. But, she says, "Going to an Indian doctor is just like going to a White doctor. The Indian doctor asks you questions too, and gives you herb tea—and with him you get it all—not pushed down into a pill."

When the children get too obstreperous, Liza warns them that a booger will get them, or, what is probably worse, a "unega" (White person) will get them. On rare occasions some of the bigger ones may get switched. The three older boys often spend nights away from home. Neither John nor Liza know where they are, and, unless the absence is protracted, don't worry about it. Children are invariably sent to ask for favors or to borrow something for their parents. Liza's sister often acts in the same capacity for her. Liza participates in the gossip of the area and passes it on.

John and Liza are not politically active, but they go to Qualla Club meetings. John wants to see a fullblood council. He feels pretty certain that some men who might run for chief or council are for the White Indians. "The White Indians have all the money and they'd like to get the land allotted." John doesn't have much money; his car was repossessed a few months ago because he was five payments in arrears. He plans to get another as soon as he can get money for a downpayment.

Although they are poor, a place is set at the table for everyone. Liza never formally extends an invitation; that everyone will eat is a matter of fact. In the summer, flies and bees join the diners. Pigs' necks and backs, greens, and cornbread or bean bread, if Liza has had time to grind the corn in her log mortar, may be the fare. Leftovers are thrown to the six dogs who lurk under the house and bark fiercely at strangers. They stop barking and cringe, beating the ground with their tails, at a gesture from John.

Liza sometimes hopes she will not have any more children. She nurses the babies for several years, for she believes that this practice will prevent conception. After her first baby was born, her mother, who delivered it, buried the afterbirth several mountain ridges away in order to be sure that the other pregnancies would be several years apart. Liza does not like to have her babies in the hospital, but the last four were born there.

Visits with the Runners were unrushed, conversations were interspersed with periods of comfortable silence. They do not plan much for the future, and they do not expect it to be much different from the present. Nights follow the days and the seasons grow out of each other in a changeless pattern. Although game is scarce, there are fish in the river to catch, gardens to make, children to raise, and the dead to be buried.

GEORGE AND EMMA WEAVER (GENERALIZED INDIANS)

The Bureau of Indian Affairs maintains a limited number of frame-houses for its employees. It is in such a house as this that George and his wife, Emma, live. There are five rooms and a bath. The yard is fenced to provide a barrier between it and the highway which runs east and west. Occasionally damaged toys lie about in the yard.

George is a year-round employee of the Bureau. He accumulates annual leave and, as a civil service worker, will eventually retire on a pension. His wife works during the summer in the tourist industry. Their combined efforts result in more than a hundred dollars a week during the summer. But they have little money saved. One reason is, of course, their large family, but another is their generosity with their children. A trip to the store always involves cokes and candy for the youngsters. The children are the delight of George and Emma, who express their affection for them openly. After they had torn some of the new screens off the house, George remonstrated with them mildly. Emma complains that George has the little ones spoiled "rotten." He is seldom seen off the job without at least two or three of his youngest.

The three oldest boys established a reputation in sports during their Cherokee High School careers. One accepted an athletic

scholarship at a neighboring State university. George had high hopes for him and wanted him to finish his "lessons" before he thought about girls. Nevertheless, Bill married in November of his first year of college. His wife moved in with the Weavers. Bill did not return to school after January, and his son was born in April. George was disappointed at the terminated career, but he said they had a "real nice church wedding" instead of sneaking away to Georgia to a Justice of the Peace. One of the things that bothered George was the attitude of some of the people around. Because Bill was making something of himself, they would hardly speak to him and Emma.

George travels up to Big Cove often. He worked up there until he was transferred to his current location. George worries about those "folks up in the Cove." They are so poor. "Guess they don't think about dollars and cents the way I do. If they get a little money, they spend it; if they don't get any, they get along. Me I got a good job, I get a regular wage, yet I worry."

An additional benefit accrues to George, for he is a veteran of World War II. Accordingly, he uses the Veterans Administration Hospital near Asheville if he requires prolonged medical help. He had to take his 3-year-old boy in to Asheville to the hospital after he fractured his skull in a fall in the schoolyard.

George and Emma went to the "set up" (wake) for Bird Partridge. "He was a real 'old timey' Indian, and there are few of them left any more." People around Big Cove still went to him for "doctoring" occasionally, but George prefers White doctors. There is a lush growth of poison ivy around the house. The children often have some sort of white salve, which Emma procures from the Public Health hospital, smeared on the blisters. She tried crushing some ragweed on the irritations, but it did not seem to help much.

George, as president of the Community Club, goes to Raleigh occasionally for meetings on community development programs. He does not like to go in the summer, "Us people who are used to the mountains suffer from the heat down there."

Land allotment is a subject which comes up often. George does not approve of the idea. "The old Indians just couldn't handle the situation." Because of this sentiment, he supports the candidate for chief who represents the interests of the Conservatives. Actually, he feels that his own best interests are protected by this candidate, too, for "the White Indians are behind the other man."

George is not given to long pauses and reflections in his speech patterns; neither does he speak Cherokee, although he can understand some of the conversation of Conservatives.

As long as he stays in the civil service, his financial future is relatively secure, although he will probably not be able to save very much money. His three oldest children already have more education than he has. However, he says, "They really put it to us in boarding school, maybe better than they teach the kids now. I know I forgot most of the Cherokee language while I was there." George's status will not change much in the years to come, but he has hopes for his children and wants them to "amount to something."

ED AND MARTHA MCVEY (RURAL WHITE)

In a small section of bottom land, yards of unbleached cloth appear in early spring. The cloth shelters tobacco seedlings which are to be transplanted to a field which is three-tenths of an acre. The plants are tended carefully, because Burley tobacco is Ed McVey's cash crop. A hundred yards away from the tobacco bed is a five-room framehouse. Originally it was a clapboard structure; now it is covered with asphalt shingles of imitation brick. Surrounding the house are farm outbuildings: a corncrib, a pigpen, a woodshed, and a small log barn. Near the barn is a well-used pickup truck, the only piece of mechanized farm equipment. Mules draw the plow, the cultivator, and the manure spreader. In the open barn two milk cows ruminate; a brood sow snuffles noisily in her pen nearby. The chickens wander unconfined over the yard and on the porch of the house.

At the edge of the road which winds into the farm is a green and white sign designating this farm as an "Honor Farm." Ed is a good farmer, but he suffers from the limitations of small farms everywhere. Ed cannot imagine himself doing anything else but farming. His elderly father, who lives with him, farmed the place before him, and it appears certain that his sons will attempt to follow the pattern. They are enrolled in the agricultural courses in the Cherokee High School. In spring and fall, the busiest seasons on a farm, they often miss a week of more of school in order to get the crops planted or to harvest them.

In addition to the tobacco, a field of potatoes is always planted. The yield is generally more than sufficient for the family; the surplus is sold to village restaurants. Field corn is always grown, for the less cash Ed must put out for feed for the stock, the more sufficient the farm is. The products of the farm and kitchen garden meet basic food needs for the family. Two or three young pigs are butchered throughout the winter; the extras are sold as weaners. Enough flour corn is grown to provide cornmeal for the winter. They have it ground as they need it, in Whittier or Bryson City. Martha cans beans, tomatoes, and wild berries in quantity. Despite their best

efforts, cash is always in short supply, so Ed does some carpentry work during the winter.

There are eight McVey children. The oldest, Tom, is married to a girl who is nearly "fullblood." He has some land adjoining his father's; he farms this and also some land belonging to his father. Bertha, the oldest daughter, graduated from high school this year. She started to work at the Harn plant soon after school closed. The rest of the children, except the baby, are in school. "And they will stay there until they finish, if I have to take a belt to them," Ed said. There are some things being taught that Ed and Martha do not understand. "Don't seem like they need algebra and subjects like that." High school diplomas are important goals to Ed, and he believes that "It would be nice if one of the younger girls could take up nursing or typing. The boys reckon they'll farm like their Daddy." Ed needs them, too, because his rheumatism cripples him from time to time. He comments on being an old man at 50.

He is a regular patient at the Public Health hospital because of his rheumatoid condition. On one occasion he was sent over to Asheville for extensive X-rays. The McVeys use the health facilities and services regularly. The baby suffers from asthma and is also under treatment at the hospital. Martha takes care of the colds at home with patent medicines. Once in a while she brews some herbal infusion which she said her grandmother used to use. Ed does not object to it, but he contends that "He'd be damned if he'd have one of them conjurers spittin' and blowin' over him or his kids."

The life of this family revolves around the farm and associated activities. Martha belongs to a Home Demonstration Club and attends monthly meetings. Several of the children are in 4–H clubs. One of the boys received a scholarship to go to a 4–H camp near Asheville. Ed scans the sky, hoping for rain during dry spells; he worries that the seed will rot after a week of rain. He never misses the noon farm and market reports.

Tribal politics do not concern the McVeys often, especially now that the blood degree for tribal membership has been settled. In the period when efforts were made to establish a lower limit of ¼ Indian inheritance for membership, Ed was in the audience at council meetings. Ed and Martha are on the 1924 Roll, but their children could not have been enrolled on the new register.

A few of Ed's neighbors are "fullbloods" or nearly so. The children of all the families play together without any adult interference. Ed has helped out one or two of the families with corn during the winter. But, he fusses, "By damn, they are lazy; some of them couldn't make a go of it as a taster in a pie factory." Martha tries to shut Ed up

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when he gets started on Indians. "He don't mean half of what he says, but they ain't much for farming," she admits.

RICHARD AND POLLY KING (MIDDLE CLASS INDIANS)

The Kings live in Painttown in a six-room framehouse. It is not a new house; Richard's father and mother built it many years ago. Navaho rugs cover the floors; the furniture is old but comfortable. A television set is perhaps the newest piece in the living room.

The house is far enough away from the highway to accommodate a 20-unit motel and restaurant in front of it. The motel is open the year round, but the restaurant is operated only from April to October. Summer is a busy time for the Kings; they are at home only to sleep. "Keeping a reliable staff is hard," Richard says. The younger Kings help out once in a while, but "They are kids and should have their fun while they can enjoy it." It is the local help that cannot be depended upon. "You can't run a business with all-Indian help. You say something to them and they'll quit without a word."

Richard and Polly went to Haskell in Kansas, and he worked in California until the end of the war. They built their business after the war "in spite of Government and tribal restrictions." Credit is difficult to arrange for businesses or buildings which are on the reservation. They cannot be used for collateral on a loan. If the land were allotted, it would be much easier to operate a business, according to Richard. He would like to have the land divided up and the people given title to their property, for he feels the Government dictates too much and has deprived the Indians of initiative. "The welfare doesn't help, either. Too many of them are sitting around and getting paid for it instead of going to where the work is. Furthermore, if there were not so much aid to dependent children, there probably wouldn't be as much illegitimacy as there is."

Richard belongs to the Cherokee civic clubs and the Chamber of Commerce. Polly has no time for the Eastern Star during the summer, but she attends chapter meetings in Bryson City during the winter. They go over to Knoxville frequently to visit their son who is attending the University of Tennessee. "His grades aren't very good," Polly said. "They might have been worse if he had not gone to public school. Perhaps his car interferes with his studies," she added.

The young man who "chiefs" for the King restaurant was sick for a while. Richard finally pursuaded him to go over to the Public Health hospital. "He'd been having some old Indian doctor him. You just can't tell these 'fullbloods' anything." The Kings save their cartons for people to use in their houses. "Some of those places

have cracks big enough to throw a cat through, and they still won't come down here and get the cardboard."

Richard and Polly are building a new house on deeded land. The plans include four bedrooms, two baths, and a playroom for the youngest King. Polly is pleased with the plans and is eager to begin furnishing it. "It will be a nice place for the children to bring their college friends to visit." They had intended to send Paul to private school this year, but he had an appendectomy in the fall, so they postponed their plans. Polly said, "It would have been lonesome with both the boys gone and only little Polly home." The Kings have all their medical and dental attention in either Bryson City or Asheville. Richard went to the hospital on the reservation only once for emergency treatment of a burn.

Richard buys some produce from the McVeys. "Ed is a hard worker, and we are glad to help him out." Polly takes clothes which her children have outgrown down to them. She says, "I have never seen Martha just sitting."

The Kings are not "Five-dollar Indians." Some of Polly's forbears contributed money to purchase the present reservation. They say they are proud of their "Indian blood," but they want the Indians to progress. As Richard says, "I've come a long way from my parents who were farmers right here on these bottoms. There is no reason why the rest of the people can't catch up with the times."

HEALTH AND MEDICAL PRACTICES

Health and medical practices will be discussed both in terms of preventive and therapeutic health measures. The evaluation will cover four areas of investigation: environmental sanitation and home hygienic practices; Public Health clinic behavior; responses to school health instruction; and behavior prompted by illness.

ENVIRONMENTAL SANITATION AND HOME HYGIENIC PRACTICES

Even superficial observations indicate marked differences among the Cherokee with respect to sanitary environments and hygienic measures. Types of water sources and toilet facilities, general condition of house and grounds, number of occupants per room, and ordinary health precautions have been used as crude indices of these differences in sanitary and hygienic practices. On the basis of my findings, I have identified four categories of families. In category 1 are those families whose sanitary and hygienic practices are totally inadequate. In category 2 are those families in which some efforts are made to maintain minimal standards of sanitation and hygiene. Families in category 3 have standards which are adequate. In

category 4 are those families whose sanitary and hygienic practices are very adequate. The difference between the last two groups is a matter of "extras" present in the environment of category 4.

CATEGORY 1. INADEQUATE

This group is found most wanting in the minimal essentials of sanitation. The homes are small; the number of rooms is seldom more than three. Usually the house is of roughhewn lumber. It is either covered with building paper, or the owner intends to cover it at some vague time in the future. If it is not a board house, it is constructed of logs or poles. The yards are littered with debris including rusted cans, broken bottles, and garbage (some of which is eaten by animals; the remainder moulders on the ground). A common sight in the yard is a car which has begun to disintegrate. Chickens, ducks, dogs, and cats are in dispute over the edible refuse. Their excrement is present in the vicinity of the house.

The water supply is always a spring or a stream. There are no plumbing facilities in these houses. Dishwater is tossed out a door. If there is a privy, it is a surface type which is never treated with lime. (It should be noted, however, that it is never located near the water source.) Frequently there is no privy.

The interiors of these houses are similar. There are two or more double beds in all the rooms. The kitchen often has a cot or single bed in it. Soiled blankets are commonly wadded up on the beds or spread in a casual fashion over stained mattresses. Clothing, whether it be freshly laundered or worn, is piled up on beds or upon other pieces of furniture. The number of occupants to a bed is contingent on the size of the family, but since the dwellings are always crowded, three or four children usually sleep together.

Wood-burning kitchen stoves provide heat for these homes. Aside from the range, there are no other appliances in the kitchen. Some families have washing machines, which are kept on the porch. These are filled by pails of unheated water from the spring.

There are no screens on doors or windows; panes are often broken. Flies abound during the warm weather, drawn by the decaying organic matter on the premises. One afternoon I visited a young Conservative couple who had graduated from the reservation high school. They have three small children. Flies were everywhere. The two boys were very soiled. Between bites of bread, they threw it at each other, then retrieved it from the floor and continued to eat it. One of the boys got into some baby oil and saturated his head. He rubbed against the baby. Martha, his mother, said, "Don't get snot on her."

During a visit to another home, a baby was given a bottle (a supplement to breast feeding) which was picked up from the floor and filled. The baby drank part of it. It was then given to a "yard baby" who finished it. I discussed worms with Lucy, the mother of this family. She said that two of her children had "killed" (passed) nearly a hundred of them. I asked the cause of the worms. Lucy answered vaguely, "I don't know what causes them." She is a close relative of an Indian doctor. The young children are covered with sores and scabs especially on their heads. Lucy says that these are gnat bites.

A final excerpt from notes of a visit made in 1959 summarizes these generalizations about sanitation and hygenic practices.

I visited with Dorothy on her porch. The house is a two-room cabin with four double beds in the front room and a cot in the kitchen. All of them are unmade; soiled blankets are heaped upon the beds . . . the kitchen table had dishes on it. They appeared to have been unwashed for some time. With the dishes was an open jar of beans . . . later I glanced up to see a chicken on the table foraging among the unwashed dishes. There are nine children and two adults living here.

CATEGORY 2. MINIMAL

The houses in this class are also small in proportion to the number of residents, but not as crowded as those in category 1. Newer houses in this group are frequently constructed of cinder block. The areas directly adjacent to the houses resemble those about which we have already spoken, but efforts are directed toward maintaining some semblance of "neatness." The yards are often raked or swept. Although there are no lawns, there are attempts to grow flowers. Unpenned chickens are kept away from the porch. There is some litter in the yards, but it does not match the accumulation noted for the first group. As a probable consequence of this, there are far fewer flies and many of the houses are screened against them. One informant reflected a concern about flies when he said, "I think if people would only screen, there would be less sickness. Flies are nasty things . . . take Lucy; her children are always sick."

The interiors of these houses are neater and more varied than are those of the houses depicted in the first category. Frequently, linoleum covers the floors. Less often are there beds in all the rooms; they are made each morning. Several of the kitchens boast refrigerators. There is no modern plumbing, but some of the occupants discuss plans for its installation in the future. One informant said:

I want to get water in my house this summer . . . . I'm going to build a reservoir over behind my mother's house and pipe it down. To dig a well will cost $4.75 per foot and they'd have to go down 700 feet. . . . I don't want that old sump water.

To accomplish this task the pipeline must be extended nearly a quarter of a mile. In addition, a well-traveled road is in its path. The plan seems to be unrealistic, and at this writing, no steps have been taken to implement it.

Another informant, the wife and mother of a Conservative family living in a type two home, made this statement in June, 1959:

> We plan to add a bedroom and shower to the house. Some young people who helped the community last summer and do what people need, capped the spring. We got to buy the pipe to get the water down from the reservoir.

At present nothing further has been done.

People in this group frequently mention cleanliness and good health habits. Often, however, a somewhat cavalier attitude is exhibited in this regard. The 11-year-old daughter of the above-mentioned informant developed a severely infected foot. My quarters were near their home, so I was able to observe the entire sequence of events. The girl rubbed a blister on her heel which went unattended as she traveled about barefooted. Finally her foot and lower leg became inflamed, swollen, and very painful. She was taken down to the reservation hospital late one night. I asked her mother what caused it; she answered that a blister had caused it. When I brought the child home from the hospital 3 days later, she had a Band-aid on her heel and carried two more. During the succeeding days she continued to go about without shoes. The original bandage loosened and dangled from one side of her heel. When I asked her when she was going to replace it with one of the spares, she replied, "Just before I go back to the hospital."

A second example of the contrast between verbalizations and actual behavior regarding cleanliness and health habits comes from a highly verbal Rural White family whose home is typical of this second category. Emma, the mother, was concerned because her son, Richard, was sick. "What's the matter with him?" I asked.

> He went fishing Saturday night below the dam without a jacket and he already had a little cold. Today he took the fever and chills and his teacher sent him to the hospital.

Later, while visiting Emma, I observed that the baby was given his bottle after it had been lying on the couch where I had inadvertently sat on it.

The frequent comments about cleanliness are almost always unsolicited. Molly, an elderly informant, sometimes cooked breakfast for me. One day as she washed the breakfast dishes she said:

> I always use soap and scald the dishes . . . because it keeps the germs away. That's what I learned when I cooked at Berry's camp and when I cooked in other places. At Berry's camp if one dish got cracked, we had to put it away because a germ could get in the crack . . . after he went away we used the cracked ones.

[I noticed that some of the dishes still had egg and oatmeal on them after she washed them.] I've always been clean and I taught my daughters to be clean.

One sunny morning I was in the company of an informant at the bus station. We were greeting people as they walked by. She said:

See that taxi driver there from Bryson. He said something about the dirty Indians . . . If he don't like Indians why don't he stay out of here . . . I told him that too . . . I'm gonna knock him down. Indians are no dirtier than anybody else. . . . That boy there [her grandson] I never thought he was going to go up to Jay's with us. He was so dirty . . . none of my children ever been dirty.

The women and children of both categories 1 and 2 go barefoot during the warm months. But regardless of the season, the adults of category 2 take pains to wash their feet prior to going on a visit or before going down to the village. Even a trip to the hospital for the impending arrival of a baby was delayed while the expectant mother washed her feet!

CATEGORY 3. ADEQUATE

This category of homes is typified by neat exteriors. There are grassed yards and flower gardens. The interiors are tidy. They usually have running water and some modern kitchen appliances. If they do not have plumbing conveniences, plans to install them materialize with greater regularity than they do in the preceding group. "I haven't got a toilet now, but I'm going to build one. I've got my blocks for the septic tank."

Some of the homes are new, and the owners have been forced by economic circumstances to postpone the inclusion of facilities which they regard as important.

We just built this house a while ago. It's small; some people call it a doll's house . . . . I love to carry water, but we do want a bathroom. We miss the showers . . . . I have hung my hat on better racks than this.

There are sufficient numbers of rooms for the occupants. Beds are in bedrooms. Occasionally, in the recently built houses, the kitchen and front room may be combined. This state of affairs is regarded as temporary by the owners.

By and large, individuals of this group follow standardized ways of behaving with respect to hygienic practices. Mr. and Mrs. Smart, a middle-aged couple, are representative. He is more nearly White than she is. One day Mrs. Smart told me that she had run a wire into her arm. "Polly [her daughter] told me to go to the hospital, but I said I'd soak it in hot water unless it got bad." "Was it rusty?" I asked. Her husband, Chick, said, "Gawd, I stepped on a nail back in the timber one day. By the time I got in to the doctor, it was all swole up. 'Why in hell didn't you come sooner?' the doctor said.

Gawd, I couldn't get there no quicker. He gave me a shot or two . . . in a couple of days I was back working again."

Others in this category may be less colorful than Mr. Smart, but their preventive health measures at home are similar. Children are sent to wash before meals. They are kept home from school if they exhibit any symptoms of illness, and they visit the dentist twice a year. If the adults have conditions which require periodic examinations (tuberculosis, diabetes), they are faithful about going.

CATEGORY 4. VERY ADEQUATE

There is a variation in the luxuriousness of dwellings in this group. However, they all have many elements in common: modern conveniences throughout the house, no overcrowding, mowed lawns, electricity, and modern plumbing. Standards of neatness (not to be confused with cleanliness) vary. Furnishings vary too; some houses are elaborately furnished, while others are plain but comfortable. Those of category 4 share with category 3 a mutual concern for, and participation in, patterns of behavior which provide typical hygienic environments. This concern is not stressed verbally unless the conversation turns to "fullbloods." When this occurs, remarks may be made about the carelessness of "fullbloods" with regard to hygienic measures. "I can't understand these 'fullbloods' who work all day and then come in and eat supper and go to bed. They'd feel so much better if they bathed."

Apologies for the condition and appearance of the house are often extended, seldom with sufficient cause. One unmarried householder in this category wondered if she were becoming compulsive in her housekeeping.

To conclude, these are the types of homes in which the Cherokee live and the ways which they follow in matters of hygiene. Although we have sorted the environments into four categories, these do not correspond neatly with Thomas' four acculturative groups. There are Conservatives and Rural Whites in category 1; Conservatives, Rural Whites, and Generalized Indians in category 2; Rural Whites, Generalized Indians, and some Middle Class in category 3; and category 4 includes the Middle Class, plus a few Rural Whites and Generalized Indians. (See table 7, p. 274, for a numerical summary of this distribution.)

CLINIC BEHAVIOR

Associated with the maintenance of healthful surroundings is the actual day-to-day attention given to disease prevention. This includes, in addition to ordinary precautions, the utilization of the Public Health clinics and periodic physical examinations for adults. All

Cherokee, with the exception of those in the Middle Class, use the Public Health services.

Well-baby clinics are held once a week in the offices of the Public Health nurse, and periodically in the Big Cove and Snow Bird community schools. Mothers are urged to bring in children up to 5 years of age for periodic checkups. Children attending these clinics receive inoculations for tetanus, smallpox, diphtheria, whooping cough, and polio.

Two preschool clinics are held each May. All children who are to be registered in school for the first time must be checked by the physician. The examination is a cursory one, but it does suffice to screen gross conditions. It also detects children who have not had their full set of inoculations. Yearly screening examinations for tuberculosis are provided for school children, and during the winter of 1959–60, the children were given flu shots. Consequently, children who attend reservation schools, regardless of family orientation, are protected from virulent illnesses.

Since all families, exclusive of the Middle Class, are drawn into the clinics, we cannot distinguish between groups on the basis of their use of disease prevention services. Difference does occur, however, in *behavior* during clinic visitations, and in attitudes toward inoculations. These behavioral variations make it possible to identify two distinct groups. These groups are clearly marked by the demeanor or pose assumed in the clinic, both in the waiting room and in the dispensary. While waiting to be called, those in the first category sit quietly outside. Their children, both babies and toddlers, also sit with solemn expressions. If they speak, it is very softly and often in Cherokee. Those of the second group laugh and visit noisily with one another while awaiting their turn. Their children wander about, talk to others in the waiting room, or thumb through the children's books which are provided.

CATEGORY 1. PASSIVE

Both the adults and children in this category are inarticulate and acquiescent. Although the Public Health nurse greets everyone in a jocular manner, these people reply to the greeting almost inaudibly.

Their main purpose in bringing children to the well-baby clinic is for inoculations, which they realize all children must have. They seldom initiate a discussion of other health matters. If these arise, they are introduced by the nurse who administers the clinic. For instance, in the course of administering diptheria and whooping cough inoculations the nurse said, "Her stomach is puffy; has she got worms?" The mother replied casually, "I don't know, she might have."

Another common characteristic of people in this group is the failure to complete a series of inoculations. All of them manage to appear for an initial injection, but many of them do not reappear within the stipulated time period. For example, a couple from Big Cove brought one child into the clinic held in Cherokee. After the small baby was inoculated, the mother said, "I got another one in the car; maybe it might need something." The record was checked, and it was found that one inoculation had been administered 2 years before. While waiting for the second child, the nurse turned to the mother and said, "Are you eating liver and greens?" There was no answer. The husband came in with the second child; the nurse spoke to him. "Don't you think Ida is looking poorly?" He did not answer. Finally, after a long pause, he nodded. The nature of the inoculations was explained to him, and he was told the date on which the children were to be brought back for the second. He responded by saying "Yes" in a manner peculiar to Conservatives, leaving one in doubt about their comprehension.

They seldom provide a reason for the neglect in the followthrough of the protective series. It is difficult to judge how much they understand of the instructions about further visits, although they nod when they are told to return in 2 months or 6 months.

Parents also accompany children to the preschool clinic. They watch without comment the physical examination given by a staff physician of the Public Health Hospital. When they are questioned, they respond by nods or in murmured short sentences. On one such occasion a child refused to open his mouth to have his teeth checked. The doctor put down his tongue depressor saying, "I'm not going to fool with him." The mother said, hesitantly, "He was sick on the way down. He threw up." The doctor explained, "That's because he didn't want to come here. It will do that to him. He needs to get out and meet more people." The mother made no reply and left with the child.

The people of the first category are Conservatives. Some of them attend the clinics irregularly, others are more regular. All of them are passive participants. Communication emanates from the medical staff and is largely one way. The Indians speak when spoken to.

CATEGORY 2. ACTIVE

Members of this category are in sharp contrast to those of the first: They joke with the nurse and pass on local news. They tell children old enough to understand that "it won't hurt." If a child should cry, he is frequently told not to cry. Discussions of the inoculations are common and advice is sought on other matters pertaining to the children and occasionally to themselves.

Emily, who had brought a child in for Salk vaccine, inquired about the next scheduled eye clinic because she thought one of her older children was experiencing some difficulty in seeing. A second woman discussed the possibility of taking a child to an orthopedic clinic in Sylva. Still another brought her nephew in for smallpox vaccination. She asked the nurse to look at his rupture. After the nurse had removed the diaper to reveal a large hernia of the scrotum, she told the aunt to take the baby over to a doctor in the hospital very soon.

In the preschool clinic the same behavior prevails. Parents ask about the results of the examination and respond openly to questions from either the doctor or the nurse. They make appointments for dental treatment if conditions warrant attention.

The people in this category are Rural White and Generalized Indians. They are clearly differentiated from the people in the first category by their active interest and participation in clinic and health matters. Conversely, the Conservatives in category 1 are reticent and compliant in the presence of the professional staff. Their demeanor suggests vagueness and a lack of comprehension of the principles of immunization. These two categories are clearly distinct, separating Conservatives from all others by behavior displayed in the clinics.

RESPONSES TO SCHOOL HEALTH PROGRAMS

Avenues of health instruction, and responses to this instruction, are present in the schools. One approach is formal health education. The teachers in the elementary schools devote two or three periods a week to the teaching of health rules and good health habits. Elementary anatomy is taught and care of body organs is emphasized.

The other approach is informal in the sense that it is teaching by precept and by rules of behavior in the school. In each of the elementary day schools, a custodian spends part of his day washing and polishing the floors and dusting equipment. Children in the first and second grades remove their shoes and place them in a line at the door of the classroom. Older children keep their shoes on, with the understanding that they are old enough to wipe their feet before entering the classroom, and because they are old enough to clean their own rooms. In three of the elementary schools, provisions are made for the children to take showers and wash their hair once a week. A teacher, in discussing the bathing provisions said, "Look around; I'm sure that some of them have not washed since their last shower." However, because there is an emphasis on washing, her statement is not entirely true. By actual count, all children in one of the schools were sent to wash their hands four times in one morning.

The responses of the pupils to the classroom health instruction resemble the patterns of behavior discernible in the public health clinics. There are two well-defined groups of children in the classroom. The division is made on the basis of oral recitation. Written work does not necessarily reveal this distinction.

CATEGORY 1. PASSIVE

The children in category 1 do not, according to the teacher, perform well orally. If a child is called upon to answer a question, he often makes no answer at all. If he does respond, it is in such a low voice that it is audible only to a few children near him. Rarely does he raise his hand to volunteer an answer.

One morning I observed a health lesson in a combined third and fourth grade. The class had been divided into committees which were to report on the care and function of the organs of the body. The heart committee made the first presentation. Three children stood up, one holding a book showing a picture of the heart. They stood with their heads bowed. The teacher urged them to speak. Finally her coaxing managed to elicit the recommendation, "You should keep your heart clean." This concluded the report on the heart! The committee on eyes was represented by a girl who read a complete report, but she kept her hand over her mouth and spoke in such a low voice that her speech was inaudible.

Oral performances, such as those discussed above, suggest to the observer that these children are either very low in ability or suffer from a language handicap. The quality of their written work, however, refutes this conclusion. I collected samples of written health rules from all children whom the teacher rated no lower than average in ability. The following sets of rules illustrate that the children in category 1 are capable of doing satisfactory work.

A. Girl, high ability:
   1. Brush your teeth twice a day.
   2. Drink lots of milk.
   3. Take a bath at least twice a week.
   4. Eat proper foods.

B. Boy, average ability:
   1. Keep clean and neat.
   2. Wash real good, wash your hands good.
   3. Comb your hair.

C. Girl, better than average ability:
   1. Keep our skin clean and look neat.
   2. Brush our teeth after every meal.

D. Girl, barely average ability:
   1. Learn the rules and follow them.
   2. Take out germs on skin.
   3. Keep out germs.

E. Boy, average ability:
1. Take care of your body and eyes.
2. Wash your skin every day so you won't get sick because you could blow your nose and you may hurt it.

If we leave the school and follow these children home we find that here, as well as at school, they are generally reticent. They communicate very little of the health information they have been taught at school. I asked an informant, Frances, whether her nephew ever told her what he did in school. "Lord, no. You have to ask him and them he just barely tells you one or two things. The only thing he ever tells is when he gets a shot . . . then that's the first thing he says when he gets home." Another parent said that his boy told him that I had given him a shot at school. The child referred to blood collection for typing, at which I assisted. Although these reports of "shots" can be duplicated over and over, information beyond this is not imparted.

The children in category 1 are, with two exceptions, from Conservative homes. Most of them are either bilingual or understand Cherokee although they may not speak it. Their comportment in the classroom is characterized by shyness and unaggressiveness.

CATEGORY 2. ACTIVE

Children making up this group are Rural Whites and Generalized Indians. During question and answer periods in health class, they wave their hands eagerly to recite. Often they offer an answer, right or wrong, without waiting to be called upon. Some of them correct wrong answers made by their classmates or prompt a "mute" child of category 1.

The committee reports made by members of this group, although not always complete or accurate, are delivered forthrightly. The committee which reported on care of the skin came right to the point. "Take a bath at least twice a week. Use soap, and hot water too. Don't get cut or burned; if you do, fix it up and it won't get germs in it." Another report dealing with ears and hearing was delivered with equal dispatch.

We compared samples of written work from this category with those from the first. The following examples demonstrate that in written work there is no appreciable difference between children in categories 1 and 2.

A. Girl, high ability:
1. Keep clean.
2. Keep clean clothes on.
3. Go see the doctor.
4. Keep germs out of your body.
5. Take a bath at least twice a day.

B. Girl, good ability:
   1. Keep your skin clean.
   2. Do not read in a dim light.
   3. Set up straight.
   4. Do not put your finger in your mouth.

C. Boy, good ability:
   1. Get plenty of food.
   2. Do not work hard.
   3. Keep yourself clean.
   4. Play safe too.
   5. Use plenty of soap.
   6. Keep your skin clean and healthy and sit up straight.

D. Boy, average ability:
   1. Keep clean.
   2. Keep germs out.
   3. Keep from getting sick.
   4. Wash before you eat.
   5. Keep your body clean.

These children are as verbal at home as they are at school. School activities are reported with varying degrees of accuracy by most of them. Two sisters in the same grade informed their mother that their teacher told them that flies carry germs. Emily replied, "Well, if you kids would keep the screen door shut we wouldn't have so many flies in here."

While I was visiting with another mother, her small son came home and said, "My teacher told us that if we chewed tobacco it would turn our lips inside out." Admittedly, the data are limited, but my observations do not suggest that circumstances in the home are altered by any information which the children impart.

Responses to health instruction in the classroom suffice to sort the children into two groups. Differentiation is made on the basis of their behavior, not on learning ability. In written work there is little to differentiate the two. In oral recitation, one group is verbal and actively participates in the learning process. The other is nonverbal; unless individuals are coaxed, they seldom volunteer an answer. On the occasions that they do, they cover their mouths with their hands when talking. There is no gradation of behavior which suggests the presence of Thomas' four acculturative categories with which we are concerned.

BEHAVIOR PROMPTED BY ILLNESS

Illness disturbs the equilibrium of a family. If the condition persists, it demands a decision upon which some action will be predicated. Evon Z. Vogt (1955, pp. 5–7) calls this a choice situation, and finds that it is adapted to research on values. These choices reveal differences among people. Given the choices which the

Cherokee make among the alternatives they have for coping with illness, I can place the informants into three categories: those who rely on Indian "doctors," usually in combination with some modern medicine; those who rely almost exclusively on the Public Health staff; and those who rely on private medical care to the exclusion of other services.

CATEGORY 1. PATIENTS OF INDIAN "DOCTORS"

Indians who continue to rely on Indian doctors are the Conservatives, but they seldom do so to the complete exclusion of modern medicine. There are, however, some of the older Conservatives who attempt to confine their choice of therapy to the native "practitioner." These old Indians believe that the hospital is a place where people die. One aged woman said firmly, "I'd never go to the hospital; I'd never go to anybody but an Indian doctor. . . . I want to die in my own bed." An old man said he never went to the hospital. "I want to live a long time, and get better." He said his wife did not go to the hospital, either. "She just slip over and die in the night. . . . Next morning she dead. Lot of people die that way; never do get sick."

When these older Conservatives do go to the hospital, it is at the insistence of another member of the family. An elderly woman—a "doctor" herself—was taken under protest to the hospital after a fall. "She didn't want to go," her daughter said, "but they slipped a blanket under her, and carried her to the hospital . . . the nurse rubbed something on her back . . . she didn't like it." If they have been under the care of an Indian doctor, and are forced to seek modern medical aid, they attempt to explain the native healer's failure to alleviate the condition. "Uncle Jimmie nearly gave up on him but not quite. . . . I think maybe we waited too long to do something about it. We knew he was hurting, but he wouldn't tell us how long he'd been like that." Others suspect that some native doctors have "spoiled themselves" by not observing prescribed rituals after the death of a patient.

Admittedly, those people who actively resist modern medical aid are few. The most common practice is that of employing a combination of the two forms of treatment. Occasionally this combination occurs simultaneously, or nearly so. For example, one family has a daughter who, according to an official diagnosis, is emotionally disturbed. She suffers from the delusion that someone is "knocking her down." Through arrangements made by a caseworker, her parents take her to Asheville for psychiatric counseling. At the same time, however, she is being treated locally by an Indian doctor from Birdtown. Others who have been discharged from the hospital by an

attending physician will resume treatment with an Indian doctor. For another example, one informant was treated for a cat bite which had become infected. Upon release from the hospital she was treated by an old woman. Another man's face was stepped on by a mule. "Uncle Jimmie doctored him, then he went to the hospital. When he got out Uncle Jimmie doctored him until he got well."

This pattern of utilizing a combination of professional and nonprofessional care is not as common as using either one type or the other as different occasions demand. It is difficult to discover what determines the choice of therapy in some circumstances. However, the data suggest that knowledge of the nature of the ailment is a factor, particularly in the case of children. If the ailment is not diagnosed, the child is most frequently taken into the Public Health Hospital. If, on the other hand, the trouble is an earache, a cold, or a fever, an Indian doctor is called in. One young couple regularly takes its baby to a private pediatrician for periodic examinations. But the mother took the youngest child to an Indian healer when the child had a bad cold. "He prescribed some roots to be scraped down and made into tea, then delivered more the next morning." The baby recovered. Hives (Indians in category 1 believe that all babies have them) are always treated by native doctors. They make the baby restless and fretful. "White doctors don't know anything about hives or kernels, either."

I asked one Indian mother, Emmaline, a question about the relative effectiveness of Indian doctors or White doctors. She replied, "Well, it just depends, if you know what's the matter." She took her baby to Molly to be doctored because she thought the baby had an earache, but later the same day when the baby seemed no better, she took her into the hospital where she hoped they would "give her a shot of penicillin. That usually takes care of it." She continued, "Sometimes when you go down, they just give a shot and it don't help."

Some years ago, Emmaline had a 3-year-old who would not play with the other children. The physician at the hospital said there was nothing wrong with the child. But Emmaline noticed that the baby was getting "fat [swollen] in the face and stomach." She took the youngster to an old man who asked, "How she was. He said he'd try. He got some herbs and blew on the baby. We went back four times and the baby was cured." Emmaline said, "It seems like Indian doctors know more about babies than White doctors."

Another parent, Katherine, has a baby who weighed only 5 pounds when she came home from the hospital. She did not gain and did not "do right." When the hospital failed to help the baby, Katherine took her to an Indian doctor. He asked, "How she been," and then

he said, "I'll try to help her." In a week or so the infant began to get better.

As these latter two examples show, both mothers used the hospital facilities at first, but when they became dissatisfied with the result, they turned to native healers. Thus, another factor influencing choice of therapy is related to a dissatisfaction with the kind of care the hospital staff gives. That is, as the Indians perceive it, the care may not be proper. This dissatisfaction is borne out in the following case. A toddler pulled a pot of boiling corn and lye over herself. As her mother tells it:

> The blisters did not come for a couple of hours. We took her to the hospital and they bandaged her and I brought her back home. She cried all night. When I took her back 3 days later, that nurse ripped the bandages off and the blood poured out. I took her home; I could nurse her better than that. Lloyd, he came up and doctored her, told me to leave the bandages off so the heat could get out. It took about a month for the burns to heal.

During the winter of 1959–60, an elderly woman was told she had cancer. Her son asked the physicians to operate, but was told that it was too late for surgery. The patient was quite sure that she didn't have cancer, for she said, "I forgot to tell the doctor I hurt my body when I fell last December. . . . I decided to go to an Indian doctor; she say, I'm bruised inside." Some weeks later she remarked that she was getting stouter and said, "I don't suffer like I did." Others in the community agree that Liza is better. "She couldn't even turn over when she got home, now she walks good." Her Indian doctor is treating her for kidney trouble. Liza said she would not go back to the hospital because she has medicine of her own now.

Another area in which there is some disapproval of hospital technique is in obstetrics. There were only five infants born at home during my stay in the field. Many Conservative women are, however, apprehensive about going to the hospital to have their babies. Lucy made frequent oblique remarks about staying home to have her child, although it was delivered at the hospital. Many mothers disapprove of the kind of postnatal care given at the hospital. There is a firm belief that postparturient mothers should not be given cold liquids and that the placenta should not be burned; if the latter is done, the mothers will not regain their strength. Some new mothers are treated by native doctors upon their return from the hospital. During my stay, two of the mothers whose infants were delivered at home said they would not go to the hospital because babies die there. In fact, one firmly believes that a doctor killed a baby of hers. In conjunction with this, she said, "White doctors can cure, but they can kill too, if they want to."

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Opinions about Indian doctors vary somewhat. Some, although they do patronize Indian practitioners, feel that they do not know as much now as the "old people" did. Others hold that Indian doctors can cure cancer and diabetes, as well as other ailments. Some native healers are, of course, considered better than others. The feeling is strong that all of them can "conjure" against somebody, but the doctors generally deny this. How widespread the feeling is that Indian doctors know when a person is going to die has not been determined, but this subject has been mentioned by a few informants.

Most adults who make use of Indian doctors know some herbal remedies and use them much as others might use patent medicines; indeed, some of them use patent medicines, too. Usually these people do not know the ceremonial language which accompanies the formula for curing. For example, Ollie, a middle-aged informant, said that one of her grandchildren had something wrong with him, so she made some medicine and rubbed it on. "He quit that sliding around [itching]." Her brother, Julius, "learned medicine" for cuts and toothaches from his grandfather, Ducksoup. However, he doctors only himself.

To summarize, these are the patterns which most of the Conservatives follow when coping with illness. If allowed to make a choice, some people, admittedly few in number, avoid contact with White physicians. However, school health activities preclude complete reliance on Indian doctors. Thus, many Conservatives use both types of medical practitioners at the same time.

Others employ both Indian and White doctors, but on different occasions. One variable here is diagnosis. If the nature of the affliction is known, help is solicited from an Indian doctor. In the event that it is unknown, a trip to the hospital is made for a shot, for these people have implicit faith in the efficiency of shots. Evidence suggests that in circumstances where the White physician does not tell the patient what is wrong with him and does not give him an injection, the patient feels that the doctor is no good. Associated with this point of view is the tendency to turn to an Indian doctor if the therapy or diagnosis does not accord with the Indian's idea of proper treatment. We suggest that for the greater number of these people, the two types of medical assistance are not antithetical. In their view, the two systems are complementary. Choosing between them does not produce ambivalence. Given the notion that Indian doctors know more about pediatrics than White doctors, one readily selects a native doctor, but if the malady does not respond to this therapy, a shot is probably required. Correspondingly, in ailments in which injections form part of the treatment, the people are fairly faithful. The diabetic patients are regular in their adminis-

tration of insulin, but not nearly so faithful in following the dietary regulation in which they have been instructed.

CATEGORY 2. PATIENTS OF PUBLIC HEALTH MEDICAL SERVICES

The second group is composed of the Rural Whites and the Generalized Indians who use to the fullest extent the facilities offered by the Public Health Service. Unless they are referred to other physicians or specialists by the reservation medical staff, they seldom go off the reservation for treatment. While none admit using Indian doctors, some may use herbs which they regard as effective. "Do you ever use Indian doctors: do you believe in them?" one was asked. She replied, "Well, those who use herbs can help. I've used herbs for the children. Yellowroot is good for thrash in the mouth . . . wild cherry is good for colds. My mamma uses herbs, too." Another mother of a large Rural White family said:

> We used to be bad to do that [formerly made frequent use of herb medicine] but we don't do it much any more. On the other side of the creek is a medicine called boneset. It's very good for fever. You make tea out of it and drink it hot as you can. Junior says it tastes terrible. Years ago my mother and some of those people up there [Big Cove] would never go to a doctor down here, but now most of them do. We always take ours [take their children to the Public Health doctors in Cherokee].

Tom, the father of another Rural White family, is typical of people in category 2 in his frequent use of the Public Health Service. His comments about his medical problems reflect the poor communication that often exists between the medical practitioners and the people in category 2. For example, he said that the Public Health doctor told him he had "just given out." He is under treatment for severe asthma. His medicine, he says, "Smells like cherry bark and alcohol and tastes worse than it smells." Tom has another condition which affects one leg. He was referred to a doctor in Asheville for X-rays. His remarks about this experience also mirror his confusion. Tom said that the Asheville doctor told him he'd never seen "so much gas coming from the ligaments in his back to his leg." A suspicious spot, which was thought to be cancer, showed up on the plate and the county welfare worker told Tom this. Later the Public Health doctor told him that it was a result of having but one kidney. "Anyway," Tom said, "There ain't nothing you can do about cancer. I wouldn't let them cut into me." In contrast to the woman cancer patient in category 1 who is being treated by an Indian doctor, Tom said he would never go to an Indian doctor although he gets little relief from the medications he takes. Tom has a favorite physician

at the hospital, and he takes all the children to him. The three youngest children are not well. Goats' milk has been prescribed for one, but obtaining it is out of the question because of its cost.

Jack, a Generalized Indian, spent several weeks in the Public Health Hospital and was then sent to a Veterans' Administration hospital. He left there on a weekend pass and would not return. Later he was readmitted to the Public Health Hospital. His mother said Jack left the VA hospital because he thought they were going to operate on him. Jack commented in an interview that none of the physicians know what they are doing, but he maintained that Indian doctors know even less.

Usually as children, some of those in the second category have used Indian doctors in the past. If they use them now, they do so sub rosa, although they may admit knowing who one or two of the Indian doctors are. One older informant said, "Anybody would be a fool to go to one of them." When reminded by his wife that he had gone to one once, he replied,

> Aw hell, I was so damn drunk I didn't know what I was doing . . . it would have gotten better anyway. I fell off a damn mule and my leg swelled up and kept bothering me. So I got a jug of whiskey and went over to her place and said I wanted my leg doctored. She went over to the stove and warmed her hands and rubbed them on my knee. Then she took a scratcher with snake rattles on it—snake teeth too I reckon—and scratched my leg 'til the damn thing bled. She told me it would get better in four days . . . got well after a while, but not in four days . . . damn foolishness!

Among many in this category, the sanitary conditions of the home are such that frequent illness is to be expected. Usually these people follow the orders issued by the physicians. The diabetics among them are cautious about their diet, and many of them achieve a desired loss of weight.

CATEGORY 3. PATIENTS OF PRIVATE PHYSICIANS

The final category is comprised of people who use private health services almost exclusively. Among this group, which is made up primarily of the Cherokee Middle Class, are a few Rural Whites and a few Generalized Indians. Their reasons for relying on private medical care are varied and complex. Several of these people are Civil Service employees. They maintain that, in this capacity, they are not eligible for care provided by the Public Health hospital. However, many inquiries yielded no definitive statements on such a policy, although there is a sign in the waiting room of the hospital which states that medical care is available for indigent Indians only.

Yet some use these facilities who are financially able to assume reasonable costs for treatment but are not Federal employees. Furthermore, several people who are employed in some capacity by the Bureau of Indian Affairs use the hospital without charge.

It is alleged by many people in this group that the Public Health doctors are poorly qualified. "Public Health officials can't make a go of it in private practice. They are more concerned with the salaries than they are the people." One woman, a Generalized Indian, had her first child at the reservation hospital. She said they left her in labor for 2 days. Her second child was born in a private hospital, and she takes all the children to a doctor in Waynesville. She vows she will never go back to the "Indian" hospital for anything unless she is ready to die. Another informant, a Rural White, insists that the Public Health staff does not know what to do for her. She takes her medical problems to Bryson City. Statements such as these are typical of this group.

Although there may be some truth in some of the charges about the attitude of the health staff, comments suggest that a matter of status is involved in the choice of therapy for people in the third group. This is borne out by such remarks as: "I can afford my own doctor bills," and "I'm no charity patient." I asked a Middle Class informant whether she ever used the Public Health facilities. She looked very surprised and answered, "Heavens no!"

People in category 3 are much more sophisticated in health affairs. Although they treat themselves at home, they seldom permit a chronic condition or an unusual symptom to continue uncared for. They make use of psychiatric counseling. They are quick to have surgery when it is necessary. When they keep their children home from school, the youngsters are kept in bed or indoors.

Most of these people are not acutely aware of the extent to which Indian medicine is still being practiced. One man said that it had all died out, although he supposed his grandmother used it. Another denied any knowledge of native doctors, although probing revealed that he did know who one of the doctors was. The few who do have some awareness of the habits of Conservatives have no interest in, or sympathy with, native medicine. A shopkeeper said, "Don't let them fool you. Nine-tenths of them believe in conjuremen, so they fool around with them . . . when they get to the hospital they are half dead." A former nurse said of one well-known Indian doctor, "He'll tell people anything he happens to think of."

In general, there is no distinctive difference between Indians in the third category and White people from a similar educational and

economic background. Their health practices with regard to preventive measures and treatment of illness accord with middle class standards at large.

To conclude, the analysis of behavior in respect to the onset of illness has suggested three types of people. However, the differences between the three groups are not of the same order. The second and third groups are both committed to modern medicine. The difference rests in the choice of doctor which is, in part, based upon the ability to pay for private care. The basic distinction among the people is clearly drawn between those who use aboriginal medicine and those who do not.

CONCLUSIONS

Health habits and medical practices have been analyzed in terms of four criteria: environmental sanitation and hygienic practices; responses to clinical procedures; responses to school health instruction; and behavior prompted by illness.

CRITERION I. SANITARY-HYGIENIC ENVIRONMENT.—Analysis of the data on environmental sanitation and hygienic practices permitted the construction of four categories of people. The first two categories contain Conservatives, Rural Whites, and Generalized Indians. The third and fourth categories include Rural Whites, Generalized Indians, and the Middle Class. Table 7 demonstrates the distribution of 73 informants and their families according to this criterion. The data presented in this table are valid only in terms of the cases selected for observation. They illustrate the fact that there is a rough fit between Thomas' four acculturative types of people and their sanitary and hygienic practices.

TABLE 7.—*Distribution of selected Cherokee families by types of sanitary-hygienic environment (criterion I)*

Types of sanitary-hygienic environment	Selected families, according to Thomas' "Acculturation Types"							
	Conservative		Generalized		Rural White		Middle Class	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Category 1. Inadequate	13	56.5	1	6.0	4	28.6	0	0.0
Category 2. Minimal	9	39.1	7	41.2	4	28.6	0	.0
Category 3. Adequate	1	4.4	6	35.2	5	35.7	[1] 4	21.1
Category 4. Very adequate	0	.0	3	17.6	1	7.1	15	78.9
Total	23	100.0	17	100.0	14	100.0	19	100.0

[1] Three of the four are homes of single men.

CRITERION II. RESPONSES TO CLINICAL PROCEDURES.—Materials from the observation of Public Health clinics enable me to divide the participants into only two groups. The writer observed approximately 78 adults, some of whom were accompanied by children, in five clinics.[14] Table 8 shows the distribution of these adults. The difference in the behavior is very marked. Thirty-two of the participants are characterized by reserve and passiveness; the remaining forty-six are "out going," and interact openly in the clinic situation. The first category comprises Conservatives. Thomas' Rural Whites and Generalized Indians are in the second category.

TABLE 8.—*Distribution of Cherokee clinic participants, by type of behavior in five public health clinics (criterion II)*

Type of clinic behavior	Clinic participants, according to Thomas' "Acculturation Types"							
	Conservative		Generalized		Rural White		Middle Class	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Category 1. Inarticulate-acquiescent	31	100.0	0	0.0	[1] 1	4.5	0	0.0
Category 2. Vocal, active participation	0	.0	24	100.0	21	95.5	1	100.0
Total	31	100.0	24	100.0	22	100.0	1	100.0

[1] Modified behavior.

CRITERION III. RESPONSES TO SCHOOL HEALTH INSTRUCTION.—All of the reservation schools were visited during the course of the fieldwork, but the school health instructional program of one school was investigated at length because the school had a good representation of Thomas' first three acculturative groups. Of 35 children, 14 behaved in a manner similar to the people described in category 1, under clinical behavior. The remaining 21 children duplicated the behavior of the second group of clinic participants. These data are presented in table 9.

CRITERION IV. BEHAVIOR PROMPTED BY ILLNESS.—The choices made by the Cherokee in terms of medical therapy reveal significant

[14] Observations were made in one well-baby clinic, two preschool clinics, and two diabetic clinics. In the well-baby clinic approximately three-fourths of the participants fell into category 2. Participants in one of the preschool clinics, held in Big Cove, were all Conservatives whose behavior placed them in category 1. Of those taking part in the preschool clinic held in the Public Health offices, approximately three-fourths fell into category 2. On the basis of their behavior, the patients in the diabetic clinics were evenly divided between the first and second categories.

TABLE 9.—*Distribution of 35 schoolchildren, by health classroom behavior (criterion III)*

Type of health classroom behavior	Schoolchildren, according to Thomas' "Acculturation Types"							
	Conservative		Generalized		Rural White		Middle Class	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Category 1. Inarticulate-acquiescent	12	100.0	--------	--------	[1] 2	25.0	--------	--------
Category 2. Vocal, active participation	--------	--------	15	100.0	6	75.0	--------	--------
Total	12	100.0	15	100.0	8	100.0	--------	--------

[1] One child mentally retarded.

differences. There are two major groups, those who use Indian "doctors," and those who do not. Among those who use native practitioners, some are more consistent in their use than are others. For the most part, the most consistent patients of Indian healers are the old Indians, but not exclusively so. The more prevalent pattern is the alternative use of both aboriginal medicine and modern medicine. The second major classification is subdivided into those who use Public Health facilities available on the reservations, and those who use private physicians in surrounding towns. Data provided in table 10 show the distribution of 74 Indian families by the main type of medical care utilized. Indians who cling to aboriginal medicine, either exclusively or in combination with modern medicine, are Conservatives. Those who are oriented toward modern therapy are Rural Whites, Generalized Indians, and the Middle Class. The patrons of private medical services are largely members of the Middle

TABLE 10.—*Distribution of selected Cherokee families by type of medical care (criterion IV)*

Type of medical care	Selected families, according to Thomas' "Acculturation Types"							
	Conservative		Generalized		Rural White		Middle Class	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Indian "doctors"	22	91.7	[1] 1	5.9	[1] 1	7.1	--------	--------
Public Health	2	8.3	13	76.5	10	71.5	1	5.3
Private practice	--------	--------	3	17.6	3	21.4	18	94.7
Total	24	100.0	17	100.0	14	100.0	19	100.0

[1] There is no conclusive evidence that these informants utilize Indian doctors, but conversations hint at the possibility.

Class, although a few of the better situated Rural Whites and Generalized Indians also patronize private physicians.

The findings previously discussed do not provide us with a *fourfold* lineal model of acculturation. The clustering which I find tends to group together people who are, according to Thomas, dissimilar. Rather, the data suggest both an on-going process of acculturation, and an internal differentiation taking place within the more acculturated group.

Acculturation.—Data from criteria II and III (clinic and school behavior) demonstrate a two-fold acculturative differentiation, "Indian and Non-Indian." Conservatives are concentrated in one category. Other people, on the basis of analogous behavior, fall into a second category. This illustrates the ways in which three of Thomas' four types are similar to each other.

Acculturation and internal differentiation.—Data from criteria I and IV (sanitation and types of medical care) also illustrate an on-going process of acculturation. They show less two-way differentiation than do criteria II and III, but there is, nevertheless, a clustering of Conservatives in category 1, in each case, and a clustering of the Middle Class in the last category, in each case.

Criteria I and IV illustrate, moreover, the possibility of social class differentials as well as Conservative–non-Conservative differentials. For example, in criterion I some 52.8 percent of the Generalized Indian informants fall within categories 3 and 4 and 57.1 percent of the Rural Whites fall within categories 1 and 2; the former percentage is higher than would be expected and the latter is lower if a good fit existed between sanitary and hygienic practices and the Thomas acculturation continuum. One is led to believe that much of the difference in the sanitary environments of the Generalized Indian, the Rural White, and the Middle Class is due to socioeconomic rather than to acculturative differentials. Similarly, data from criterion IV suggest that choices made by the non-Conservatives as to types of medical care are made, not so much because of differences in acculturation, but because of differences in status and styles of life. The Generalized Indians and Rural Whites who use the Public Health facilities and staff frequently do so because they cannot afford private medical care.

A diagram of these findings (fig. 7) shows clearly the problems inherent in an assessment of both the process and the end result of acculturation, and emphasizes the inconsistency of the data on health as a key criterion of acculturation.

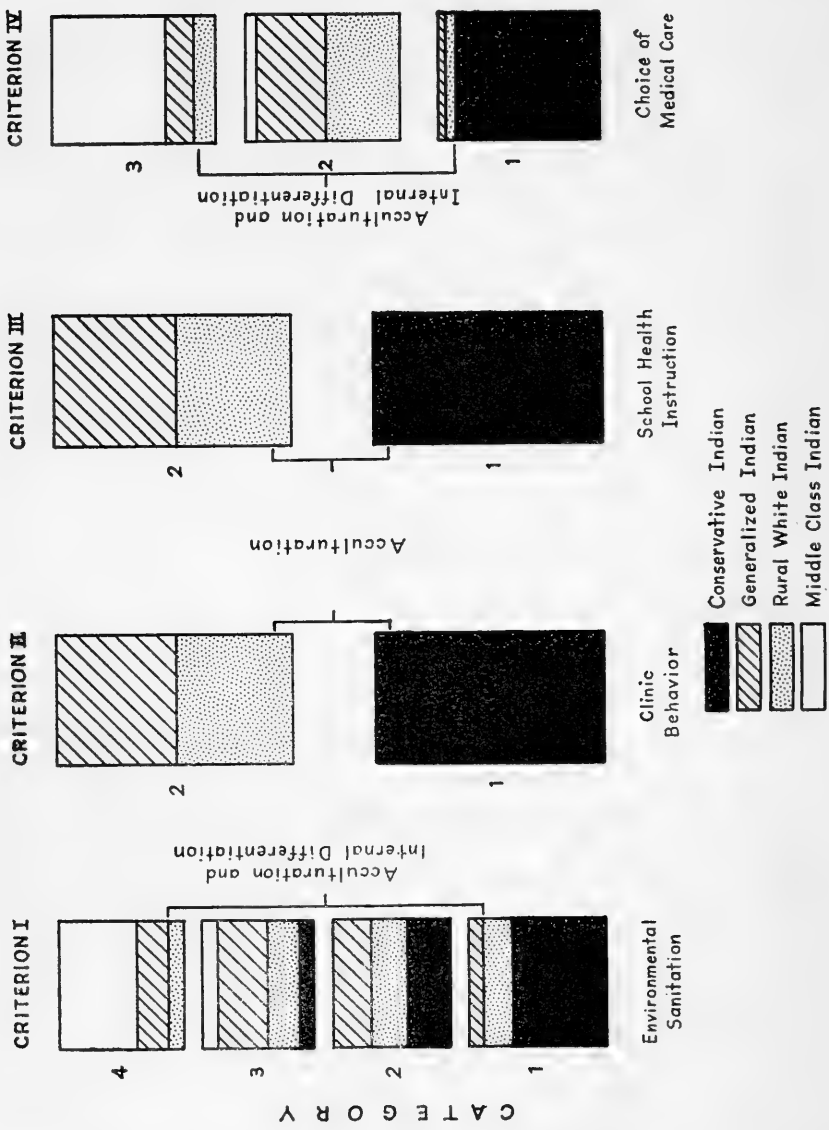

FIGURE 7.—Graphic presentation of health habits of Cherokee informants.

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPERIENCES

Many students of social stratification in Western society have used education as one basic criterion for separating disparate groups of people. Some studies simply record the number of school years completed by members of a sample. Other studies search for the value which respondents attach to education.[15] This second approach has revealed significant differences in the importance divergent groups place on formal education, and suggests that a similar phenomenon might be present among the Cherokee. Consequently, education has been used as a second variable for testing the Thomas continuum.

Almost everyone at Cherokee agrees that education is important. Beyond this, however, there are differences. Aspiration levels differ, reasons for valuing education differ (although sometimes subtly), and the behavior associated with achieving the goal also differs.

ASPIRATION LEVELS

I have placed the Cherokee into three broad categories on the basis of what I have learned of their aspiration levels: Those who aspire to a high school education for their children; those who regard some further training, usually vocational, as necessary; and those who anticipate college education for their children.

CATEGORY 1. HIGH SCHOOL ORIENTED

Among those who envisage high school education as necessary preparation for young people, verbalization on the importance of this achievement is a recurrent phenomenon. By and large, the reasons given for this desideratum are similar. A common one is the desire to have children better educated than their parents. Jess, a young father, said in answer to a question about keeping his children in school, "Yes, I don't want them to be like me; I only went to the third grade. My boy is in the sixth grade now." Another informant, Lizzie, a grandmother raising the illegitimate son of one of her daughters, insists that she wants "him to be something when he grows up, not a dummy like me. I most forgot everything I ever learned . . . arithmetic, it's like when you lie down to go to sleep; you put everything away." Lizzie's own formal education was restricted to 3 or 4 years at the reservation boarding school in the years around 1900.

Another reason proposed for finishing school, closely related to the one above, reflects concern for employment opportunities. There is a general consensus that nowadays, a high school education is impera-

[15] See, for example: Hollingshead and Redlich, 1958; Warner et al., 1947; Hayman, 1953, pp. 426–432; Kahl, 1956, pp. 184–218, 276–293; and Spindler and Goldschmidt, 1952, pp. 68–83.

tive if one is to get a job. The fact has been underscored by the presence of the Harns Manufacturing Plant, for although workers have been employed who are not high school graduates many have been refused on this basis. Younger workers are encouraged to apply only after they have finished school.

Jack Johnson recognizes the importance of a high school education for obtaining a job. The fact that his oldest son married without finishing high school was a great disappointment to him and his wife. His second son went West with a Mormon missionary and is attending public high school there. Jack misses him but contends that he is better off out there. "They can't do anything without an education." The boy in the West wants to join the Navy. Jack said he would sign the papers provided his son finishes high school first. Jack completed the 11th grade, and his wife finished high school.

In agreement with Jack is Tom, the father of 12 children. He told his boys that they were all going to finish school "even if they are 30 before they do it. They can't get a job now unless they've got an education." One son was a victim of polio, and, Tom says, "He has got to go past high school because he isn't as strong as the others."

Concomitant with the parents' desire to have their children "better themselves" by finishing school, is their concern over the quality of the reservation schools. Lizzie, for example, is critical of the reservation educational program. She sends her grandson to summer school at Cullowhee, a small college about 40 miles from the reservation. In this connection she plans to put Frank in "public school," [16] for she does not see "why Indian children can't learn as good as White children." She is convinced that Indian children are not educated as well as they should be. "Long time ago," she said, "a superintendent [superintendent in charge of the reservation] told them teachers that Indians shouldn't learn like White people. I know a girl graduated from Cherokee can't even count."

Jack Johnson also questions the quality of the reservation schools. "The Indian school isn't like it used to be when I went . . . . If I had the money, I'd send every one of mine to public school in Bryson or Whittier. They need good schooling."

These four informants are typical of many who stress the importance of secondary school preparation. Whether they will see their children achieve this is impossible to predict with certainty. (None of Lizzie's own children have finished high school. The two youngest, a boy and girl in their early 20's entered, but despite Lizzie's "begging them to finish, they stopped after the ninth grade." She insists that her grandson will not do this.) But their approach to the problem differs

[16] County and city schools adjacent to the reservation. Cf. footnote 2, p. 225.

from some of the others in this category who express the same goal. They do not permit the children to stay out of school unless it is absolutely necessary, or unless the child is ill. Occasionally, Tom's older boys have to stay out to plow, plant, or harvest. When they do, Tom's wife writes a note to the school principal explaining the situation.

Other Indians who recognize the importance of high school education are less assertive about it. And they rarely complain about the quality of the reservation schools. The attendance records of their children testify to the fact that they do not pressure their children into regular attendance. Other evidence supporting this lack of coercion is visible in the variation found among children within the same family in terms of the number of grades completed. For example, Emmaline, a mother of 10 children, says she hates to have the children "lay out" of school, but when asked why Alfred was not in school, she said "He got ready to go this morning; he put on clean socks, but he didn't go." Emmaline has an older son and daughter who did not finish high school but she has two daughters who are attending high school at a Federal boarding school for Indians in Kansas. The younger one, Ellie, is crossing off the days until she can come home. Her mother said, "She don't care much for it."

Lucy, another informant, has only a sixth grade education, but her older brother and sister have graduated from Cherokee High School. A younger brother and sister entered, but did not finish. Lucy said, "I just quit; I didn't like boarding school. Momma and Poppa didn't say nothing about it." Five of her children now are in elementary school. "Mary does good, but them boys can't learn nothing. Kenneth wants to quit. I guess I'll let him if the school will." On two occasions I found Mary home from school because, her mother said, "she didn't want to go."

Both of these mothers and their husbands talk about the importance of education. One husband was refused employment at the Harns plant because of inadequate preparation. But when asked about plans for their children, the reply was, "It's up to them, whatever they want to be."

Some Rural Whites, Generalized Indians, and Conservatives are found in category 1. They all share the same level of aspiration, but the steps they take to implement the goal vary. Generalized Indians and the Rural Whites are usually more forceful in seeing that their children attend school regularly, and they attempt to keep them enrolled until they graduate. For the most part, Conservatives do not pressure their children to comply with their wishes. However, there are some who, although traditional in many ways (for example, in choices of medical treatment), are determined to see that their children

receive more education than they did. At this writing, they are taking measures to implement the goal, but these children are young. Whether the adults will continue to directly influence them as they mature is a moot point.

CATEGORY 2. POST-HIGH-SCHOOL VOCATIONAL TRAINING ORIENTED

Noncollegiate post-high-school training is a common goal for many people, and well within the reach of most of them, since the Federal Government maintains free vocational schools for Indians. (The major cost is transportation.) Cherokee who take advantage of these schools go either to Haskell Institute, in Kansas, or to Chilocco, in Oklahoma. The reasons parents give for encouraging their children to continue are almost entirely associated with better economic opportunities.

Luke Diver, a Conservative resident of Big Cove, has two boys and a girl who graduated from Cherokee High School and are now attending Chilocco. He was asked whether he thought that it was a good idea to have them in school. "Well, it don't cost nothing, and it looks like nowadays you can't get work unless you go on . . . like me, it's hard to get work. I ain't heard from the plant yet." Luke has not given his children as strong encouragement to continue their education as has his neighbor, Wilbur, the father of three children now in elementary school. I asked Wilbur if he was planning to see that all of his children graduate from high school. "Yes," he replied. "But of course, a high school education doesn't mean much nowadays; if they want a white collar job, they got to have college or vocational training." His wife added, "If we can't afford college maybe we can get them into other training. It seems like it is easier now than it was when I was growing up." Wilbur continued, "Look at some of these kids who are getting high school diplomas. They don't know what they ought to know. I don't think the schools are as good as they were when I went, back in the boarding school days." Wilbur would like to send his children to a local public school for better preparation. However, it isn't possible because they live much too far from the county school-bus lines.

Another informant, a Generalized Indian, attended Chilocco and feels that vocational education is important. He is sending his son to high school in Waynesville so that he will be better prepared to attend Chilocco. "Cherokee is no school; those kids can't do a thing when they get out . . . nothing but loaf. Not enough of them go on to school and when they do, they can't last." He continued, "Another important thing about Chilocco is the getting out and mixing with people."

The parents of a large Rural White family have hopes of sending their oldest son to Haskell. They could not afford it when he graduated from Cherokee High School last year. Although he is now working at the Harns plant, he talks of quitting and going on for vocational training. "Now with the new roll, I might be able to go because I'll get the same privileges [financial assistance] as full Indians. I couldn't go this fall, but I might be able to next year."

These remarks reflect the sentiments of the people in category 2. However, there is some merging between ambitions for vocational training and for attending college. Some of the people do not make a clear distinction between the two choices. The economic differential between the two is one reason for lack of a definitive goal. Some entertain the idea of college, but their finances militate against it, and they are not so firmly committed to college as a social goal that they will try to find a way. A second reason for the blurring is that some of them are not clearly aware of the differences between advanced vocational training and college education.

People who comprise category 2 are Generalized Indians, Rural Whites, and a few Conservatives. (Most, although not all, of the Conservatives are in the second group by virtue of the fact that some of their children are presently enrolled in post-graduate training schools. But we suspect, with good reason, that this is due, at least in part, to outside influences and personal choices of the children, rather than as a direct consequence of parental pushing.) Not all those who want their children to continue some sort of training beyond high school share the same feelings about the inadequacy of reservation schools. But it is a prevalent sentiment, and becomes even more entrenched in the next classification.

Most of the parents in category 2 have completed more years of schooling than have those in the first category; however, there are some who have little or no formal education. Emphasis on marks or school performance, while not entirely absent among the first group, becomes much more marked in category 2.

CATEGORY 3. COLLEGE ORIENTED

A small group of Cherokees regard college education as a normal expectation for their children. Some of these children are currently in college; others, not yet there, are reminded of this goal in many ways. Economic position is, of course, an important element in the realization of the goal. But it is not the sole reason. There are several parents for whom the expense of maintaining even one child in college represents a financial strain, even though these people are better off than many because they have steady employment. Other

motives are present among this group that are lacking among people in the other two categories.

One sentiment, often disguised, is that a college education will prove that Indians can "amount to something." One informant, a college graduate, reflects this in the half-joking remark, "Well this dumb Indian got through it . . . and when I needed money, I went out and worked for it."

Concealed in other comments is the recognition of the status which a college degree confers, irrespective of race. The son of one family stayed out of college during the spring quarter of his junior year. He is planning to be married this summer and return to school in the fall. Because he has a well-established family business to enter, I asked him why he bothered to finish college. "Oh, I don't know," he said. "Just to say I did it, I guess . . . it would be nice for the children to say they had a Daddy who went to college . . . I'll never use it [college education], I guess."

There are people in this category who have achieved a stable socioeconomic position. They desire higher education for their children, not so much because they are striving for status, but because they have accepted college as a normal goal for those in their social position. Illustrative of this is the case of a couple with three children. The husband is a graduate of Chilocco; his wife attended a university in the West for 2 years. One of their children has graduated from a State university. The other two are presently enrolled in college. One, a student in a western institution, failed a course his first semester. His parents expressed mild concern, but took no definite steps to discipline him. He was married during the spring of his freshman year. Although his parents did not object, his mother fears that the marriage may hinder him in the completion of his education. Several times during the first semester he overdrew his checking account. His father said, "Boy, he can spend the money. He went to school with a bank account, and we've been sweetening it all winter. I guess boys have to spend money, but I believe he spends too much." The youngest child was graduated from a public high school last June. He spent a great deal of time searching college directories and finally decided to major in engineering at a nearby State university.

There are others whose socioeconomic status is not typically that of the middle class, but whose goals are similar. These families are currently mobile. One such couple has two children for whom college careers are planned. These children are under a reward system in which they receive 50 cents for every A. If they receive a C or a D they must pay the parents 10 cents. The money goes into their college account. A set of the Encyclopedia Britannica (adult edition) was purchased for the children to use in doing their homework.

Their mother said, "I sure could have used them when I was in school, but we couldn't afford it." The mother graduated from high school. The father finished the eighth grade. He said, "In those days, I didn't know what was good for me. I would have gone further, but my Daddy died. He would have made me stay in school . . . he went to Carlisle." [17] One of his reasons for urging his children is the employment potential inherent in a college education.

Rare, but present in a few cases, is the idea that an education includes more than a means for earning a living, that it is a liberating and stimulating experience. One informant has been planning for a college education for her son from his infancy. The boy has never attended reservation schools. All his educational experiences have been geared to his ultimate entrance to college. He is a better than average student but has required tutoring in French. A year in preparatory school would help him, according to his mother, but the expense involved makes the extra year out of the question. There is a long tradition of education in the family, extending back four generations. The choice of institution for the boy is conditioned both by expense and his particular needs. Because he is unassertive, his parents think he might be lost at a State university. The cost precludes following some of his uncles who attended New England colleges. The task is to find a good small school which will arouse his curiosity and widen his horizons.

None of the reasons for college education is mutually exclusive. And, of course, employment possibilities are woven through all the motives, but only in the sense that certain kinds of positions and occupations are appropriate to the socioeconomic status of this group. Most of the people of this category consist of people in Thomas' Middle Class. However, there are a few Generalized Indians and Rural Whites who, although not having the economic level of the Middle Class, have the educational orientation. Strangely enough, there is among our cases, at least one who is, in many respects, a Conservative.

REFLECTIONS ON EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES

Perceptions and memories of one's school experience have a bearing on aspiration levels. They also serve as a sorting device for the fieldworker. Attitudes toward school and things remembered differ from person to person. But certain recurrent themes appeared as I talked with informants. I have placed my informants into three major groups on the basis of their reactions to boarding-school experiences.

[17] Carlisle, now closed, was a school in Pennsylvania for Indians which provided both high school and post-high school training.

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GROUP 1. RESENTFUL

Perhaps the most vivid recollections come from those who resented the treatment of the children in the boarding school [18] of 25 or more years ago. The mention of school elicits such reminiscences as: "They put dresses on me to keep me from running away; think maybe I be ashamed to go through Cherokee in a girl's dress, but I did anyway." This speaker is a young man in his early 30's. Another man about 56, recalls that there was a "little stone house they locked the runaway boys in . . . they kept them from speaking Indian, too." Speaking about forbidding Cherokee speech, another said, "They used to make us work, or whip us, if they caught us speaking Indian. I didn't like that at all. I'm proud to say that I can read and write in my own language." A woman of 65, agrees with his comments, adding, "Seemed like they wanted us to be White." One final anecdote illustrates how vivid these recollections are for some. "Thompson," I said, "tell me about when you were in school." Thompson is a man of over 70. "One feller he hold one arm and another hold another and one behind me whup me. They took seven sticks about that thick [he used his forefinger to illustrate the size] and whup me." "Why?" I asked. "Runnin' away; after that I runned away and never come back. They shouldn't have done that to me."

These speakers who resented the regime of the boarding school are Conservatives. They speak with strong personal feelings of the harsh treatment accorded them there as children. Most of them succeeded in running away some time during their early years in school. A few talk of eluding the "policeman" who was sent to take them back. While escapes from truant officers were common, they are not the primary reason for remaining away from school. The basic cause was directly traceable to their parents, or parent surrogates, who did not make them return. The children's failure to return to school resulted in perpetuation of Conservative ways at a time when the educational program was directed toward the rapid inculcation of White ways. We shall have more to say about these circumstances later. For the present, it is sufficient to say that today they recognize the importance of some education. They perceive that, to an extent, their economic plight is determined by this deficiency. But efforts directed toward remedying this situation for their children, in all but a few cases, are made less effective because of the behavior pattern which stresses individual autonomy and disvalues coercion.

[18] With the advent of the John Collier Administration for Indian Affairs, the military discipline was removed from Indian schools. Curricula were revised and emphasis was placed upon the "needs and goals of the Indian students." In 1952 the boarding school at Cherokee was closed because new and better roads permitted daily transportation for the students on the reservation. The current day school at Cherokee is similar to public schools, with, perhaps, less emphasis on scholarship and more emphasis on crafts.

GROUP 2. APPRECIATIVE

For many who endured the discipline of school, the memory of it has been dulled by what they perceive to have been the positive consequences. For some, it led to Hampton Institute in Virginia; for others, to Carlisle. Younger ones went to Haskell or Chilocco. They feel that they have learned proper ways to do things, proper ways to behave, and they feel they are progressive. One woman speaks of the boarding school:

as a place where the classrooms were quiet and well disciplined. I told the reservation principal that when they took out the military discipline, they ruined the school. I remember our matron; she used to paddle me plenty, but I loved her. That's where I got my knowledge of the better things in life, right there in that boarding school.

Still another says, "I was in boarding school when I was a girl and went home only for the summer. I swore I wasn't going to live like those people in Big Cove." The men remark, "Oh, it was rough all right, but after that I went to Haskell, or Carlisle, or Hampton." The theme is, "It was worth it."

Those who completed, or nearly completed, the program are now most of the Generalized Indians, the Middle Class, and a few Rural Whites. Some of them did run away but were returned, and so home ties were made more tenuous. Some of those in group 2 went on to other schools and some did not, but in any event, this period in the history of the reservation school system succeeded in bringing about significant changes for part of the population.

GROUP 3. BITTER

Others, who also finished the boarding school, never mention the rigidity of the training unless one probes for it. But other feelings come to the fore. These suggest that from some place, either from the school or from other sources, they acquired a feeling of inadequacy. One man said:

Segregated school for Indians is bad . . . the first time they go outside and bump shoulders with Whites and get a kick in the pants, they come back home and pull the blanket over their heads. I know how tough it was for me, how they made me feel. I swore I'd never send my kids to Indian School.

When the curriculum underwent revision during the Collier administration, some students were distressed:

Back in the 30's when John Collier came in and put in all those crafts, we went on strike. We felt we were wasting our time; they were making us go backwards. I had 24 units from here, and Cullowhee would only accept 15.

An informant, somewhat incoherent because he had had too much to drink, said of all Indian schools, "I went to Haskell from here

. . . It was a farce . . . they are just vocational schools, and a person could learn in 1 year what it takes him 2 to get at a place like Haskell or Cherokee."

People in group 3 shared similar school experiences with the people in group 2. They also share, but for different reasons, the bitterness found among the Conservatives in group 1. Beyond this similarity they do not resemble Conservatives in any way. Nearly all of them have completed high school, and many have had vocational or college training. They are actively encouraging their children to succeed in school. In almost every case, their children attend schools off the reservation. They condemn Indian schools in general, and the Cherokee school in particular.

CONCLUSIONS

Levels of aspiration and recollections of educational experiences have been the focus of the study of education. Analysis of educational aspirations has yielded three categories of Cherokee: high school oriented, post-high-school vocational training oriented, and college oriented. We see quite clearly that only secondary school completion is a goal for one group. The second group is aware that some training beyond high school is often necessary. The third group anticipates college education for its offspring. The members of these categories fit Thomas' continuum in a crude way. The group with the lowest aspiration level includes a large number of Conservatives and a few Rural Whites and Generalized Indians. The group with the intermediate expectation is made up of Generalized Indians, Rural Whites, and a few Conservatives. The largest single group in the college oriented category is the Middle Class. Table 11 illustrates this distribution for 41 families with school age children.

TABLE 11.—*Distribution of selected Cherokee families by educational aspirations*

Educational aspirations	Selected families, according to Thomas' "Acculturation Types"							
	Conservative		Generalized		Rural White		Middle Class	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
High school oriented	7	63.6	3	27.2	3	33.3	--------	--------
Post-high-school vocational training	3	27.2	5	45.6	3	33.3	1	10.0
College oriented	1	9.2	3	27.2	3	33.3	9	90.0
Total	11	100.0	11	100.0	9	100.0	10	100.0

Through the informants' memories of personal experiences associated with boarding school, I have been able to discern three groups of Cherokee adults: those who resented the harsh treatment, those

who credit the school with their advancement, and those who were made to feel inadequate by their attendance at Indian schools.

Those who were harshly treated and moved out of the situation are Conservatives. They generally, but not always, have the lowest level of aspiration for their children; they take few direct steps to implement the goal. Some of the Rural Whites did not complete many years of schooling either, but, because of their facility with English and other familiarity with White ways, they were not so roughly treated. Although their years of formal education were often as few as the Conservatives, they do not have the same intensity of feeling about the school. Their ambitions for their children are similar to those of Conservative parents, but they provide more direction and encouragement.

Members of groups 2 and 3 spent more years in school than did those of group 1. Whether they appreciated the training or whether they felt stigmatized by it, they are the ones whose children are now finishing high school and frequently going beyond it.

The findings on educational aspirations and experiences have revealed differences among the Cherokee, but the differences do not fit neatly with the differences among Thomas' four groups. These differences are the result of acculturation away from Conservatism. They are, moreover, the result of internal differentiation among the non-Conservatives, hinting at social class distinctions in regard to educational goals and values.

DOMINANT VALUES

In the course of my fieldwork I discovered a number of behavioral patterns which seemed only incidentally related to health matters and to education. Such behavior led me, in turn, to suspect the existence of *two* dominant values among the Cherokee. Thomas has identified one, which he calls the "Harmony Ethic." The second is closely related to Weber's "Protestant Ethic."

This section, therefore, is devoted to a description of these values and to the behavior associated with them. For if, as Evon Vogt (1955, pp. 6–7) suggests, values are selecting and regulatory processes, an understanding of them is relevant to the examination of the Cherokee, in accordance with Thomas' conceptual model.

THE HARMONY ETHIC

Thomas contends that the Harmony Ethic is central to the conservative Cherokee way of life. He says:

According to it, the Conservative tries to maintain harmonious interpersonal relationships with his fellow Cherokee by avoiding giving offense on the negative

side, and by giving of himself to his fellow Cherokee in regard to his time and his material goods on the positive side.[19]

I have selected pertinent aspects of behavior which illustrate this regnant value and which are also in sharp contrast to the behavior of people who are not motivated by the Harmony Ethic.

INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOR

The intermediary.—All groups have developed methods by which to facilitate interaction; some of these devices are markedly different from each other. Among the Conservative Cherokee there is a preferred way of behaving in certain dyadic situations in which one person wishes to affect the behavior of another, for example, making requests, reproaching others, and controlling children. The single outstanding characteristic of this behavioral syndrome is the use of a *neutral third person* in circumstances which could be conceived of as threatening to amicable relationships.

It is readily apparent in incidents involving requests of one kind or another. School children, including high school students, frequently send another child to request permission of the teacher to sharpen a pencil or to leave the room. Employers comment on the same practice among people applying for work. In fact, I became the neutral third person when Frances, an informant, wished to get a job as a waitress. She mentioned this desire often, finally saying, "I'd go to see the manager if I could get someone to go with me." I accompained her and made the initial overture to the manager. Go-betweens are also used in court cases. Several local lawyers have remarked on the frequency with which defendants, even those who speak English, bring an intermediary to court through whom they communicate.

This behavior is not confined to contacts with Whites or nonkinsmen. One informant family was occupying a house, rent-free, which belonged to the wife's aunt. Although the aunt wanted the couple to move she did not approach them. Eventually she communicated her desire to another, saying, "When I said they could live there, I didn't mean forever." The neutral told the unwanted tenants that their aunt wanted them to move.

There was another domestic situation which reached crisis proportions in the eyes of the participants: A young 20-year-old girl who lives with her parents had one child by a man, unknown to the writer. A year or so later she bore a child to her maternal parallel cousin who was living with the family. Her mother disapproved highly of this,

[19] Robert K. Thomas, quoted by Gulick, 1960, pp. 135–136. For a more complete description and interpretation of the Harmony Ethic, and associated Conservative values, see ibid., pp. 136–141.

but would not let them marry because they were cousins. She complained about the irregularity of her daughter's relationship to many others in the community. Subsequently, her daughter became pregnant by her cousin again. Her mother then visited her mother-in-law, and discussed the problem. The girl's grandmother went to see the Chief about the situation. At no time during this period was the boy approached directly, by his aunt or his mother, about leaving.

Another example of the employment of the indirect method to approach or reproach people is seen in the case of an elderly woman whose son drives a taxi for a livelihood. He charges his mother for trips. When I expressed some surprise at this she said, "He shouldn't do me that way. I told some of my friends about it down in Cherokee. They must have jumped on that boy because for a long time he quit charging me. Now he do it again."

The pattern of using an intercessor is so firmly established that when an Indian is confronted with a direct request (which often happens in dealing with Whites) he draws another into the situation, if possible. A social worker went to Ollie Bird to ask her to care for some children in Big Cove. She came directly to the point, without any preliminaries. Ollie, who speaks English, turned to her brother who was visiting and spoke with him in Cherokee. After an extended exchange, the brother said, "She's got a lot to do here—hoe corn, and make the garden. Maybe her sister could do it."

There are occasions when a mediator is not available. Depending upon the circumstances, one can predict the courses of action Conservatives will follow on such occasions. If a desire is not overwhelming, or urgent, the Cherokee will go away unsatisfied. For example, Lizzie went to visit a Rural White friend who had promised her some flower cuttings. Getting the flowers was the purpose of the visit for she spoke of it on the way. After a long stay, during which the flowers were not mentioned by either principal, Lizzie departed empty-handed. As we returned, she mentioned several times how much she wanted some flowers like that. Should, however, the need for something be very important to the individual, he will phrase the request in the form of a positive statement: "I guess I'll ride with you to Cherokee." When dissatisfactions with people or situations occur and a disinterested party is not available, direct encounters are still avoided. An informant felt that too many demands were being made upon her at work but she did not mention her dissatisfaction to her employer. She simply quit. When asked what she had told the boss she said, "I didn't tell him nothing; I just didn't go back to work the next day." Related to this, is the fact that the Cherokee may also quit without notice if he is directly or openly reprimanded by a superior.

Parental control of children is essentially a dyadic situation, involving a parent and a child. Reliance upon indirection is also visible in this relationship. Generally, children are raised permissively and are seldom coerced unless they step too far out of line. But when this occurs an adult tells the child to stop and threatens him by saying that a "booger," a "skilly," or a unega (White person) will get him. In this way a symbolic agent, external to the dyad relationship, is introduced. This pattern of behavior occurs repetitively among Conservative parents. Habitual use of an external sanctioning agent does not, however, obviate direct parental interference. Yet, when an adult does resort to more direct methods, these actions are not preceded by a series of threats or promises to punish. The action takes place quickly after the child has been told to stop. The general tendency is for the adult not to identify himself as the source of authority.

The use of a mediator is a reflection of the Harmony Ethic in specific behavior. It functions to reduce friction in situations which could give rise to conflict. Employing an intercessor removes both actors from the immediate tense circumstance; it resembles psychological withdrawal. Where a mediator is not present, often a physical withdrawal occurs. In either event, direct altercation is avoided. Controlling children through the use of a symbolic external agent is an aspect of the same principle. The parent appears to the children in a neutral role rather than in an authoritarian or threatening role.

Generosity.—Cherokee pride themselves on their generosity. Tourist literature originating in the Cherokee Information Center mentions that the Indians are generous and hospitable. Other students of the Cherokee have also identified this trait. In reflecting upon what I have seen, it occurs to me that generosity is, indeed, a characteristic of the people, but it does not take the same form among all of them.

Conservatives state that "Indians are good to everybody"; "Stinginess is bad." If one is at their home around mealtime, they do not extend a formal invitation to stay to dinner. The unwary visitor finds that a place has been set for him as a matter of course and he is expected to eat. A guest seldom thanks his host; he simply gets up after a meal and wanders out of the house. Nor does one ordinarily receive thanks for a gift. I gave a good coat to a woman who needed it badly. She said, upon receiving it, "It be all right; you can leave it I guess." The writer did have one gift acknowledged, although indirectly. The daughter of the recipient told her, "Mamma sure did like those flowers you gave her."

The pattern of generosity is the norm among the Conservative segment of the population; it is predictable. But it is not without

its inconveniences and burdens, particularly since the Cherokee have been drawn into a money economy. Occasionally people withdraw from a situation in order to avoid its operation. An informant said that "he [her husband] don't go over to Russell's any more to get his hair cut. They are always out of something—coffee or flour—and he has to get it for them."

Generosity of this type is not unrelated to the use of a neutral person in favor-seeking situations. Loans are sought through the use of a third person and are seldom repaid; the lender rarely asks for the return of his money. But he often complains to others that his money has not been returned. Making requests of others (for loans or for repayment) can be viewed as disruptive for both principals. The possibility exists that an individual either does not wish to grant the request or is unable to do so. If he refuses another to his face, he offends, for the Harmony Ethic stipulates giving of oneself and possessions. When the neutral is used, there is no face-to-face interaction which might involve refusal. The kind of generosity we have been describing is peculiar to the Conservatives. Of generosity of others we shall have more to say later.

Aggression and aggressiveness.—Before I leave the general subject of interpersonal relationships, it is necessary to say something about aggression and aggressiveness.[20] Although the two terms have different connotations, I have chosen to discuss them simultaneously. In this case aggression refers to direct physical assaults, or to direct oral exchanges. By aggressiveness is meant the type of behavior, including initiative, forcefulness, or individualism which is necessary for success, according to some people.

Both aggression and aggressiveness are typically lacking in Conservative behavior. It is only when people have been drinking that direct physical encounters or quarrels take place. Any account of a fight between two Conservatives always includes a remark to the effect that they were drunk. Just as physical aggression is absent, so is the kind of aggressiveness or single-mindedness necessary for business success or individual achievement. Classroom competitiveness is not apparent among their children. Only in Indian ball and its pallid substitute, softball, do aggression and aggressiveness occur. Here they are circumscribed and institutionalized by the game.

NONEMPIRICAL BELIEFS

This category has been divided into two somewhat related phases; retention of the belief in immanent justice, and imitative magic, signs, and omens.

[20] For a more complete interpretation and explanation of aggression and aggressiveness, see Gulick, 1960, pp. 141–145.

Concept of immanent justice.—One segment of behavior which is clearly related to the Harmony Ethic is the persistence of the faith in automatic retribution. It functions as a form of social control which relieves the Cherokee from controlling each other through direct interference.

A test of immanent justice, given by the Indian Education Research staff to five western tribes, was adapted and administered to Cherokee children and to White children (Havighurst and Neugarten, 1955). A selected sample of 161 Cherokee children, ages 8–19, was tested and the findings were compared with those from White children of the same age from Jackson County. Table 12 shows these findings.

TABLE 12.—*Percentage of responses indicating belief in immanent justice among Cherokee children and White children* [1]

	Age, 8–11			Age, 12–19		
	Number	Percent		Number	Percent	
		Q. A	Q. B		Q. A	Q. B
Whites	35	71.42	68.57	95	40.00	21.50
Cherokee	94	71.27	70.22	67	73.13	68.65

[1] A story was told involving the theft of a fish. Two questions were asked which would reveal a belief in automatic consequences: Question A. Why do you think Paul's foot was cut? Question B. If Paul had not stolen the fish would he have cut his foot?

The difference in the proportion believing in immanent justice between the White 8–11-year-olds and the White 12–19-year-olds is statistically significant. The probability is less than 0.05 that it occurred by chance.[21] The proportionate difference in the belief between the Indian 8–11-year-olds and the Indian 12–19-year-olds is probably a result of chance variation. There is no significant difference between Indians of the 8–11-year-old group and their White counterparts. The difference between the Indian adolescent

[21] The test of "Significance of Difference Between Proportions" was utilized on the answers to the questions for:

White 8–11-year-olds—White 12–19-year-olds
Indian 8–11-year-olds—Indian 12–19-year-olds
Indian 8–11-year-olds—White 8–11-year-olds
Indian 12–19-year-olds—White 12–19-year-olds

The distribution of characteristics for samples compared were tested by the formula:

$$\sigma ps_1 - ps_2 = \sqrt{\hat{p}u\hat{q}u\left(\frac{N_1+N_2}{N_1N_2}\right)}$$

where:

$$\hat{p}u = \frac{Ps_1N_1 + Ps_2N_2}{N_1+N_2}$$

In each case we tested the null hypothesis that the "difference between the proportions of those believing in immanent justice was due to chance variation." The 0.05 level of significance was used. See Hagood and Price, 1952, pp. 313–320.

group and the White adolescent group is statistically significant. The probability of chance variation is much less than 0.05.

In a further refinement, the older group of Indian respondents was reclassified into two tentative groups: Conservative Indians and others (including Generalized Indians and Rural Whites). This reclassification resulted in findings which suggest that among the Conservative adolescents, the retention of the belief is almost universal. The proportion of the Conservative cases which retains the belief is, by inspection, significantly different from the proportion of other Cherokee adolescents which retains the belief.

The faith persists in different forms into adult life. I once made a comment to two women on the amount of money a certain entrepreneur must be making. One of them said, "It isn't good to be rich; you might die." The rationale for this statement touches on the Conservative value of generosity. In the eyes of the Conservative, anyone who has money must be stingy, and stinginess is an unseemly trait to be avoided.

The belief is also reflected in statements made about the cause of illness. Sickness is often attributed to "being bad" or "not doing right." Other vicissitudes are also interpreted as being a result of not doing right. Alfred was a heavy drinker. His wife lost a baby right after its birth. "They were so broken up over losing that baby that Alfred quit drinking. He even got up in church and said that he'd quit."

The notion of automatic consequences is present in many of the Cherokee myths. For example, there is a story of a boy who, contrary to his father's instructions, went to the river to play. After he had joined some other boys in a canoe, it began to rock and tipped the disobedient boy into the water.

An Indian doctor put it most explicitly, "In the old days, the people used to know the rules, used to know what to do. Now some of the young people don't care; they don't do right. They going to be sorry; they going to see they are wrong."

Imitative magic and signs and omens.—Thomas (MS. a, p. 22) states that the Conservative Cherokee still sees an ordered universe much as his ancestors did. Evidence for the persistence of this world view,[22] can be seen in the beliefs revealing simple cause and effect, and in the credence which is placed in omens. These two phenomena are part of the way in which the Cherokee sees a harmonious ordering of his world. Several of these beliefs have been

[22] For a discussion of world views and their entrenchment in present-day Indian tribal culture see Thompson, 1948.

selected to illustrate the extent to which convictions about the nature of things are inherent in Conservative culture.[23]

Many of the beliefs are of the type which Frazer (1958, pp. 12–15) calls imitative magic. We heard a mother say, "I don't want this new baby scratched with a bear claw. That other boy was, and it made him too mean. He could be scratched with a turtle: that will make him stout." Another said:

My mother says if you scratch them over the eye with a lizard they'll go to sleep wherever they are, but it makes them bad to climb. My sister did that, her first one sleeps, but the others didn't do like they told us they would; but they are bad to climb. Sometimes, I think some of the people catch the little ones and scratch them with something so they will grow up like they think they should, and the parents don't know anything about it.

The Indian ball teams are scratched with ironwood so that the players will be tough and will not fall as much. Similarly, babies scratched with ironwood are saved from the frequent falls associated with learning to walk.

Aberrant behavior is frequently imputed to a variant of this principle. The family of an elderly matron became concerned when she began to wander about the community. Her daughter said:

Something going to happen to her, like she gonna be crazy. She never stay home. The old people used to say if you didn't stay home 7 days [to become accustomed to the loneliness] after someone died, you'd never stay home again, and she didn't stay home after Daddy died. I believe what the old people say . . . . She's never stayed home since.

The Cherokee idea of planned parenthood concludes these illustrations. In order to space births, the placenta of the first or second birth is buried a certain number of mountain ridges away. The number of ridges corresponds to the number of years desired between conceptions. Another informant reported that the placenta should be buried according to arms' distances away from the house, covered with seven rocks, and seven corncobs laid "crisscross." "The babies will come every 4 years, then."

The realm of portents and witches has significance for many people. For some, their belief is strong enough to induce apprehension and consequent action. In Soco, the fear of whippoorwills is pervasive. As a consequence, many residents of the area take pains to shoot them or otherwise dispatch them. Lizzie, an elderly informant, is especially fearful of them. Several of my evening visits with her and her family were interrupted by the quavering call of

[23] For an exhaustive study of these esoteric premises the reader is referred to Mooney and Olbrechts, 1932. Several of the beliefs which we shall report are found in it; others have been distorted through the years, but they still show affinities with material in the manuscript.

these night birds and a subsequent hunt in which we all participated. Lizzie said:

One time one came and sat right on the roof about 4 o'clock. I got a stick and hit it. I said another one is coming, and sure enough the next night another one came and I killed it too. You are supposed to ask who they are. A person in Birdtown died and one in Soco; they could have been them.

I mentioned the whippoorwill hunting to an Indian doctor. He nodded and remarked, "It might be a witch. The Bible said that there will be more and more witches." "Where in the Bible?" I inquired. "In Rome, some of those chapters." An elderly woman said in regard to witches that after Mrs. Panther died, she bled for 2 days. "Her son said she was a witch, and I think so too." I mentioned the night birds to her. She said, "They [the people in Soco] think they be witches, but I don't know. They aren't up here. I killed one once, next year my husband died." (I leave it up to the reader to judge the implications of this remark.) The same informant later made the statement that there are brownies. "There is one in this house [gesturing toward her own] and one in that one over there . . . . You don't see them unless something bad going to happen. They like a sign." In response to a question about brownies, a Soco resident said she didn't have one in her house now, but where she had lived formerly there were some. "They stay out in the woods, mostly around the rhododendron slicks." She related the following story:

There was a woman once who was in the woods and put her little girl down, and when she came back she couldn't find her. She looked and then she saw her with a brownie. That brownie was feeding her crawfish. When he held it in his hand it turned red just like it had been cooked. The brownie told the little girl her momma was looking for her. That woman told about it . . . and soon she and the little girl died . . . . They didn't last long. That's what happened when they told about it.

Foxes are also thought to be omens. Two brothers of a younger Indian woman heard the bark of a fox on several occasions. Following each incident something tragic occurred. On the first occasion the wife of one of them died; after the next, the small baby of the other died. Their sister said, "Neither of them even likes to talk about a fox now, and I believe it, too." A cross-check on the distribution of this belief led an informant in another section of the reservation to say:

Well, I've heard them [other folks] say so . . . but I don't know whether I believe that or not. We have too many foxes around here. You kin see them most any time. Course they haven't come right into the yard and barked. Maybe I think if they do that, somebody going to die.

There is a similarity between the reactions to the possible dangers of whippoorwills and the faith in the portentous quality of the fox.

While both of the informants express doubts about the importance of one or the other, neither is willing to disavow completely his belief. Credulity in respect to signs is not confined to older Cherokee Conservatives. A young wife lost her brother during my stay in Cherokee. After the funeral I stopped in to extend my sympathies. She said, "You know Roy French and Jim Driver?" She continued:

Jim was coming down to get Roy the morning George died. He saw a ball of fire rolling down the hill, and it went to pieces right by the house. He told Roy about it and said it meant bad news . . . that somebody was going to die and George did die. Johnny [her husband] and I were talking the other night. We wondered why White people didn't hear strange things and see things like Indians do. Of course, some of the old White people who live back in the hills do, but most White people don't.

Mary related other stories of strange happenings in her mother's house after George's death. She concluded by saying that she would not under any circumstances stay up there now by herself.

Imitative magic has its adherents among the most traditional people. Faith in omens and witches also finds greatest expression among them. We have illustrated through the selected units of behavior that Thomas' portrayal of the dominant values of the Conservative Cherokee is accurate. He states further that associated with the presence of dominant values is a concept of self which is peculiarly their own. I shall turn to this postulate to complete the description of the Conservatives.

CONCEPT OF SELF

The evidence (which, to be sure, is confined to verbalizations and overt behavior rather than any depth analysis) indicates that the Conservatives are sure of their identity as Indians. Thomas points to this awareness as a signal characteristic of Conservatives. In their conception of themselves, they are a separate order of people and largely unconcerned about others' opinions of them (cf. pp. 245–246). Although, in conversation, Conservatives seldom make this concept as explicit as Thomas has, they do make remarks which imply that they consider themselves to be a different order of people from the rest of the tribe, particularly those who are obviously genetically mixed. "I'm a fullblood," an elderly man said; "There ain't many Indians left." Another informant, Aggie, said about her obviously mixed great-grandchild, "Her Daddy is a White man. He brought my granddaughter and the baby home 2 years ago, and said he was going to hunt a job. I guess he's still huntin'. You'd think if he didn't want to stay with an Indian, he wouldn't have married one. I always say I'm a fullblood; I'm not because John Ross, who was part Scotch, was my Daddy's Daddy."

Lizzie, whose every word and action testifies to the attitude that Indians are different, refers often to the Removal. "Andrew Jackson did it . . . if he didn't like Indians he should have gone back across the ocean; that's where he was from." Lizzie visited an old schoolmate. I asked, "Is she an Indian?" "No, she's White. She's a Hornbuckle." I said, "I thought the Hornbuckles were part Indian." "Well, just a little bit; she [sic] a White Indian."

From all sides, one hears others described as White; the fact that they are admixtures is of no significance to the Conservative. Appearance plays an important role in these judgments, but it is not the whole story. Behavior is evaluated according to standards of like-Indians or not like-Indians. One elderly Conservative informant criticized her daughter saying, "She begin to laugh too loud like White people. Indians not like that." A woman, almost White in appearance, was described thus: "She's too bossy, Indians not bossy." Examples of this sort are legion, and combine to reinforce the idea that Conservatives have a well-defined system by which they guide their own activities and by which others are judged. The Conservatives show little inclination to change their ways or to be affected by the opinion of others. This position is spelled out in statements to the effect: "If they don't like Indians, why don't they go away?" "That superintendent don't love Indians" or "They must want us to be White." There is never a hint that they might alter their position. To them it is a simple matter: there are Indians and there are Whites, and if the latter do not like Indians, it is no fault of the Indians.

THE PROTESTANT ETHIC

The dominant value of the Conservatives is the Harmony Ethic. Antithetical to this is the value system reflected in the statements and behavior of the Cherokee Middle Class. We have called this system the Protestant Ethic, following Max Weber's conceptualization. There is, according to Weber, a constellation of beliefs and conduct arising from Puritanism and other Protestant sects which has paved the way for modern capitalism:

> . . . it is not the doctrine of a religion but that form of ethical conduct upon which premiums are placed that matters. . . . For Puritanism, that conduct was a certain methodical, rational way of life . . . proving oneself before God . . . proving oneself before man . . . they helped to deliver the spirit of modern capitalism; its specific ethos: the ethos of the modern bourgeois middle class. [Weber, 1946, pp. 320–321.]

Puritan teaching disseminated values of planning and self-control to economic activities. In short, it encouraged worldly success. On the heels of the internalization of the theological doctrines which supported the conduct, came the secularization process in which practical indus-

triousness replaced the search for salvation. There arose "an amazingly good conscience" concerning the acquisition of wordly goods (Bendix, 1960, pp. 85–90).

There is a distinction made in the literature between the "old middle class"—entrepreneurs, independent businessmen, and the professions—and the "new middle class"—salaried employees, the bureaucratic officials. In the new middle class the basic values have been altered to include career emphasis, adjustment, and security, although success is considered to be more than an accident (Kahl, 1956, pp. 193–198). As we have pointed out elsewhere, the Cherokee Middle Class, with the exception of a few career employees in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, are all engaged in business enterprises. The members, with one or two exceptions, mirror the sentiments of the "old middle class"; the secularized Protestant Ethic. Individual responsibility, self-discipline, hard work, and thrift—basic ingredients of the bourgeois ethos—are virtues echoed by this group of Cherokee. They participate in the American Dream,[24] the "rags to riches" sequence, which is the anticipated result of adherence to the doctrines of the Protestant Ethic.

INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOR

Directness.—The intermediary, a constituent of the Harmony Ethic, is not utilized by those of the Cherokee Middle Class. In fact, it is a source of irritation to these people. Schoolteachers, including those who are Indian, attempt to discourage the practice among the children; employers deplore it. They all stress forthrightness and directness in their dealings with others. One informant said emphatically, "If I have something on my mind, I speak out." This theme is apparent in their behavior. In situations where assistance is needed they solicit it directly without recourse to another person. Of course, requests are often preceded by such remarks as, "I hate to bother you" or "I know this is an imposition." One bad winter day, a cafe employee was snowbound at home. The business owner asked, "Harriet, would you mind driving down to get her in time for the noon hour rush?" There are always attempts made to discharge obligations which they feel they have incurred. In this specific illustration, payment was not accepted for my lunch.

Closely related to directness in dealing with others, is the emphasis placed upon "keeping one's word." "If I say I'm going to do something, I do it. None of this putting off, or avoiding the issue." John, one Middle Class informant, said, "When I promise the kids that I'll take them somewhere, fishing perhaps, I do it. I want

[24] See Merton, 1957, p. 139, for cultural axioms necessary to the maintenance of the "American Dream."

them to know that they can depend on me keeping my promises. I want them to learn, too, that they have to keep theirs."

Statements about forthrightness, reliability, and directness, reflect a Middle Class view of what constitutes "proper behavior." Such statements often arise in the course of conversations about the "fullbloods," who are considered unreliable and "suspicious" [25] by Middle Class standards. One young informant asked, "Why do they sit and stare at you like that, or talk about you in Cherokee, or not hardly speak when you come up to them?"

We have spoken of directness as though it were a characteristic confined to the Cherokee Middle Class. However, Thomas' Rural Whites and Generalized Indians are indistinguishable from the Middle Class in this regard. These three categories of people are in sharp contrast to the Conservatives.

Generosity.—We have commented upon the fact that Conservatives pride themselves on their generosity. However, this trait is not exclusively theirs. Other Cherokees are hospitable and generous in a manner more familiar to the White observer. Because we used food as an example of Conservative generosity we shall use it once more to describe generosity among the non-Conservative Cherokees. Sharing of food differs somewhat between the Middle Class, on the one hand, and the Rural Whites and Generalized Indians on the other. Among the Rural Whites and Generalized Indians one often hears, "Come eat with us," or "Better stay with us for dinner." These invitations are informal, and usually occur when a visitor is present as mealtime approaches. It is typical of "country" hospitality. These people do not often extend formal invitations for meals to be served sometime in the future. However, the Middle Class, while they may follow the above pattern, also exchange more formal dinner invitations with one another. Essentially, they follow the pattern of social amenities observed elsewhere among middle class Americans.

Of course, the sharing of food is not the only expression of generosity. The Generalized Indians, Rural Whites, and Middle Class help out those less fortunate than they, within their ability to do so. One typically impoverished Rural White farmer gave some land to an unwed Conservative mother and helped her build a house on it. Yet, he often comments on the shiftlessness of the "fullbloods." Joe, a Generalized Indian informant, always shares his garden produce with his neighbors, and collects clothing to take up to needy families in Big Cove. Margaret, another Generalized Indian informant, keeps two or three of the older Conservative women supplied with

[25] Suspiciousness, as a trait of the Conservatives, has been discussed in Gulick, 1960, p. 137. He suggests that it is not suspiciousness as such, but rather, an aspect of the Cherokee's inclination to wait and see what others are going to do, in order to guide his own actions.

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food and clothing throughout the year. A Middle Class woman spoke of taking clothing and food to a "fullblood" family, when the husband was sick. "We took enough food to last 10 days; it was gone in 3. Everybody in the neighborhood came over and ate on them." Another Middle Class couple, the Elders, aids a large family by providing clothing and part-time work for the wife. Mr. Elder said, "I don't mind helping people out who try; they really deserve help." Comments such as these, which often accompany acts of generousness, are closely related to the importance placed on self-reliance by adherents of the Protestant Ethic.

Aggression and aggressiveness.—Aggression, as it has been defined, occurs in an idiosyncratic fashion among those Cherokees who are not Conservatives. Some individuals are more outspoken than others; some will "put up with" more than others. This is true of Generalized Indians, Rural Whites, and the Middle Class. One Generalized mother told the writer, "We taught our kids not to fight with others in the school yard. But they picked on ours, so I told my daughter to beat the tar out of them." A Middle Class informant spoke of a rather serious quarrel she had had with her husband over some aspect of their domestic life. Another woman, a Rural White, told me, "My husband just won't fight with me; he walks away. Makes me so darn mad!" I witnessed many cases of bickering among those who comprise the latter three groups in Thomas' continuum. However, only two serious quarrels were observed. But these incidents, coupled with accounts given by various informants, suggest that the Generalized Indians and the Rural Whites, along with the Middle Class, do not participate in the system which guides the Conservative's handling of aggression.

Aggressiveness is also manifested on an individual basis. All of the Cherokees who operate businesses have a minimum of aggressiveness which permits them to succeed in a commercial milieu. The farmers engaged in more than subsistence type farms also demonstrate this characteristic. Those who work in a white-collar capacity must meet the competitive demands placed upon them in the Civil Service. That this varies from person to person, however, is revealed in the answer one Middle Class informant gave to a question about his career.

> I just don't have that much ambition I guess . . . I guess I could have risen in the Indian Service if I had been willing to take transfers to other places, but I just didn't want to leave here . . . I'm just content to stay here and get along.

Aggressiveness and ambition are part of the value syndrome of self-reliance, discipline, and individualism to which we now turn.

SELF-RELIANCE

Middle Class.—Self-reliance, self-discipline, and individual endeavor are cardinal precepts of the Protestant Ethic. And it is to these qualities that the Cherokee Middle Class Indians attribute their success; it is to the lack of these qualities that the present status of the Conservative is related, according to the Middle Class.

"Persistence and personal effort pay off," said one informant. "When my Daddy bought this land, it was nothing but an old broom sage pasture. Now, because we built this business on it, and put everything we had into it, some people are jealous." Another person maintained that, "There could be a lot of rich Indians, but they won't work." In reference to the proclivities of the Conservatives to "loaf," one young person asserted, "I've worked for everything I've ever gotten. If I lost my job tomorrow, I'd go dig ditches or wash windows for a living, but I'd never starve to death."

Utterances like those above are legion among the Middle Class. But nowhere is their basic orientation better seen than in their criticisms of Federal policies toward the Indians. Frequently, older persons of this group refer to a period of 40 or more years ago as a time of plenty:

> Everyone had hogs and cattle, and there was grain in the bins. Now look at the land. It is going back to woods. Somewhere the Indian Service has missed the boat . . . it has encouraged dependence. They [Conservatives] can't cut timber without asking; some of them even ask when they should plant their gardens. You take an old bitch who has pupped in the woods; she and those pups won't starve. But a house dog turned out will die . . . that's the way with a lot of them.

Another elderly informant said, "Why I remember the first time an Indian begged here . . . and the Government is responsible . . . the only thing the Government ever did for the Indian was to take away his [sic] initiative." A nearly White Indian [26] complained:

> The Government keeps them [Conservatives] stirred up. Everything that happens is blamed on the White Indians . . . Do you know for every single Indian there are three Government employees . . . the reason they want to keep the Indians down is so they can keep their jobs.

A specific Government program that is roundly castigated is the Federal welfare service. Indians of the Middle Class contend that little good will come from welfare programs. "I don't like this welfare business," asserted one woman. "There is work if people would only go to it . . . they are just going to get big corns on their tails sitting collecting their relief checks . . . and I know kids right now who think they are going to get money from the Government,

[26] Cf. p. 246, for discussion of "White Indians."

too." Others suggest that public assistance is a factor in the illegitimacy rate, since many unwed mothers qualify for aid to dependent children under the Social Security Act.

The subject of land allotment is a tense one, and is frequently discussed by these people. They are not all in favor of it, despite their critical attitude toward the Government and toward the Conservatives. Those who favor land allotment do so for several reasons. One person claimed that allotment would be a good thing, "So that they [Conservatives] would get off their butts and do something to support themselves." Another man argues for it for the "sake of the fullbloods" and because he feels he is being restricted by present business regulations. "The way things are now, it holds us back."

Those who are not in favor of land allotment feel that it would cause a great deal of heartache and acrimony. "How is the land to be divided? Will people keep the land to which they now have possessory rights? If so, what about the people, and there are some, who don't own any land?" One businessman said, "Of course, I would benefit personally from it. I'd be able to get a large amount of capital to improve my business. But truthfully, the bulk of the people just aren't ready for it. Some couldn't even pay their taxes if they owned it." A count of 10 Middle Class informants, well known to the writer, disclosed 5 who were adamant in their demand for allotment and 5 who felt they personally would profit by it but believed it would be a mistake for the reservation at the present time.

Rural Whites and Generalized Indians.—As individual autonomy and underemphasis of self is the nucleus of the Harmony Ethic,[27] so rugged individualism is the heart of the Protestant Ethic. It is appropriate to examine Rural Whites and Generalized Indians in terms of this dimension of self-reliance. They present an extremely complex and confused picture. For example, Rural Whites in no way guide their activities by any aspect of the Conservative value system. As was pointed out, they are generous to individuals and helpful within their abilities to be so. But some of them have worked hard all their lives, and are still recipients of public assistance. One hard-working Rural White wife admits that she does not know what her family would do without assistance. Her husband seems to feel no embarrassment about receiving help. Another Rural White, who aids others when he can, is, however, extremely critical of those who receive financial support through public assistance, or from the special welfare service of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. "I've been working for 50 years, the lean and the fat ones. I could go out and get a job right now if need be." The Rural Whites tend to agree with the "moderates" of the Middle

[27] For a good explanation of this apparently paradoxical position, see Gulick, 1960, pp. 141–142.

Class with regard to land allotment. "The people aren't ready for it, particularly the old folks in the hills."

Rural Whites value individual efforts and personal independence, but the extent to which their efforts yield commensurate financial returns varies. Consequently, although they cherish the idea of independence and individualism, some are not able to attain it in fact. Circumstances such as poor health, poor land, large families, and bad location of land, plus an attachment to the mountains conspire to keep them economically depressed. Their faith in the efficacy of hard work is somewhat diminished. They have become resigned to having fewer material goods. Their aspirations and expectations for their children are lower, but they do hope for some improvement. Some of the Rural Whites, for whom diligence and good fortune have combined to provide them with an income adequate for a modest standard of living, cling vigorously to the central theme of self-help. Therefore, within this group there is a continuum both in standard of living and in adherence to the primary value. People at the upper end of the continuum are closer to the Middle Class, but they have neither the education nor the economic resources to support the style of life of the Middle Class, as yet.

Distinguishing the dominant values of Generalized Indians is also a vexing problem. Thomas contends that although they are inconsistent in the values they verbalize, they behave as if they still believed in the old Conservative values (cf. p. 246). We have no evidence to support this. In most respects our evidence for the Generalized Indians is negative; that is to say, we know what they *do not* say or do. If we examine the aspects of behavior which reflect the Harmony Ethic, we find that these people, as a group, do not exhibit those patterns which mirror it. They do not rely on an intercessor. They have neither a "wait and see" attitude nor the initial reticence which is a constituent of the Harmony Ethic. Parents and children are outgoing in their interpersonal relationships. The beginning fieldworker finds that they, like the Middle Class, accept Whites in a way which facilitates the establishment of rapport.

Few of the Generalized Indians are completely self-employed. Most of them work for an employer, either in some capacity for the Government or in the manufacturing plants. Usually they are steady and reliable employees. Among those who are self-employed are carpenters, masons, truckdrivers, and small store owners. To some degree there is a difference among them in the way they handle money. Some are thrifty and plan for future expenditures. Others have less regard for the "rainy day" or future wants. Some have received unemployment compensation when out of work, or public assistance when the breadwinner has undergone an extensive illness.

But many of them are against public welfare, at least in principle. Callie, one of my Generalized Indian informants, reflected a commonly held view when discussing one of her Rural White neighbors. "He draws about $150 per month from the welfare . . . says he's sickly, but he's just lazy and won't work." Others express concern over the illegitimacy rate on the reservation.

Usually the Generalized Indians feel that the people are not ready for land allotment. One man said:

> I can manage my own affairs and I could get a bank loan to build my house, too, if I had title to the land . . . but look at "old Lady" Littlejohn. She has a good piece of land on the highway. If somebody went to her with $300 in one-dollar bills, she'd think that was a lot of money and she'd sell it to the first White man who came along. Then where would she go?

In summary, Generalized Indian values are somewhat muddy. Our facts support the contention that they are oriented more closely to the Protestant Ethic, despite a few resemblances to Conservatives. After we have presented all the evidence, we shall return to this subject for a consideration of its meaning and implications for acculturation.

NONEMPIRICAL BELIEFS

According to Weber, one aspect of the Protestant Ethic is a rejection of magic and the attainment of mastery over the world (Bendix, 1960, pp. 156–157). Assuredly, the Cherokee Middle Class meets this criterion as much as middle class people do elsewhere. They reject the esoteric beliefs to which the Conservatives cling. Many label them "silly superstitions," while others disavow the beliefs but are more tolerant of the "old timey" Indians who do believe. A former nurse said, "I never interfered with their beliefs if I could help it; they took the placenta and buried it. It's a funny thing, too, some of those people did have babies several years apart." [28] Many of the younger Middle Class people are not even conversant with the lore. I explained some of the lore to one informant who said, "Here I am supposed to be an Indian and you know more about them than I do." Although most of these people have discarded the old Cherokee folklore they are not without some form of nonrational beliefs; black cats, broken mirrors. But by and large, they place their faith in science and technology.

Rural Whites and Generalized Indians sometimes talk about the omens in which the Conservatives have faith, although they do not admit to belief in them. One Rural White man carries a buckeye for luck. Occasionally, older Generalized Indians reflect some uneasiness. Annie, a Carlisle graduate of many years ago, and a pillar of her

[28] See p. 296 for a discussion of placenta burial and its relationship to spaced pregnancies.

church, asked if I had heard the whippoorwills. "I don't like them," she said. "Lula says that they are just little birds, but I think they are scary sounding." Owls also had a significance in the old order. The children of one Generalized Indian family killed one. Their father said, in response to my query, "Oh, they've heard stories about owls from the other kids."

Certainly, fragments of the once large body of lore do hang on among Generalized Indians and Rural Whites who live in closer proximity to Conservatives than do people of the Middle Class. Given man's tendencies to persist through long periods of time, we should anticipate that some of these people will not have sloughed off all the constituents of the old tradition.

CONCEPT OF SELF

Middle Class.—It became apparent to me very early in my association with Middle Class Cherokees that self-rejection or ambivalence over Indian ancestry was a fairly common phenomenon. Seven of the ten informants used for the most intensive case analysis admitted to conflicting emotions. Others by their remarks or by their behavior, also suggest some ambivalence. I shall let a few of them speak for themselves in the following examples.

A young woman, a graduate of a small college, suspects that she really has no Indian ancestry, or if she does, it is only 1/64 even though she is listed as 1/16. She said, "Our family has always been encouraged to marry White. My mother was White, and my grandfather said to marry White." This young woman recognizes this ambivalence in others and calls it "Indianitis." One evening she asked me, "Do you think I'm in conflict over which group to identify with; do you think I don't know whether I'm an Indian or a White?"

I asked a White Indian, of about 50, whether he felt like an Indian. He replied, "Well, it depends; I'm proud of my Indian blood. You know there's a saying, 'white skin but red heart.' " He continued, "My kids are proud of their blood, too, but they don't think of themselves as Indians." This informant has had a problem with alcohol. A relative said that his psychiatrist helped him to see that he had an "inferiority complex over being an Indian."

Another Middle Class woman exhibits what seems to be a high degree of anxiety about herself. It comes out most frequently in joking behavior. She often refers to Whites as her betters. She was refused as a donor by the annual blood bank collection. She talked about this often in the days that followed, calling herself no good. "All those 'pale faces' were giving blood and mine was no good; that really hurt me." One evening some White visitors were discussing blood degrees. She said, "I'm 1/2 and that's enough."

Bill, a White Indian about 33, said, "I hate this place. God, I don't feel like much of anything, an outcast maybe . . . when I'm here and see these Indians, I'm ashamed of how they look and behave . . . ashamed to be part Indian. But when I'm away and hear people talk about Indians, then my blood boils." He has frequent spells of drunkeness, which cause his mother great concern. His brother said one evening, after sharply criticizing Indians, "Of course I'm an Indian, too; at least I suppose I think I'm one because I was brought up here."

There is one fullblood man, well educated and well traveled, who has returned to Cherokee. He has been married twice, each time to a White woman. He remarked that he never could become interested in an Indian girl. "I dated a few Indian girls . . . but if I wanted anything, I always went outside." "Why?" I questioned. "Well, they all seemed like sisters to me." He, too, has a drinking problem. When he talks about Indians, he uses phrases like "these Indians." He has a brother who has legally changed his name to one which does not suggest Indian affiliation, and who has left the area permanently.

Generalized Indians and Rural Whites.—Generalized Indians, like the Middle Class, frequently use such phrases as: "*Those* Indians"; "*They* don't care"; or "I can't understand *them*," when referring to Conservatives. I am not sure that self-doubt reaches the same intensity in them as it does in members of the Middle Class. Nevertheless, the following conversation implies that, at least among a few, it has become a problem. Jack, a man of 38, was quite intoxicated one evening. In typical fashion he listed his grievances. One of the major ones was his wife. "My wife," he said, "is a damn Indian . . . of course I'm an Indian, too, but she's a damn Indian. Come up and see us; you'll see what I mean." Jack, an only child, is nearly a fullblood. He attended the boarding school until he enlisted in the Navy during World War II. He speaks no Cherokee. His wife is a fullblood from Snow Bird who comes from a Conservative family. During this same conversation Jack mentioned that a Bureau of Indian Affairs employee has given him a "hard time." "Why?" I asked. "Oh, she's from Bryson, all those Bryson people think they are better than we are . . . why, they won't hardly be nice to you on the streets."

Rural Whites also use the third person when speaking of Conservatives, and they are critical of Conservative ways. The data are inconclusive as to the amount of ambivalence present in this group, although there is some suggestion of it. One Rural White said of the "fullbloods," "If it weren't for the White blood in the Indians around here you'd be scalped tonight . . . . Those fullbloods hate White Indians." "Are you one?" I asked. "Hell yes, me and the whole bunch of us!" He suddenly changed the subject, asking,

"Why the hell do White people love the niggers more than the Indians? Why do they hate Indians?" I answered that I didn't think that most White people ever gave Indians a thought. "Likely that's true," he said, "except for the White folks around here. Hell, the niggers been voting; I just got the vote in the forties."

There is no doubt that personal conflict is present among members of the Middle Class with regard to self-acceptance and identification. Generalized Indians and Rural Whites also exhibit some conflict, but, except for a few cases, they are less verbal, less troubled about it, or have thus far repressed their anxieties. The presence of this attitude among certain of the Cherokee should come as no surprise. There are many and complex reasons for this attitude. Some people felt stigmatized by attending Indian schools; others have reacted to the attitudes of the surrounding Whites toward Indians. White Indians as a whole, are faced with the problem of dual reference groups. Conservative behavior, which they do not understand, both embarrasses and angers them. These reasons which are, of course, interrelated, combine in diverse ways in individual lives to induce uncertainty and to weaken self-esteem.

CONCLUSIONS

The data of this chapter have been organized around two pivotal value systems which are essentially antipodal to each other. As the values are in contradistinction to each other, so are the people who espouse them. Conservatives live by the Harmony Ethic. The aspects of the Harmony Ethic on which this study has focused disclose that these qualities are present among most of our Conservative cases. There is some slight relinquishing of faith in nonempirical beliefs, and three informants no longer rely exclusively on intermediaries. A few have adopted the form of generosity which was described as part of the Protestant Ethic, although they continue to manifest the Conservative pattern of generosity, too. Six Conservative informants have begun to exhibit a very modified pattern of self-reliance, which typifies the Protestant Ethic. However, these six are not "go-getters," for they have not yet "exploited" their highway business property.

The Protestant Ethic has its closest adherents among members of the Middle Class. Rural Whites and Generalized Indians vary in the extent to which this ethic shapes their judgments and guides their behavior. However, I submit that, on the basis of this research, these people do not view themselves or others through the lens of the Harmony Ethic but through that of the Protestant Ethic, even though it may be "scaled down." [29]

[29] See, for example, Merton, 1957, pp. 136–139, 149–153; Faris, 1960, pp. 1–5.

Because of the pervasiveness of the Middle Class values derived from the Protestant Ethic, even those Rural Whites and Generalized Indians whose economic position is still insecure are inclined toward these precepts. Their lack of success is ascribed to misfortune or to some weakness in themselves. As a consequence of their more precarious financial situation, and of the general isolation and lower level of education in the mountain area in general, they have lower aspirations for their offspring, although they do anticipate improvement in material and educational matters for their children. Generalized Indians, Rural Whites, and the Middle Class all cling to this values system, but in various degrees of intensity. Table 13 sets forth the distribution of the traits typifying the two basic values systems, in terms of Thomas' four acculturative groups.

TABLE 13.—*Distribution of selected informants in terms of two dominant value systems*

Selected aspects of dominant value systems	Selected informants			
	Conservative (No.=20)	Generalized Indian (No.=11)	Rural White (No.=11)	Middle Class (No.=12)
Harmony ethic:				
Interpersonal behavior:				
Intermediary	17 (3*)	1*	----------	----------
Generosity	17 (3*)	----------	----------	----------
Aggression—Aggressiveness	20	----------	----------	----------
Nonempirical beliefs:				
Immanent justice	17	----------	----------	----------
Magic, signs, omen	16 (4*)	4*	4*	----------
Concept of self—Secure as an Indian	20	----------	----------	----------
Protestant ethic:				
Interpersonal behavior:				
Directness	3*	10	11	12
Generosity	3*	11	11	11
Aggression—Aggressiveness	----------	7	6	8
Self-reliance	6*	10	10	12
Absence of nonempirical beliefs	----------	7	7	12
Concepts of self—Overt ambivalence	----------	6	4	7

*Modified behavior in terms of given trait.

The analysis of the paramount values and associated behavior demonstrates that the Cherokee cannot be placed in four groups on a scale from "like Indian" to "unlike Indian." They can, however, be separated into two categories on the basis of their adherence to one or the other values systems. The Conservatives are clearly a distinct group, identifiable by their allegiance to the Harmony Ethic. The others—the Generalized Indian, the Rural White, and the Middle Class—who resemble each other far more than they resemble Conservatives, are motivated by the Protestant Ethic.

To be sure, there are departures from the norms of each of the value systems by members of both groups. There are six Conservatives who have modified their behavior patterns in the direction of the

Protestant Ethic. Those, however, who deviate from some of the norms of the Protestant Ethic do not do so in the direction of the Conservative ideal. Their departures are a function of the degree to which they are committed to the "old middle class" ideals (cf. p. 300).

The existence of the two values systems is evidence of acculturation. The presence of variation among the adherents of the Protestant Ethic suggests that, in addition to cultural change, other changes have taken place. I believe that, in order to understand the dynamics of change and the heterogeniety among this latter group of Cherokee, an additional approach—social stratification—is required.

SUMMARY: A MODIFICATION OF THE THOMAS CONTINUUM

This study has examined the complexities of cultural and social diversity among the Eastern Cherokee. The preceding chapters have presented evidence of extensive variations in health practices, educational attitudes and behavior, and adherence to dominant value systems. As we have seen, the differences between the Conservative and the non-Conservative Cherokee are due to acculturation. Furthermore, I have suggested that differences among the non-Conservatives are due to an internal differentiation; social class behavior. Therefore, it is incumbent upon me to modify the Thomas construct by postulating a model which takes into account both acculturation and social stratification.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PROCESSES IN THE FORMATION OF CHEROKEE DIFFERENTIATION

The presence in Cherokee of people who are obviously dissimilar forces the recognition that differentiation has taken place. The problem now is to order these groups in the way which seems most plausible in the face of the facts at our disposal.

ACCULTURATION

The first piece of evidence with which we must reckon is that there are Conservative Indians. To be sure, they are far from the aboriginal Cherokee. In this regard, Gulick (1960, pp. 148–149) postulates a core of adapted and diffused traits which the Conservatives have incorporated into their own system and regard as Indian. Most of the people are functionally literate, either in their own language or in English. But it is the Conservatives that most of our criteria readily identify. They stand apart from all the others through their use of Indian doctors, and by their continued adherence to the Harmony

Ethic. Correlates of this ethic ramify into all of their behavior. It is by their behavior that one is best able to identify them.

There is also a large group of people who are phenotypically Indians. They look upon themselves as Indians, and are called "Indians" by Conservatives. However, except for appearance, and the living arrangements of some of them, they do not act like Conservatives. These people have been called Generalized Indians up to now. I propose to call them *Modern Indians*, for, while they are Indians, their orientation is not primarily to the past or to the traditional.

The third group has been called Rural Whites. They are, of course, phenotypically White. Except for some of their living conditions and some of their educational aspirations, they do not resemble Conservatives. The group to which they bear the greatest resemblance in manner of living and in behavior is the Generalized Indians. As a matter of fact, when Thomas first distinguished between these two groups, he did so on qualitative differences which he did not clarify. It is now my impression that Thomas based his division of the Generalized Indian and the Rural White, in great measure, on phenotypic differences. I do not wish to do violence to his findings, but I cannot ascertain, according to any of my variables, a significant difference between them. It well may be that a systematic investigation of basic personality might reveal meaningful differences. However, on the basis of behavior, goals, and interests, the two groups are very similar. Therefore I will include Thomas' "Rural Whites" among my "Modern Indians."

We are left with the fourth category, called the Middle Class. Members of this aggregate are either phenotypically White or phenotypically Indian. There is a wide range in the blood degree represented in this group. These people are far removed from Conservatives in values and behavior, but they are not so distinctly separate from the Modern Indians in most characteristics. I will, therefore, include them also among the "Modern Indians."

Thus the analysis has led to only two acculturative groups, Conservatives and Modern Indians. How then can the differences among those called Modern Indians be explained? I intend to explain them by adding another dimension—stratification—to our model.

STRATIFICATION

A stratified society is characterized by differences among people which can be evaluated by others as being "higher" or "lower." Students of the social-class concept have proposed various criteria by which groups can be ranked. Some have defined class in strictly socioeconomic terms as aggregates whose distinctions are rooted in

the economic cleavage of a community.[30] Others, such as Richard Centers, have suggested that without class consciousness a group is not a class.[31] Many have experimented with specific criteria to discover the most useful measures for ordering people into classes. Lloyd Warner (1949, p. 164) eventually settled on occupation, source of income, house type, and dwelling areas as the best objective criteria for determining class. August B. Hollingshead (Hollingshead and Redlich, 1953, pp. 161–169) has limited the class variables to occupation, education, and residence. Kahl (1956, p. 46) postulates six variables: personal prestige, occupations, possessions, interaction, class consciousness, and value orientations.

Of the diverse criteria emerging from social-class research, economic position, styles of life, educational aspirations and expectations, and variations in value orientations are pertinent to the findings at Cherokee. For it is these variables which have led us to postulate social stratification as a possible explanation of the existing differences within the Modern Indian group.

Within the Modern Indian group are two classes, the middle class, identified in Thomas' original research, and a lower class, which includes both Thomas' Rural Whites and Generalized Indians. Both of these classes show a range of variation in their members. The basic difference between the two classes as we have suggested above, rests in economic position, educational aspirations, styles of life, and some variations in value orientations. The difference is only one of degree. They share similar goals, and live by much the same ethic.[32]

THE DYNAMICS OF ACCULTURATION AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

A two-dimensional model has been introduced; it involves both acculturation and social stratification. Figure 8 illustrates this model, its historical derivation, and its relationship to Thomas' construct. It is now necessary to add diachronic depth to the information in order to understand fully the dynamics of this situation.

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[30] Karl Marx defined a class as those who stand in the same relationship to the means of production (Bendix and Lipset, 1953, pp. 27–35). Class for Max Weber was "those people who have the same life chances"—supply of goods, external living conditions, and personal life experiences (Weber, 1958, pp. 180–195).

[31] See Centers, 1949; and Page *in* Bendix and Lipset, 1953, p. 45.

[32] Robert Faris (1960, p. 4) speaks of the difference between the middle class and the lower class as a matter of degree of stability of organization. "Our lower classes . . . share organizational values for the same reason all others do, but differ statistically, due to a variety of causes, in the degree of living up to the principle. There is ambition . . . there are goals . . . thrift exists . . . in numerically smaller degrees. Robert Merton (1957, pp. 170–171) is in essential agreement with Faris. In his analysis of the causes of anomie, Merton's fundamental postulate is that, as a result of the pervasiveness of the dominant values of the culture, a sizeable minority of lower strata are more or less indoctrinated with these cultural mandates. There are studies which partially support the position of Faris and Merton. See, for example: Mack, Murphy, and Yellin, 1956; and Kahl, 1953, pp. 186–302.

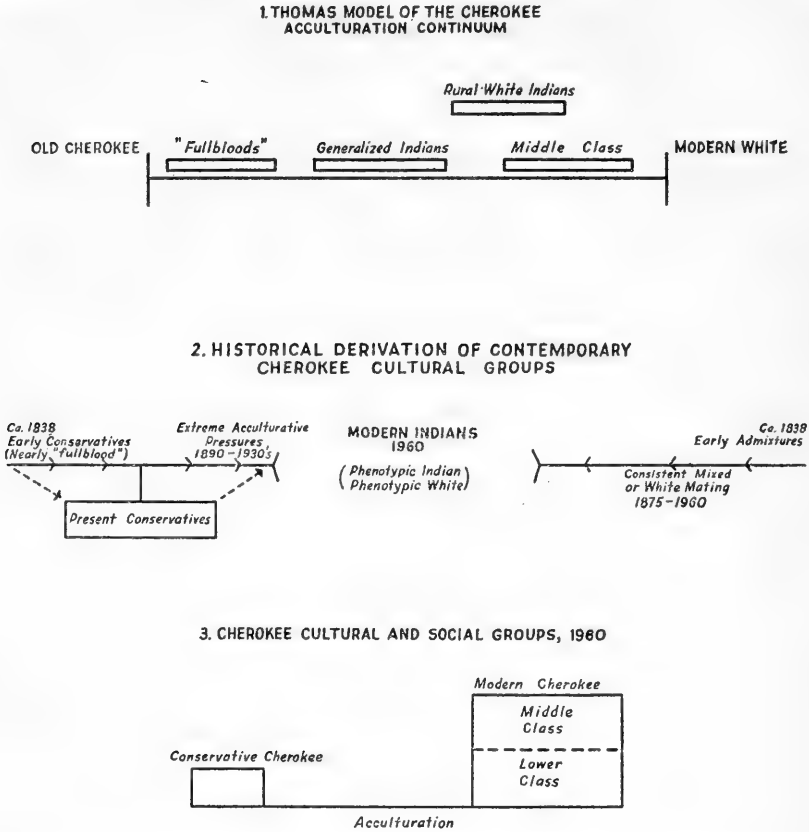

FIGURE 8.—Three models of Cherokee differentiation. (For Thomas model (1) see Thomas, R. K., MS., 1958, Chapel Hill.)

The population immediately after the removal was, according to the literature, nearly all fullblood, and it was traditionally oriented, although there were some admixtures. These admixtures attest to the fact that there were present in the small post-Removal band White people who provided models for those Indians with whom they came into contact.[33] Genealogical material shows that one of the most prolific and socially mobile of the White Indian families is a very old one. Until recent years this kindred has tended to marry White people. Their White marriage partners were not, according to the information, "poor Whites." They were "respectable citizens of the period,"

[33] The presence of White models who remain in persistent and consistent contact with a different cultural group is of major significance in change. One must always keep in mind, however, the question of who these White people were. E. Bruner (1956, p. 622) attends to the question of White models in his study of the Mandan-Hidatsa. He suggests that the presence of a White model is insufficient by itself. The latter must deliberately socialize children in White ways. See also Gulick, 1960, p. 157.

reflecting values consistent with the Protestant Ethic.[34] Some of the descendants of the original founders of this group have left the area entirely. Others who have remained are found in the middle class business group, while still others are among the more resourceful farmers who live at the uppermost range of the lower class. These farmers express the dominant values of the middle class, but their style of life is not middle class. This entire kindred has always lived close to the center of the reservation.

Later, at about the time that the land was being acquired on behalf of the Indians, other Whites moved in. These intruders claimed that they were part Indian in order to obtain land-use rights. Others entered the tribe by marriage, and some are accused of "squatting." In any event, these Whites already represented different classes. All of them married, or cohabited with, the people present on the reservation. Their offspring, with few exceptions, were encultured to the specific orientation of the White model present. From this group stem people who are now in the middle class, and those who are now in the lower class.

There were families who did not have White models in their kin-group. There were, nevertheless, other influences present. These influences are intimately associated with the boarding school, the place of residence, and contact with missionaries and traders. The "full-bloods" who lived in what is now Cherokee and the immediate environs were in contact with the White Indians and the White spouses of other mixed marriages. They were also exposed to the missionaries and the traders who acted as models with various degrees of success. Conservatives who lived up in the coves away from the center were not thrown into constant contact with the more sophisticated group evolving there.

When the boarding school was opened, those people who lived closest to it sent their children there. Because of their proximity to the school and the probable influence of the presence of Whites in the immediate area, many of these children remained in school. "Fullblood" children who lived farther away came into the school also, but a substantial number of these ran away. These are the adult Conservatives of today. The youngest of these have parents who escaped the early boarding school and did not insist on their children's attendance at the elementary day schools which were built later. These people are clustered in Big Cove, Snow Bird, and Soco, with a few small enclaves elsewhere.

[34] See Codere, 1961, p. 514. The author raises the question of whether or not the Kwakiutl were confronted with a Protestant Ethic in their contact with Western culture, and suggests that the possibility of such influence is an important problem for further research.

The people who did not elude the boarding school, and their children, are the Modern Indians of predominantly Indian descent. I have described the regime of the boarding school; it was designed to change the "heathen ways," to eradicate the Indian culture. This it did with the greatest success. The entire fabric of the culture as it existed up to 1890 was rapidly eroded and eventually destroyed.[35] Indeed, as Colson (1953, p. 288) says of the Makah, given the fact that some of the children were enrolled at 3 and 4 years of age, the ensuing process was as much enculturation as it was acculturation.

Many of those of the Modern Indian group went on to other Indian schools, or to preparatory school and college. Some of these are now in the middle class. Others of the Modern Indian group who attended Indian vocational schools are still in the lower class, as are many who did not go beyond the Cherokee boarding school. The variation within the lower class is a result of years completed in school, contacts and experiences outside the reservation such as military service, and the differing White models available. Some models were teachers; others were neighbors and traders, many of whom represented a different stratum of White society.

CONCLUSION

The period from about 1890 until the beginning of the Collier Administration was one in which rapid acculturation took place. During this era the Conservatives were set off as a distinct group for reasons which we have seen. The evidence suggests that they are likely to remain limited in acculturation because the process has *slowed* down. Children of Conservative parents are now in school only 5 hours daily. The present curriculum does not exert intensive acculturative pressures. At the end of the school day, children return to homes where their parents rear them in the Conservative way. In addition, the dropout rate of high school students is very high.[36] Therefore, Conservative children who leave school are not exposed to the total influences of the contemporary educational program. The effect of the school is substantially minimized as an agent of change.

The churches, too, have lost much of their earlier influence in the acculturative process. The early churches were administered by zealous missionaries who brought with them the Protestant Ethic and who attended to all spheres of their parishoners' lives. Now, the churches which the Conservatives attend are, in large measure,

[35] It is not within the scope of this paper to discuss the ethics or morality of force, but it seems evident that, if acculturation and assimilation are goals, rapid change is more effective than slow change—a recent theme of Margaret Mead (1956).

[36] The attendance in the 10th, 11th and 12th grades is so low that the Indian Education Committee recommended building a consolidated school to include only elementary and junior high school grades. Education beyond the ninth grade would be completed in the county schools.

served by Conservative preachers or by Fundamentalist ministers whose main concern is with "salvation."

I do not mean to imply that the Conservatives are devoid of acculturative influences. The schools will continue to bring about some change; marriages between Conservatives and Modern Indians will also bring about change. And, certainly, new influences, such as the manufacturing concerns on the reservation, will leave their mark.

The remainder of the population is more acculturated as a result of the influences to which it has been exposed. The current variations within this segment are due to social class differences. Social mobility among the Modern Indians is an on-going process. As individuals better their economic situations, acquire more education, and adhere more rigidly to middle class values, they will become members of the higher stratum. Others, who do not aspire to upward mobility, or for whom a combination of factors prevents mobility, will remain in the lower stratum of Modern Indian society.

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1961

EPILOG, 1963

Since "The Principal People" was written, along with the winds that sweep down from the mountain peaks through the hamlets of the reservation are other winds. Currents of change are coursing through Cherokee. The most striking of these are in the economic base of the tribe. My very brief visit to Cherokee in the early winter of 1963 was sufficient to become acquainted with these surging forces. From the point where the road reaches the level ground of the valley the visitor is immediately made aware of activity. Here there is a new motel; there grading is being done for a new factory; across the river preparations are being carried out for the largest tourist attraction in western North Carolina. The driver must be cautious, for paralleling the road through Painttown to Cherokee, waterlines and a sewage system are being installed, employing Indian labor. The roadside is different, too. Where the woods touch the roads the underbrush has vanished, a project of the Forestry Branch which utilized the labor pool of Cherokee. In short, these impressions which signal fundamental economic alterations are in sharp contrast to the Cherokee I knew such a short time ago.

Agriculture.—Although farming has not been a major source of cash for many, many years, the sharp decrease in the number of farmers in the past 3 years is significant in that it attests to the presence of other means of income. In 1960 there were 44 farmers. Their farms were unevenly distributed within the Qualla Boundary.

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Today there are 25 remaining. Once there were five farms in Cherokee, now there are three. Painttown boasted four in 1960; this number has now dwindled to one. Of the 18 people who used to farm in Soco only 8 remain. Birdtown farms have been reduced from 11 to 7. Only Big Cove remains fairly constant; there are now five instead of six farmers there.[37] Interestingly enough the five Big Cove farmers are "fullblood" or nearly so. This is a consequence of the fact that these folk are too old to leave the land,[38] and their holdings are located where land is not, at present, sought after for commerical exploitation. But this too may change because the road to Big Cove has been paved and more tourists will find their way into this once isolated settlement.

Trading licenses.—From perhaps no other single source of information is the picture of expansion more apparent than from the number of trading licenses issued. In May 1963, 134 licenses were granted to people in the following categories: Indian-owned-and-operated businesses, 63 (9 more than were issued in 1960); Indian-owned but leased to White operators, 11; non-Indian-owned, 60.[39] A review of the degrees of Indian inheritance of the Indian-owned-and-operated establishments suggests that no significant change has taken place since 1960 (cf. p. 238).

To illustrate the continuing and increasing importance of the tourist industry to Cherokee, the following data are offered: there are today 33 motels; 39 craft shops; 11 restaurants; 9 groceries with picnic supplies; and 9 combination craft shop, restaurant, and grocery business under one roof.[40]

Gross income figures reported for three of these Indian-owned-and-operated establishments are: $428,213; $175,072; and $151,538.[41] In the instance of the largest Indian business a 39 percent increase in the gross was realized in the last 3 years. In addition to wages paid to Indian employees and net profits to owners, 3 percent of these incomes are paid into the tribal treasury. This increase in tribal funds has made possible more assistance to individuals, but, more importantly, has enabled it to attract light industry by offering financial assistance.

A new tourist attraction is now being constructed representing a million dollar investment of private funds. It is to be a park emphasizing a historic theme. In addition to a western frontier town and fort there will be 11 Indian villages depicting Plains Indian life. During the summer months of operation, periodic Indian raids will be made on the Fort and regular gunfights will occur in the town. The

[37] Home Economics Extension Agent, Personal Conference, December 10, 1963.
[38] See footnote 37.
[39] Realty Officer, Personal Conference, December 10, 1963.
[40] Mimeograph report, Cherokee Indian Agency, May 23, 1963.
[41] See footnote 39.

tribe will receive 3 percent of the gross receipts which have been estimated to be between $2 and $3 million a season. Apart from the monies which will indirectly accrue to others in the tourist business, 250 Indians will be employed during the operating season and between 35 and 40 are to be employed on a year-round basis. Construction of the buildings within the park will utilize Indian labor, where possible.

A project sponsored by the Indian Agency with tribal council approval is the fish management program. By stocking controlled streams with adult fish (trout) each week during the fishing season, it is supposed that fishermen can be induced to remain longer in the area. A dollar fee will be imposed per day on each angler. Present plans are to use these funds to build a civic center suitable for conventions and athletic and theatrical events.

Industry.—Despite the real reliance on visitors, tourism alone is insufficient to support the people the year around. At the time of this research there were two industries operating at Cherokee. Both of these have been enlarged. Saddlecraft has made a $50,000 expansion in its facilities and has added about 30 more employees. Its yearly payroll is estimated to be about $200,000. The Harns Company payroll is now over $500,000 per year. Of its total work force about 70 percent are Indians; the average number of Indian employees is 120.[42] Construction work has begun on factories for two additional plants. The Vassar Corporation—America's third largest manufacturer of women's hair accessories—is planning a 45,000 square foot building on the reservation. Funding for this facility came jointly from tribal resources and Jackson County Industries, with the tribe assuming major financial responsibility. Current plans provide for the employment of 200 people, most of whom will be women. Of this figure 70 percent are to be Indians—if properly qualified—the remainder will be Whites from Jackson County. The fact that the bulk of employees are to be women will pose some difficulties in respect to family life. However, a Day Care Center for children is now being operated by one of the Baptist Churches. At present, 24 children are accommodated. A new facility is planned which will have a greater capacity and will take infants as well as children from 2 to 6 years.

A furniture manufacturing plant is to be located just off of the reservation. The location was occasioned by the need for railroad service. Since both the Jackson County Industries and the tribe were instrumental in procuring the company, and both issued loans totaling 5 percent of the cost of the factory, Whites and Indians will

[42] Project Officer, personal conference, December 10, 1963

be equally represented in the labor force. The anticipated number is 600 employees.[43]

The Public Works Program, which includes the installation of the water system and sewage lines, and the Forestry project are employing 168 men. These jobs will terminate in January 1964, but the construction of the factories and the amusement park are expected to provide work for many of these men.

Social services.—The change in the availability of jobs since 1960 should be reflected in the amounts of monies given in assistance to Indian families. To some extent this is true as shown in table 14. That the differences are not greater is a function of the fact that in 1960 the program was just meeting basic needs. Now it is possible to utilize funds to supplement incomes of those families whose breadwinners cannot, by themselves, provide adequately for their dependents. In addition, the new jobs have not reached the hard core cases of chronic unemployment.

In an effort to ameliorate this unemployment condition, two additional caseworkers have been added to the Social Service staff, bringing the number up to four. Presently less than one-third of the case load of this department is in assistance. Counseling is given in all areas of family life. The United States Public Health Service has secured the services of a psychiatrist on a consultant basis, and a clinical psychologist is on contract to the Cherokee School 3 days a week to provide additional professional assistance in the areas of counseling and rehabilitation.

Indirectly associated with problems of family life is housing. Approval has been received from the Federal Government for the construction of low-rent housing. Construction of 35 units is scheduled to start in the spring of 1964. Rents will range from $20–$70 per month contingent upon income and the number of minor dependents. These units are to be built in the various residential sections of the reservation. Efforts are also being directed toward securing Farmers Home Administration and Federal Housing Authority Title I Home Improvement loans for the Indian people.[43]

The future.—Without doubt the economic base of the Eastern Cherokee is much sturdier than it was in 1959–60. In fact, it appears that the reservation is in a healthier condition than many of the surrounding White communities. Assuredly the effects of the burgeoning economy will make themselves felt among the people and among the social and cultural groupings described in 1960. It might be expected that the emerging class structure which was observed will become more differentiated. The development of an upper middle

[43] See footnote 42, p. 319.

TABLE 14.—*Federal Indian Welfare Expenditures*[1]

Month	Fiscal year		
	1960	1962	1963
July	$4,474	$3,085	$4,205
August	4,433	5,217	3,986
September	3,848	6,488	4,960
October	7,679	6,295	3,569
November	12,613	7,316	3,175
December	13,401	9,365	3,504
January	13,495	12,686	3,806
February	13,850	14,271	4,975
March	14,457	11,907	7,739
April	13,365	11,124	6,515
May	10,173	8,559	5,742
June	2,617	5,371	3,127
Total	$114,405	$101,684	$55,303

[1] Data secured from Social Service Division.

and a lower middle class might be anticipated. Formerly such lines were blurred and numbers were too few. A similar cleavage may occur in the lower class with the appearence of an upper lower and a lower class. We have empirical data and sociological theory with which to assess and perhaps even to predict these changes. The difficult question to handle is the effect of these shifts in the economy on the Conservatives. An increase in subsistence is seldom enough by itself to accelerate acculturation. It seems most likely that until the dominant Conservative value system can be harmonized with a thriving economy and all that it entails we cannot predict an early disappearence of the Conservatives.

Greensboro, N.C.
1963

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THE RAMAH NAVAHO

By CLYDE KLUCKHOHN

CONTENTS

FOREWORD

This paper was the last ethnographic writing on the Ramah Navaho by the late Clyde Kluckhohn before his death in 1960. The original version was prepared as a summary of Ramah Navaho culture for a projected final report on "The Comparative Study of Values in Five Cultures" project which undertook field research in the Ramah area between 1949 and 1955 and was sponsored by the Peabody Museum and Laboratory of Social Relations at Harvard University with a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. The plans for the report on this project have now changed and do not include the various ethnographic summaries that were prepared, but instead focus upon a comparative treatment of various institutions in relation to value systems in the five cultures. Since this paper contains a brief summary of published ethnographic data on Ramah Navaho culture, as well as new materials not heretofore available, written by an eminent scholar who devoted much of his professional career to the study of the Navaho, it is most appropriate for it to appear (with slight revisions for which I am responsible) in the Anthropological Papers series of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

EVON Z. VOGT
Cambridge, Mass.

July 1964

THE RAMAH NAVAHO

By Clyde Kluckhohn

East of the Zuni Indian Reservation and south of the Mormon village of Ramah, N. Mex., lies the territory of the Ramah Navaho, who numbered 625 in 1950. Since much has been published, both in articles and monographs, on the Ramah Navaho over the years, the purpose of this paper is to digest, in appropriate form, data that have appeared in these specialized articles and monographs, to show their interrelationships, and to add hitherto unpublished materials.

HISTORY

Navahos probably hunted in and roamed through the present Ramah area as early as the beginning of the 18th century. They farmed lands in this region from about 1840 onward. After the Navaho captivity at Fort Sumner, some of the original settlers returned and were gradually joined by relatives and by men who married into the group. The founders of the Ramah band were primarily Eastern Navahos born almost exclusively in three areas: Mount Taylor, Chuska Mountains, and San Jose River. But there were also three Chiricahua Apaches and one Walapai Indian. By, roughly, 1890, the Navaho population included 23 men, 30 women, and 46 children. After about 1890, no new biological families settled in the region. Immigration was exclusively upon marriage except in the case of seven children who came with immigrating parents. After 1890, a Laguna Indian, a Yaqui residing at Zuni, and a Zuni, married into Ramah. Two Navaho men fled permanently to other Navaho groups after committing murder at Ramah. More recently, two families have left for economic reasons; one of these is likely to return eventually to Ramah (Kluckhohn, 1956 a).[1]

The ancestors of the Ramah Navaho were in contact with Pueblo Indians and with various Apache tribes centuries ago. There were

[1] When all or most of the documentation for statements in a paragraph is to be found in a single source, this will be cited at the conclusion of a paragraph. Citations within the body of the paragraph refer only to the point immediately preceding.

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conflicts and indeed skirmishes with the Zuni both before Fort Sumner (1864–68) and in the period immediately after Fort Sumner. After trading stores became well established at Zuni in the early eighties, the Ramah Navaho went there occasionally to trade. During the period of Navaho troubles with the American military (1848-64), some of the ancestral Ramah families spent considerable time among the Chiricahua and Mescalero, and this associaton was continued at Fort Sumner. Another sort of contact occurred during the expedition against Geronimo, for three Navahos who settled at Ramah in 1883–85 had served as American scouts, and two of them took Apache wives.

Ramah Navaho contacts with other Indian groups, though less frequent and sometimes indirect, are also of long duration. Since one main line of the Ramah Navaho derives from the "enemy Navaho" (Underhill, 1956, pp. 58–59) of the Mount Taylor region, some of the ancestors of the Ramah Navaho had been in at least intermittent contact with Spanish-speaking peoples since about 1750. In this area, steady relationships began after Spanish-Americans settled about 6 miles east of Ramah between 1860 and 1865. The Ramah Navaho have many stories of a fight that occurred with Spanish-Americans in this Tinaja valley shortly before the Fort Sumner captivity. In 1882, Atarque and (somewhat later) two still tinier Spanish-American villages were established at the southern end of the Ramah Navaho territory.

Even before the United States took over New Mexico some of its citizens had been in at least the area of Zuni (Telling, MS., 1952, p. 14). With the rush to California the route from Albuquerque across the Ramah country and through Zuni was traversed by a sizable number of parties, both private and Governmental (ibid., pp. 15–22). The Ramah Navaho had stories of an encounter with at least one of these prior to Fort Sumner (Kluckhohn, 1956 a).

Mormon missionaries reached the Ramah Navaho in 1876 (Telling, 1953). In 1880 three traders were licensed at Zuni, and Ramah Navahos traded there occasionally as well as at Fort Wingate (Telling, MS., 1952, p. 148). Ramah village was founded in 1882. A few other non-Mormon Anglos (cattlemen and traders) settled on the borders of the Ramah country or 20 or 30 miles distant. Ramah Navaho accounts tell of a trip now and then to trade south of Gallup, at the Spanish-American town of San Rafael, and at Nutria. There were small stores in the Ramah area itself, but none seems to have had a steady existence until the late 1890's. In the first two decades of the present century more cattle ranchers, traders, and other Anglo-Americans followed the Mormons into the Ramah area. In the early

twenties, Texan homesteaders had begun to settle in the El Morro area and by 1930 the founding of Fence Lake was well under way.

The Ramah Navaho are not only an off-reservation group but are separated from Navahos contiguous to the reservation by intervening Pueblo Indian, Spanish-American, and Anglo-American populations. Hence Ramah Navaho contacts with the Government, and specifically with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, were sporadic and slight until 1942. Some of the "founders" of the Ramah band had, of course, been prisoners at Fort Sumner and participated in the tremendous shock of that experience (Underhill, 1956, pp. 119–143). After locating or relocating at Ramah after Fort Sumner, a number made one to three trips to Fort Defiance, Ariz., to obtain the free Government distribution of seed, livestock, cloth, and tools for weaving and agriculture. Otherwise, apart from an occasional brush with the soldiers at Fort Wingate over alleged livestock thefts (Navaho Indian Agency letter books for April 11, 1882), the Government was a distant and rather nebulous authority for many years.

Land Office USGS surveys were carried out in the Ramah area from 1881 on,[2] but the first allotment to a Navaho of an individual 160-acre plot from public domain under the Dawes act of 1887 was not made until 1908; no others were made until 1920, and the majority in the 1930's. Meanwhile, the Ramah Navaho had been pushed off most of their best lands by Mormons and others. By 1921, the crisis over land had reached such intensity that the Ramah Navaho leader, Bidaga (Kluckhohn and Vogt, 1955) made a trip to Washington, D.C., with Navaho leaders from the reservation and Franciscan missionaries (Young, 1949).

In spite of the research of Dr. Telling and others on Government publications and documents, the official relations of the Bureau of Indian Affairs with the Ramah Navaho are obscure until 1927. This may well be because jurisdiction was never clearly defined. Prior to about 1900 there is mention of occasional contact with Fort Defiance and Fort Wingate. After 1900 the Zuni Agency appears to have intervened from time to time, although its official responsibility was for Pueblo rather than Navaho affairs. Until 1905 the picture seems to have been that of leaving the Ramah Navaho severely alone except for rare incidents when Anglos or Spanish-Americans demanded intervention on land matters or disturbances of law and order. Beginning in 1905, Ramah Mormons were employed intermittently by the Black Rock Agency to round up Navaho children for school.

In 1927 the Eastern Navaho Agency was established at Crownpoint, N. Mex., and the Ramah Navaho were placed under the control of

[2] But were not complete 32 years later. for the Gallup Independent for May 15, 1953, speaks of surveys still going on.

this agency. The agent there visited Ramah more than once, and Navaho delegations went to Crownpoint from time to time—primarily to seek protection against land encroachment on the part of Anglos. But this was a full day's journey by automobile in those days and 2 days by horse, so that the effective relationship was minimal. In 1934 the six separate Navaho agencies were merged into one "Navajo Service" with headquarters at Window Rock, Ariz. The Ramah Navaho felt neglected (as indeed they were) by this central organization, and in 1942, on their own petition, they were transferred to the United Pueblos Agency at Albuquerque but with a nearby subagency at Black Rock. (Landgraf, 1954.)

ACCULTURATION

A properly weighted account of the degree of acculturation of the Ramah Navaho is difficult to achieve. It is all too easy to overemphasize one side or the other. By selecting certain data,[3] one could convincingly depict Ramah Navahos over the age of 20 (with a handful of exceptions) as essentially "aboriginal" apart from food patterns, technology, and economy. Selecting other equally verifiable data one could picture the group as hardly Navaho at all save for language, women's costume, ceremonial practices, and a few other particulars. The truth, of course, resides at a very complicated, mixed, hard-to-specify area between these two extremes. There is no doubt that the Ramah Navaho have had long-continued and, in some respects, intensive contacts with non-Navaho cultures. All Navaho subcultures—to varying extent and in varying particulars—exhibit the results of direct or indirect Puebloan influence. Ramah is no exception. An intensive study indicates that two traits of material culture have been borrowed from Zuni during the post-Fort Sumner period. There are presumptive grounds for postulating Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache influence at Ramah but it has not been possible to identify any elements with certainty.

As far as change deriving ultimately from European cultures is concerned, one can of course point immediately to domestic animals, certain cultivated plants, work in silver, and many features of diet and material culture. Dependence upon the American Government and the larger American economy have had their consequences.

[3] For example, students of the Navaho are agreed that the wearing of the hair knot by men (and especially younger men) is a good index of conservatism. At Ramah, in the 1940–50 decade, not only six old men but three boys under 20 held to this hairdress. This is a high proportion for this date. Another evidence of Ramah conservatism is that this is one of the two or three areas where pottery (both painted and cooking) was made (as late as 1938; cf. Tschopik, 1941) and one of a very few areas where Navaho basketry is still made. Finally, one could note that polygyny remains more common at Ramah than in all save two or three remote and inaccessible Navaho local groups.

American law and religion have had a gradual and increasing effect upon such matters as inheritance custom and residence. Some of the acculturation listed above began long before Fort Sumner. Other aspects started effectively during that period but were intensified by relations with non-Indians at a tempo that has increased steadily ever since 1870. The coming of the railroad to Fort Wingate and Gallup in 1881 ushered in the period when many Ramah Navahos were thrown into frequent and regular relationships with non-Indians. Both Ramah and Atarque were founded in 1882, and the presence of a railroad only 40 miles away was the basis both for subsequent immigration into the area and for far-reaching economic changes. The Mormons have been the primary agents of acculturation for more than 70 years, though others—such as the two brothers from England who purchased the Ramah Trading Company in 1901 and were very friendly to the Navaho—have also been of considerable importance. Still, it is hard to specify influences that are distinctively Mormon as opposed to those of generalized American culture. There is one that appears certain. As opposed to other Navaho areas, gambling has been absent or notably infrequent at Ramah. The Ramah Navaho unanimously attribute this to the acceptance by the first headman of the Mormon injunction against gambling.

Purely religious teachings do not appear to have gone very deep. The early records of the Ramah Ward of the Mormon church list more than 30 Navahos as baptized, though it is not certain that all of these were Ramah Navahos. The records do from time to time speak of as many as 10 Navahos as present at Mormon church services. These numbers, however, decreased with the passage of time. This shift was doubtless due in part to the linguistic difficulty. Even more, it may be traced to mounting Navaho resentment over land quarrels and discriminatory practices. For example, from the eighties until the thirties, Navahos, even those who were professed Mormons, were refused burial in the church cemetery (Telling, MS., 1952). As of 1923, when I first visited Ramah, only one Navaho attended Mormon services (from time to time) with anything approaching regularity. A few others were nomimal Mormons but, in fact, participated almost exclusively in the native Navaho religion. This situation continued until the coming of Mormon missionaries from Utah in 1946 and the building of a small Mormon church for Ramah Navaho in 1949 (Rapoport, 1954). Even in the decade following 1946, the lives of only a tiny number of Ramah Navahos were other than superficially affected by Mormonism. And prior to 1944 or 1945 no Ramah Navahos were believing or practicing Christians of other denominations, although a number attended Christian services while at school and in some cases professed Christianity temporarily. By 1950 there were

20 or more adults (primarily women) who were staunchly or weakly committed to a Fundamentalist Christian faith. No Ramah Navaho has ever been a Roman Catholic, although in the early days at Tinaja the Spanish-Americans made some efforts at conversion, giving Christian names, serving as godparents, and the like.

All in all, in 1950 the customs, thought ways, and values of the Ramah Navaho were dominantly Navaho. Not more than 20 individuals, all of them under 40 years of age, would have to be excepted from this generalization. Many more, to be sure, had absorbed to some degree European ideas and values as is reflected in the intricately mingled responses to the value-orientations questionnaire (Kluckhohn and Romney, 1964). There were, and are, local differences. In general, Navahos residing habitually within 5 or 10 miles of Ramah village are appreciably more acculturated than those living in the less accessible areas farther south and southeast. World War II did initiate a period of accelerated culture change affecting the whole area. Twelve Ramah Navahos were in the armed forces for various periods (Vogt, 1951). A much larger number of men, sometimes accompanied by their wives and children, were employed for weeks or months outside the Ramah area. This began the habit of wagework away from Ramah for weeks or months which has been followed by many in the economically difficult years since 1946 and especially following the droughts of 1950 and 1951.

Nevertheless, all who observed other than superficially the daily lives of Ramah Navahos in the 1950 epoch agree that most of these lives, apart from material circumstances and small changes in social organization, were far more similar to those of their grandparents than to those of their contemporary non-Indian neighbors. One is tempted to say that in the intangible realm almost the only major and general consequence of contact with Anglos was the distrust and bitterness engendered by reason of the land struggle and sharp practices on the part of traders and other non-Indians. This resulted, in fact, in a sizable amount of antagonistic acculturation: That is, some Navahos consciously and deliberately returned to heightened participation in such ancient Navaho customs as the sweat bath.

The prime barrier to Navaho acculturation in thought ways and values was, of course, linguistic. To appreciate realistically this factor and others, one must enlarge the historical perspective with various concrete details. The first Ramah Navaho went to school at Fort Defiance in about 1886. He attended, however, for only a year and returned to become one of the area's leading ceremonial practitioners. To the end of his life his total English and Spanish vocabularies combined did not amount to 100 words. His kinsman who went to Fort Defiance the next year stayed only a few months. There is a

record of another Ramah Navaho being sent to school in 1894. The first concerted effort to send children to school, however, appears to have been in 1905 when 10 children were taken to the Albuquerque Indian School. They remained from 1 to 4 years without acquiring much English, though two of the men did attain a modest competence in English later in life as a result of sustained experience with Anglos. None of these acquired English as an effective means of communication. It was 1917 before a young Ramah Navaho returned to the area with sufficient knowledge of English to be able to act as interpreter in even rudimentary fashion.

Of the population over 20 in 1940, 28 men and 19 women had attended school (either Government or mission). Of these, however, only 36 had attended school for 4 years or more and 11 for 8 years or more. Of Ramah Navahos alive in 1950, 36 men and 28 women had attended school; although a number of them for only a year or less. Of these, 17 men and 13 women had had from 4 to 8 years of schooling; 7 men and 9 women had 8 years or more. But it is easy to misinterpret the consequences of these figures. Several points must be borne in mind. Eight years at school does not mean that the individual had graduated from the eighth grade even in an Indian school. The command of English (oral and written) of a high school graduate is ordinarily not equal to that of an eighth grade graduate in the United States generally. And in 1950 there were only two high school graduates among the Ramah Navaho—none in 1940. Moreover, it is hard for those who have not observed these phenomena directly to understand how much English a Navaho who has little occasion to use the language can forget in, say, 10 years. This is particularly true of women living at some distance from the village of Ramah. Some of these who had 8 years of school cannot today manage a few simple sentences in English. This factor is counterbalanced to a slight extent by those (almost entirely men) who had little schooling but who have picked up some command of English by association with Anglos on jobs.

In 1940, four men (all except one in their early twenties) and one woman (born away from Ramah) could translate from English to Navaho and from Navaho to English if communication was kept quite simple and concrete. "Hard words" in either language stumped them. Of the remainder of the "schooled" Navahos, many had largely forgotten the English they had known on leaving school. Elementary conversation was possible with 10 men and 3 women, in addition to the 5 mentioned above. By 1950, thanks both to increased enrollment in schools and to World War II experiences, the number of men over 18 years of age who could speak "basic English"

had risen to 28 and of women to 9. On the other hand, the number of possible interpreters had increased by only two men and one woman.

Acquaintance with the Zuni and Spanish languages is limited to a small number of individuals and in no case approaches fluency. One must take with extreme caution the glib statements of local residents (from all five groups) that such-and-such a Navaho "speaks good Zuni" (or Spanish). A Navaho who has a Zuni vocabulary of 50 (or even 25) words impresses a Spanish-American or Anglo—or another Navaho—who knows no Zuni beyond, possibly, a phrase of greeting and another word or two. Careful observation, testing, and inquiry have established the following facts. Of two Ramah Navaho men and three women who had numerous Zuni half-brothers and sisters, one man had a Zuni vocabulary of perhaps as many as 500 words, the other man knew considerably less, and the women knew no more than a few kinship terms and phrases about the weather, food, and crops. Of three Navaho women married to men from Zuni, two could speak "kitchen Zuni" and the other spoke with her husband and his relatives entirely in English, although recognizing something of the order of 300 Zuni words and uttering, on occasion, possibly as many as 100. No other Ramah Navaho has in recent times, at least, had a Zuni vocabulary of 100 words, and only two or three men would reach that level. In all, not more than 20 Ramah Navahos know more than, at most, 10 words of Zuni.

In contrast, many adult Navaho men, and some women, have a 20- or 30-word Spanish vocabulary. This is because they have so often had the experience of working for or with Spanish-Americans. About 15 Navaho men (as of 1950) could carry on an elementary conversation concerning trade, locations, livestock, and daily events. Two or three of the older men had acquired this knowledge during the 19th century when Spanish was the lingua franca of the area. An additional eight or nine had herded for Spanish-Americans long enough to learn basic Spanish. Most of these live in the southern portion of the Ramah Navaho area, but a few have worked for Tinaja and San Rafael families. Only a very few Navahos born after 1920 have more than a tiny stock of Spanish words and phrases.

One must, of course, make the inquiry in reverse. How many Zunis, Anglos, and Spanish-Americans have been able to speak Navaho? For centuries Pueblo Indians have learned Navaho, rather than the reverse, and Zuni is no exception. A number of Zuni men can speak Navaho easily and colloquially, but, apart from two cases of intermarriage, these have had only transitory relationships with Ramah Navaho. One of the early Mormon missionaries who lived into this century spoke fluent Navaho. A Navaho, raised as a Mexican at Tinaja, continued to speak his language of birth. These cases,

however, are unique as far as the Anglos and Spanish-Americans are concerned. Local folklore names a number of individuals as "speaking good Navaho." In fact, only four Mormons can carry on a simple conversation in pidgin Navaho. A few other traders and stockmen know perhaps 300 terms for numerals, objects, and the like. They can bargain for crops and livestock or for workers, can ask distances, and talk about births and deaths. Two or three Spanish-Americans also fall into this group. Other Anglos and Spanish-Americans are limited to, at most, a small handful of stock phrases.

This language barrier has sharply restricted the influence of non-Navahos even upon those Navahos who have for longer or shorter periods seen Pueblos, Anglos, or Spanish-Americans daily. The net result is that the Ramah Navaho, in spite of living among and surrounded by non-Navahos, are less acculturated than certain reservation Navahos who have been much more deeply affected by schools and missionaries. The first school for Navahos in the Ramah area was not built until 1943, whereas the reservation was dotted with schools by 1910. For about 10 years (roughly 1876–86) the Mormons made strenuous missionizing attempts, but the results did not reach below the surface, at any rate as far as fundamental ideas were concerned. Thereafter Mormon missionary work languished at a perfunctory level not to be resumed actively until 1946 when a full-time mission team was assigned to work among the Ramah Navaho.[4] This was probably in competitive response to the activities of a Fundamentalist missionary who took up residence near Ramah in 1944 (Rapoport, 1954). This missionary venture was the first (other than a few brief and casual visits) since the early Mormon endeavor.

The psychological test administered by the Research in Indian Education Program (1942–43) indicated that the Ramah Navaho were midway in acculturation between the remote Navajo Mountain band and the Shiprock group on the Navajo Reservation (Leighton and Kluckhohn, 1947). This judgment accords with relevant specific data and with the general impressions of anthropologists and non-Ramah Navahos. Reservation Navahos who have visited in the Ramah area or worked with Ramah Navahos on the railroads or elsewhere often make comments to the effect that the Ramah group strikes them as conservative or "backwoodsy."

All in all, the Ramah Navaho are as representative of the Navaho people as a whole as any other single local Navaho population. One of the characteristics of the Navaho in general is the heterogeneity of

[4] In April 1952, 100 Navaho men, women, and children were carried on the rolls of the Mormon church in Ramah. The records show, however, that only six of these had been confirmed or blessed prior to 1948. Five had risen in the hierarchy to the rank of deacon, two to priest, and only one to elder. All evidence indicates that the affiliation of most of the 100 had been, to say the least, highly nominal.

biological and cultural origins. To be sure, there is phenotypic evidence (light skin and hair color) of European ancestry in certain family lines at Ramah, but the historical circumstances under which the whole Navaho tribe absorbed some European genes are well known (Underhill, 1956, pp. 79–81). Within this century one Spanish-American and two Anglos indisputably fathered Ramah Navaho children, and there are several other highly probable cases. Yet a blood-group study may indicate "relative freedom from White mixture" (Boyd, 1949, p. 572) as compared with other Navaho and American Indian samples. It is likewise true that one may point to several Chiricahua Apache women, one Zuni man, one Laguna man, one Walapai, and one Yaqui man as ancestors of some of the present Ramah Navahos. But the Canyon De Chelly Navaho had many Hopi ancestors, there is much Ute admixture on the northern borders of the Navaho country, and Eastern Navahos are aware of ancestors from Jemez and from Rio Grande Pueblos. Essentially "all" Navahos, if the full facts were known, would be found to have very mixed ancestry. Indeed, for the Ramah Navaho there are presumptive but definite grounds for postulating, more remotely, Mescalero Apache, Ute, and Jemez progenitors (Kluckhohn, 1956 a).

As for culture, there has certainly been some Zuni influence upon the Ramah band just as there have been Paiute borrowing by the Navajo Mountain group, Hopi influence upon many west-central reservation localities, Chiricahua–Mescalero influence upon the Alamo-Puertocito Navaho band, etc. Actually, it is difficult to specify Zuni borrowings at Ramah other than two that are shared by various other Navaho groups influenced by Zuni; the use of outdoor bake ovens and the painted pottery formerly made by Ramah Navaho women (Tschopik, 1941). For specifically Spanish-American effects upon the Ramah Navaho one can do no more than point to some details in the handling of sheep. Except for the few Navahos who follow Mormon religious practices and observe Mormon restrictions upon the use of coffee, liquor, and cigarettes, borrowings from Anglo culture are indistinguishable from those characteristic of other Navaho groups who have had about the same amount of contact.

Each Navaho local group has some distinctive features as a consequence of its geographical position and particular historical experiences. So far as the Ramah Navaho are concerned, one should not overlook the consequences of the fact that they were not like captive animals herded onto a reservation. Rather, at least until 1940, they led a normal (if isolated and rural) competitive life. Before 1940 Government protection and assistance (economic and otherwise) amounted to very little.

Unless one adopts highly arbitrary (and probably somewhat romantic) standards, there has not been—certainly since Fort Sumner—such a thing as "pure Navaho culture" any more than one can specify a "pure Navaho biological type." There are a few particulars (such as absence of ceremonialists who can conduct the most elaborate chants and the lack of famous weavers and silversmiths) in which the Ramah Navaho resemble other bands (Canyoncito and Puertocito-Alamo) separated from the main Navaho country. But, in the large, Ramah Navaho culture is no more deviant from "standard Navaho" than are the local variants on the reservation. This is proved by the manner in which data from Ramah are no more distinctive in comparative studies than are data from other areas.[5]

The best statement that can be made is that Ramah Navaho culture is one variant of generalized Eastern Navaho culture. Even this must be qualified, however, for a preliminary check of the detailed study of Ramah Navaho material culture (Kluckhohn, Hill, and Kluckhohn, 1965) indicates, surprisingly enough, a closer correspondence to Gifford's Western Navaho trait list than to his Eastern. On the other hand, the language is undoubtedly of the Eastern variety both as regards vocabulary and idiom.

MATERIAL CULTURE AND ADAPTATION TO ENVIRONMENT

This is not the place for an exhaustive review of Ramah Navaho material culture, but some summary statements drawn largely from two detailed studies by Roberts (1954, 1957) and from a long manuscript by Kluckhohn, Hill, and Kluckhohn (1965) may be made. The Navaho make or made objects from wood, stone, hide, wool, metal, and minerals. In recent times paper and glass have also been used. Horn and bone are almost entirely neglected, appearing in only one or two items each. The dominant woods are juniper, piñon, pine, and oak. The first two named are used chiefly for building materials, firewood, and wooden utensils which are of a relatively temporary nature. Oak is the main hardwood and is used in making handles for implements, digging sticks, battens, and bows. The principal stones used are flint, sandstone, and lava rock. Flint was obtained from Pueblo ruins and was used for knives, scrapers, drills, and arrow points. Today its use is almost exclusively ceremonial. Sandstone was used for arrow smoothers, pot supports and smoothers, and other purposes. It is still used as building material and (along

[5] See, for example, Hill, 1940, 1943, 1948; Kluckhohn, 1944; Kluckhohn and Wyman, 1940; Wyman and Kluckhohn, 1938; Wyman and Harris, 1941; Wyman, Hill, and Osani, 1942.

with lava rock) for grinding stones to prepare food and sand-painting minerals. Clay was until recently used for pottery and (like red ocher) for pigment. Alum is used as a dye mordant.

The use of animal products is or was more extensive, although hide and sinew are the chief parts of the animal used in the construction of objects. Bone was used only for awls and for reamers and arrow straighteners. Horn was used only for arrow straighteners and as containers for medicine. Hides were used for clothing, armor, shields, bedding, hafting tools, carriers, waterbags, and lines. They were boiled to form glue and used for sewing in the form of thongs. Sinew was used for sewing and for the bowstring as well as for the backing of the sinew-backed bow. Rabbitskins were used in bedding; squirrelskins and other furs in bags and in ceremonial equipment. Mountain lion skin was used only for medicine bags, quivers, and war caps.

The other main category of materials is that of fibers (vegetable and wool). Wool plays a major role but is used mainly for articles that were once made of hides: bedding, shirts, sacks, cords, and threads. On the other hand, it is not used for ceremonial articles which must be made of buckskin. Flexible plant fibers, roots, and leaves were used in basketry and matting and in the making of temporary ropes and paintbrushes.

Some materials are gathered and stored against future need (wool, buckskin, dyes, coils of basket material, sacks of sand-painting pigments). In general, however, only materials which have to be imported from a distance or which are seasonal are likely to be kept on hand. Processing of most materials is minimal. The main exceptions are silverwork, rugs, pottery, and tanning. The tendency is for the Navaho to be a tool-using rather than a tool-making people.

Sexual division of labor was clear cut on only a few points. Both men and women may weave[6] and do silverwork. In Navaho theory, house construction (except for plastering) and working with buckskin are male tasks, but over the past 20 years we have observed women participating in both these occupations. Ritual objects are made only by men, and in the past the manufacture of hunting and war equipment was exclusively male. Only women made baskets and pottery (except for clay hunting pipes which were made by men).

The use of tenses in the foregoing paragraphs has been difficult and not fully precise because of culture change. A full listing by items would achieve accuracy but be intolerably long. But let me give a few illustrations. No shield has been made by the Ramah Navaho in this century and probably not since Fort Sumner. Pottery has

[6] Only two Ramah men are known to have done weaving.

not been made since 1938. There are variations by sub-area as well as in time. For instance, I have not seen a bow and arrow made or used within 10 miles of the village of Ramah since 1936. On the other hand, I have seen these articles both made and used 30 miles south of Ramah as recently as 1948.

A few simple and rather obvious generalizations can be made. There has been a steady increase in the buying of articles from trading stores as opposed to home manufacture. As of 1950, only four or five elderly men still made and wore moccasins. In 1936, the Ramah Navaho possessed only 3 iron bedsteads; in 1950, they owned more than 30. In 1936, only two Ramah Navaho families had automobiles. In 1952, they owned 39[7] automobiles (more than half of them pickup trucks and more than half manufactured prior to 1942). Three possessed Ferguson tractors and planters; about 35 had plows and cultivators. Native foods (see Bailey, 1940) are less and less frequently prepared except that sheep and corn are still ordinarily cooked in the old styles. About 5,000 pounds of meat was dried in 1951. Ritual paraphernalia is still made, but the number of individuals who have requisite knowledge decreases each year. Moreover, as Tschopik (1938) has documented in the case of basketry, the sheer ritualization of some features of material culture has tended to make for the obsolescence of these objects.

Another dimension of material culture has been beautifully documented by Roberts (1951) who examined the complete inventory of three contiguous households to a total of 578 items. Of these, 154 were held in common by all three households, 58 were possessed by *A* and *B*, 50 by *B* and *C*, 33 by *A* and *C*: 89 existed only in *A*; 185 in *B*, and 109 in *C* (p. 77).

The general environmental setting has been considered elsewhere in this volume. Here I shall review briefly only some features of the specifically Navaho adaptation. Of the 456 uncultivated plant species collected in the area, there were only 3 for which no Navaho name was given when shown to two or more informants, and for 1 of these a use was stated. This does not mean that every plant is well known, but it does mean that the people are observant of their botanical surroundings and can readily distinguish between plants of major, secondary, or minor importance in their lives. Even the very young children know the names and uses of the common plants. The vegetation enters into the lives of everyone from birth until death. Poisonous plants are a threat to livestock; many plants have magico-religious and/or economic significance. The uses of plants are multiple, and from the Navaho standpoint they fit into that

[7] Most families lacking automobiles have wagons.

harmony of related parts which is the Navaho view of the universe, and with which people must make harmonious connections for an abundant life. (Vestal, 1952.)

By far the greatest number of plants are used as medicines, either in association with ceremonials or as home remedies during parturition and nursing and for stomach ache, tooth ache, constipation, and sores. Only one narcotic (*Datura meteloides*) is known, and this is used only as a last resort to control excessive pain and only by those who possess ritual qualifications. Some plants are used for good luck in gambling or trading. Bows, arrows, dyes, ceremonial equipment, baskets, and household articles are made of plant materials. Wood is important, of course, for fuel and for constructing dwellings. Uncultivated food plants are of minor but varying (between families) importance in the total economy, with the exception of the piñon nut which is frequently a major source of income. Tubers, seeds, fruits, and bulbs are eaten. Yucca is used both for food and to provide a shampoo. Gums and resins are used as chewing gum. The principal cultivated crops are maize, beans, squash, melons, and potatoes. A few families raise small acreages of oats, wheat, alfalfa, and garden vegetables. In 1941, the Ramah Navaho cultivated 158 pieces of land (ranging in size from less than an acre up to 100 acres) amounting to approximately 3,000 acres. Manuring and other "modern" farming methods were hardly followed at all, though two large fields were tractor plowed in the 1950 period. Yields are poor owing to farming practices, inferior seed, and uncertain weather. (Vestal, 1952.)

In absolute terms the contribution of wildlife to the diet of the Ramah Navaho was, as of 1950, trivial. To the poorer families, however, rabbits, porcupines, other small animals, and an occasional deer[8] sometimes made the difference between nourishment and hunger. The abundant birds are almost never eaten. Various animal pests plague the cultivated fields, and coyotes are a danger to sheep, especially in winter. Actually, as O'Donnell (MS., 1950) has shown at length, the greatest significance of animal life in recent times has not been economic but ritual. Many mammals, reptiles, and birds are not only tabooed as food but also pose all sorts of supernatural dangers and are constantly described as sources of illness.

In 1950, the Ramah Navaho controlled 153,600 acres of land.[9] The amount used for dry farming is said to have dropped to 1,085 acres;[10] 1,640 acres were *malapais* or other land utterly barren and

[8] Thirty, for instance, were killed in the fall and winter of 1941–42.

[9] The 1945 figure (Bureau of Land Management statistics) was 143,313 acres of which Navaho allotments comprised 43,331, Navaho homesteads 1,600, with the remainder leased from the Federal and State governments, the Santa Fe Railroad, the Pueblo of Picuris (52,169 acres), and White owners.

[10] This figure is from Indian Service Extension reports, 1951. It is almost certainly too low, but field observations indicate a substantial drop from 1941.

waste; 126,355 acres were used for grazing. Each household had at least one relatively permanent cluster of establishments, usually with one or more adjoining fields. Clusters encompassed as many as 15 buildings of various kinds. In addition, many of the kin groups had one or more smaller, rough and temporary establishments or camps at various distances from their larger clusters of buildings. Each permanent establishment included at least one hogan, made of logs laid in saddle-notched fashion to form a hexagonal or octagonal dome-shaped structure, surmounted by an open smoke hole and roofed and floored with earth. At most clusters there were also small, rectangular log cabins, many of which were equipped with a window, fireplaces, and heating or cooking stoves of iron. There were other structures for storage; "shades"; corrals of logs, brush, or wire; and small sweat houses. Water for household use came from nearby surface accumulations or stock tanks or wells constructed by the Government. (Landgraf, 1954.)

LIVELIHOOD

In 1951, the Ramah Navaho owned 7,318 sheep, 580 goats, 199 cows, 460 horses, and a small number of mules, burroes, swine, and poultry. Because of drought conditions prevalent in 1950 and 1951, these figures are sizably smaller than during the first years of the values study and the 10 years preceding. The dipping records for 1941, for instance, show 17,885 sheep and 1,055 goats.[11] The differential ownership by families in 1951 is shown in table 1.

TABLE 1.—*Ownership of livestock, 1951*

Livestock	Distribution of 126 families														
	None	1–5	6–10	11–20	21–30	31–40	41–50	51–75	76–100	101–150	151–200	201–300	301–400	401–500	Over 500
Beef cattle	119	6	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Sheep	55	2	6	8	4	4	5	10	8	4	9	5	2	3	1
Goats	67	17	16	17	4	4	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Swine	123	3	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Let us explicate this table in other terms. Of all Ramah Navaho families, 44 percent owned no sheep. One extended family owned 9 percent of all sheep, and six other families controlled from 4–6 percent of the total. In part, this wide variation is the consequence of the Government livestock system being based on herd counts of a selected year. The same kind of inequality is reflected in access

[11] Fluctuations have apparently gone on for many years. The Annual Report of the Department of the Interior (1919), vol. 2, p. 243, states that in 1918 the Ramah Navaho had 7,000 head of sheep; in 1915, 10,000; and in about 1908, 12,000.

to land; eight families use 160 acres or less, while four families have rights to 10–30 sections.

Total income from animals in 1951—sales of wool, lambs, hides, and products consumed at home—may be estimated at about $70,000. The comparable 1943 estimate was $40,000. The value of cultivated plants (corn,[12] cereals, squash, melon, beans) eaten was probably in the neighborhood of $5,000. Cash income from wagework in postwar years has averaged at least half as much as livestock income. Each year Ramah Navahos have worked as railroad section hands; as pickers of beets, carrots, and cotton; as farm and ranch hands, herders, loggers, etc. In 1951, 23 men earned a total of $12,000 on the railroad, and they and others gained $24,000 from other work, locally and away from Ramah. Handicrafts (rugs, silver, beadwork) brought in about $1,500. Welfare and other Government benefits brought some $23,000 into the community. Other miscellaneous income (trade, gathering, sale of timber, fees of ceremonialists and herbalists, etc.) might have accounted for as much as $3,000. A very rough estimate of per capita real income would be $230.

There is a per person indebtedness of approximately $100. This is owed primarily to the trading stores, advanced against wool and lamb crops or secured by the pawning of jewelry, saddles, guns, and other articles of value. The stores charge 10 percent on overdue accounts. Probably less than 12 percent of Navaho buying in the Ramah area is by cash.

For 1941, Landgraf (1954) characterizes Navaho purchases as consisting largely of food and clothing but with relatively sizable investments in machinery, automobiles, and tools from time to time. The bulk of the food purchases were flour, fruit, sugar, coffee, and cooking fat. The greatest changes in consumption patterns that took place between 1941 and 1951 were increased gasoline sales, more money spent in car repairs (perhaps $5,000 in 1951), more purchase of medicines, and closer approximation of Anglo-American buying of food and clothing. In 1951, Ramah Navahos bought almost everything that Ramah Whites bought at the trading stores except canning equipment, cooking spices, and electric light bulbs. The Navaho purchased little feed for livestock, although a few owners bought bales of alfalfa, cotton cake, and grain. Expenditures for wine, liquor, and beer are not inconsiderable, but I would not venture even an estimated total annual figure.

Hobson (1954) sums up Navaho economic values as follows:

> . . . wealth accumulation is a primary preoccupation. A high valuation is placed upon the possession of land, livestock, houses, clothes, and jewelry. The

[12] Navaho corn yields average 600 pounds to the acre, beans 400.

stress is not only on quantity ("lots of property," "big herds," "plenty to eat"), but on quality ("nice things to wear," "good horses"). . . . the statements examined evidence a surprisingly intense interest in making money, saving money, and getting wagework for money as well as a deprecation of losing money through gambling. The value placed on money (though not on property) may be regarded as an index of acculturation. [Ibid., p. 28.]

Sheer accumulation of wealth is of less importance than its display or its generous distribution. . . . Through the possession of property one can "go anywhere without being ashamed." The way to earn money, to acquire property, and to become a rich man is by working hard.

But far outweighing hard work as a means of accumulating wealth is the caution to preserve one's possessions.

. . . a set of socio-economic values which regulates the accumulation of wealth and dictates the manner of its distribution: "don't be too rich," "never get poor," "look after your family," and "help people out." [Ibid., p. 29.]

OCCUPATIONAL SPECIALIZATION

In 1950, there were 21 ceremonial practitioners including those who practiced divination by hand trembling. The only singer of considerable standing died in this year, and his death left his two brothers (one not a singer but a practitioner of Blessing Way) as the only respected ritualists, though there were a number of "mouth-put men" (i.e., "amateurs" who know only excerpts of a rite and its accompanying myth). Eight individuals (four of them women) practiced divination. All ceremonialists gained some income, but only the one singer, the conductor of Blessing Way, and three of the diviners devoted a significant segment of their time to these activities. There were also four recognized herbalists (three of them women) who gathered plants for rites and as folk medicine (including herbs for abortion and birth control).

One man and his two wives were silversmiths at this time. Thirty-three women did some weaving, but only seven or eight could be considered regular weavers. The last potter was dead. Only one woman still made baskets. Three elderly men made moccasins for sale as well as for themselves and their families. Some men and some women had reputations for special skills as shearers of sheep. Otherwise the only occupational specialization was along sex lines: Women primarily but not exclusively did the cooking and looked after the children; men broke horses and looked after cattle; the sheep were cared for by children and by adults of both sexes; and heavy farmwork was carried out mainly by men, with women and children doing the weeding and other lighter work. Ramah women do not sing at ceremonials, but women singers have been imported from other areas.

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DEMOGRAPHY

BIRTHS

From 1871 to 1949 (inclusive) there were 1,105 established conceptions by period and sex as given in table 2. Twenty-three of these conceptions are known to have resulted in the death of the mothers. Live births totaled 984.[13] Of these, 122 died within the first year of life and 28 more during the second year. Of the 605 live births at Ramah prior to 1935, 210 men and 216 women reached adulthood as determined by one or more of the following criteria: marriage, known first menstruation, and age of 16 in the case of boys.

TABLE 2.—*Conceptions from 1871 to 1949*

Period	Sex			Total
	Male	Female	Unknown	
1871–90	27	28	1	56
1891–1919	157	149	7	313
1920–49	300	321	25	646
Total	484	498	33	1,015

Of 53 women assumed to have passed the childbearing age, and when full facts are available, the number of known conceptions is as listed in table 3.

TABLE 3.—*Known conceptions of 53 Ramah women*

Number of conceptions	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Number of women	5	1	2	1	1	4	2	4	4	5	7	5	7	2	3

The modal numbers for conception are 10 and 12. The average number of conceptions per woman is 8.04. While only those cases were included where the data are considered approximately complete, there is no doubt that these figures are on the conservative side because of stillbirths not reported and perhaps a few children who died as infants many years ago and whose births and deaths were not recol-

[13] One parent of approximately three-fourths of 1 percent of these was non-Navaho (23 had a Chiricahua Apache parent, 13 a Walapai parent, 8 a Laguna parent, and 6 a Zuni parent; 5 definitely or more probably had a local White as father, and 1 a Mexican). These are not, however, sufficient figures upon which to base any estimate of non-Navaho genes. There are two reasons: Family tradition and phenotypic evidence indicate non-Navaho ancestors prior to 1870; and some spouses in the "founding" generation are known to have been half-Chiricahua. Of all marriages recorded in the genealogies, slightly under 3 percent were with non-Navaho.

lected. Twelve pairs of twins (all except one of like sex) have been born since 1874.[14]

Of those who had reached adulthood by 1950, there is a presumption that seven men and five women are infertile because all of these had married at least two different individuals and failed to have children. Three other men and one woman had a single marriage of 3 years or more duration without conception resulting. Lack of fertility seems to attach to a limited number of family lines. Four of the men and two of the women who have had two or more marriages, and all three of the men with a single marriage, are closely related, all being descendants of the Chiricahua Apache women who married at Ramah. Three of the other women with two or more marriages who are infertile are full sisters.

MARRIAGES AND AFFAIRS

Fertility is increased by the early age of marriage. Before the Ramah Navaho went to school in any numbers, girls were, with very few exceptions, married within a year or two after their first menstruation. Even in the 1940–50 decade, nine were married at 16 or under, but the average age of first marriage had climbed to 17.7.[15] Prior to 1910 (and in a sizable number of cases thereafter), it was rare for a boy to be unmarried at 19, and some were married at 15 and 16. In the 1940–50 period, the average age of first marriage was 19.9.[15] Total cases of first marriages occurring from January 1, 1940, to September 1, 1950, are as shown in table 4.

TABLE 4.—*Total cases of first marriages occurring January 1, 1940, to September 1, 1950*

Sex	Age at marriage													
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Male	0	0	1	0	2	6	2	6	5	3	1	1	0	1
Female	2	1	1	5	7	5	4	2	0	1	0	1	1	0

Fertility is also increased by the existence of polygyny. In the 1871–1950 period, there were 51 polygynous marriages at Ramah. Forty-seven of these involved only two wives at any particular time. The remainder involved three wives simultaneously. Some of these marriages have been polygynous for only comparatively short periods because of death or divorce. In other instances, the older wife had passed the reproductive age at the time of the second marriage or very shortly thereafter. The pressure of missionaries and (occasion-

[14] This is even higher than the figure reported by Jeffreys (1953) in his survey of African twin data.

[15] In these estimates, only cases are used where the ages of the individuals are quite reliably determined.

ally) of the Government and the general influence of non-Indian culture has diminished a little the incidence of polygyny during the past 20 years. However, in 1950, nine men were still living with two wives. Over the 80-year period, polygyny has surely contributed to the fertility of this population.

Finally, it may be presumed that the strong tendency for Ramah Navahos to mate during their lifetime with two or more different individuals affects fertility, since impediments to conception or live birth in one marriage may disappear with a change of partners. Table 5 gives the figures by marriages and by "affairs." It is necessary to include the latter category because of the existence of unions of longer or shorter duration which the Navaho, speaking in their own language, refuse to term a "marriage" but which are more or less publicly recognized as such. Entered in the tabulation are only those instances where either publicly acknowledged children resulted or where the association went on steadily for at least a few months. Cases in which gossip reports or an individual in question admitted to intercourse on one or a few occasions are not included. In a few instances, informants disagreed as to whether a union did or did not constitute a "marriage." I have tabulated as "marriages" only those cases where all or a vast majority of informants agreed on this judgment. For purposes of human biology, it makes no difference, of course. But for purposes of social organization, there is a significant distinction.

TABLE 5.—*Marriages and "affairs" by age group and sex*

Age group [1]	Sex	Number of individuals involved in indicated number of marriages									Number of individuals involved in indicated number of "affairs"		
		None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	1	2	3
30–40	M	2	16	15	5	3	0	0	0	41	4	3	0
	F	4	21	0	6	1	0	0	0	41	4	4	2
41–50	M	1	8	11	7	1	1	1	0	30	5	0	1
	F	2	5	9	5	1	0	0	0	22	2	0	0
51–60	M	1	5	7	6	4	1	0	0	24	4	0	0
	F	2	10	4	1	1	1	0	0	19	3	0	0
Over 60	M	0	1	11	4	5	3	0	1	25	2	1	0
	F	0	10	11	4	1	1	1	0	28	4	2	0
Total		12	76	77	38	17	7	2	1	[2] 230	28	7	3

[1] As of 1950 or at time of death.
[2] Subtotals for married individuals only: 120 male; 110 female.

The average number of marriages for men and women (who married at all) in three age groups is informative (table 6). These figures would be somewhat increased if one added the affairs. Again, however, an underestimation both for marriages and affairs must be presumed. Some of short duration were undoubtedly forgotten or

deliberately not reported. In respect to individuals who died prior to 1910, there were instances where no person was alive after 1935 who was in a position to give complete information on the marriage record. Table 5 shows four individuals in their thirties who had been married four times. Actually, of individuals in their twenties in 1950 or who died before reaching 30, two women and one man had already married four times, one man and one woman three times.

TABLE 6.—*Average number of marriages among Ramah Navahos*

Age group [1]	Men	Women
30–40	1.9	1.7
41–50	2.3	2.1
51–60	2.5	1.8
Over 60	3.0	2.1

[1] In 1950 or at age of death.

It will be noted from table 5 that only one man past the age of 60 had had only a single marriage. As a conservative approximation—at least for the period before the intensive acculturation of the last 15 years—we can make the following statements. It was very unlikely that any man would reach old age without having been married to at least two different women. A great many would have had three wives and a considerable number four or more. A fair number of women would have had only a single husband by the age of 60, but many would also have had two, three, or more. Most fertile men and women who lived to the age of 60 would have had children from at least two different spouses.

One other matter requires explicit mention. Ramah Navaho men who reached the age of 30 without marriage, are not known to have had children through affairs. This does not apply to the women. Of the 12 women who had not married by 30 or later, 3 had had 1 or more children. Also, a number of women who have been widowed or divorced for some years have continued to bear children.

Table 7 presents the age and sex composition of the population as of September 1, 1950.

GENERAL HEALTH

Medical examination of 466 men, women, and children in 1948 and 1950 showed 37 percent to be undernourished and less than 1 percent to be overweight. Ninety-one percent were recorded as in good, general health. It should be noted, however, that these examinations took place in the summer, when respiratory ailments are least prominent. All fieldworkers over the years have had a strong impression

TABLE 7.—*Age and sex composition of the population of Ramah* [1]

Age	Number of males	Number of females	Total
0–5	49	47	96
5–10	42	54	96
10–15	45	47	92
15–20	32	30	62
20–25	23	28	51
25–30	20	31	51
30–35	19	17	36
35–40	16	19	35
40–45	14	11	25
45–50	10	11	21
50–60	20	16	36
60–70	10	7	17
Over 70	4	3	7
Total	304	321	625

[1] As of September 1, 1950.

that illness was a constant and serious problem in this group. Respiratory disease, skin infections,[16] and eye trouble [17] are recorded most frequently for adults; intestinal afflictions for children. During the course of the past 20 years, more than 100 individuals are known to have had tuberculosis at one time or another. The disease has halved the number of at least two families and come close to exterminating two others. Navahos are also highly susceptible to infectious diseases (influenza, whooping cough, measles, chickenpox, and the like) that reach them from the surrounding populations.

There are also a fair number of deformities and biological abnormalities in this population. Six women and four men walk with a limp. In the case of at least four of the women this is known to be congenital as a consequence of flat acetabula. One of the women and two of the men limp as a result of injuries (fractures which did not unite properly). Six individuals are deaf in both ears; seven in one ear; five others are perceptibly hard of hearing. Of all these persons, only four are past middle age. Of the 466 subjects medically examined, 29 have perforated eardrums. One woman is deaf and mute. There are two hydrocephalic idiots, one low-grade moron, and one stutterer. In 1950, seven persons (two of them old) were blind or nearly blind from trachoma or cataracts or both. Five individuals (all from the same lineage) were afflicted with night blindness. In the 1948–50 period, 9 individuals are known to have had syphilis; 11 men and 9 women had gonorrhea. Mouth disorders are frequent. Only 65 percent of those examined had gums in good condition. Eighty-two individuals had tooth enamel damaged by wear, chipping, or erosion. Dental decay and pyorrhea are frequent. These records correspond to the constant reference in notes of field-

[16] Actually, only 85 percent of those examined medically were free of some form of dermatitis.

[17] Less than 80 percent of those examined were free of eye abnormalities of some sort.

workers to toothache, mouth abcesses, teeth pulled, and the like. There are individual cases of minor abnormalities: tumors, bone exostoses, supernumerary nipples, six toes, spinal curvatures, deformed arms, and squint eyes.

Degenerative diseases are not absent here but are relatively infrequent. Of approximately 450 persons examined, about 95 percent revealed no heart abnormality and only 3 individuals showed a condition that could be described as serious or semiserious. There was one known case of cancer in the previous decade. There is one known case of cerebral hemorrhage.

DEATHS

Total Ramah Navaho deaths (including those of immigrants) for the period 1871–1949 are given in table 8. Further information on conditions of life as they may bear upon values can be obtained from a consideration of the available facts upon causes of death. I include only those data that are based either on accidents (e.g., an infant's burning to death) or medical testimony. Of the total 372 known deaths in this population (table 8), there are definitely established causes for 129 as detailed in table 9.

TABLE 8.—*Ramah Navaho deaths, 1871–1949* [1]

Period	Sex			Total
	Male	Female	Unknown	
1871–90	7	5	1	13
1891–1919	46	47	5	98
1926–49	137	110	14	261
Total	190	162	20	372

[1] Including those of immigrants.

TABLE 9.—*Causes of Ramah deaths*

Cause	Number
Respiratory ailment (tuberculosis, pneumonia, influenza)	33
Accidents	26
Infants and children from dysentery and other intestinal ailments	23
Mothers as a consequence of childbirth	23
Homicide (all men except one infant)	6
Infectious diseases (whooping cough, typhoid, diptheria)	6
Infants as a consequence of birth injury	5
Degenerative diseases (cancer, heart disease)[1]	4
Suicide [2]	2
Appendicitis	1
Total	129

[1] One instance was syphilitic heart disease.

[2] One of these cases may have been accident rather than suicide.

A few comments will illuminate these figures. One man killed another whom he believed to have caused the death of his wife by witchcraft. A grandfather killed his infant grandchild on the ground that this infant's birth had resulted in his daughter's death. The other four murders all occurred in drunken brawls. Drunkenness was also responsible for two deaths from an automobile accident, one death by pneumonia (a man slept out of doors at freezing temperatures), and four deaths from freezing while drunk. Finally, a mother accidentally killed her infant son by falling upon him while drunk and a drunken man was killed when his horse fell upon him. "Accidents" also include three boys who froze to death while running away from school,[18] eight deaths (all except two of youngsters) caused by a horse, an infant struck by lightning, an infant who died of snakebite, an infant who died as a consequence of being bitten by red ants, an infant who choked to death, and one case of drowning.

Adair, Deuschle, and McDermott (1957) present the following table (10) for causes of death among the Navaho in general.

TABLE 10.—*Ten leading causes of death among Navahos and comparative United States general population rates, 1954*[1]

Cause of death	Rate per 100,000 population		Percentage of total deaths	
	Navahos	U.S. general	Navahos	U.S. general
1. Pneumonia	123.5	23.7	16.2	2.6
2. Gastritis, duodenitis, colitis	110.2	5.3	14.5	.6
3. Certain diseases of early infancy	102.3	39.4	13.4	4.3
4. Accidents—all	81.0	56.9	10.6	6.2
5. Tuberculosis—all forms	53.0	10.5	7.0	1.1
6. Heart diseases	27.9	343.4	3.7	37.4
7. Malignant neoplasms	22.6	147.0	3.0	16.0
8. Nephritis and nephrosis	17.3	12.6	2.3	1.2
9. Congenital malformations	17.3	12.9	2.3	1.4
10. Vascular lesions affecting the central nervous system	14.6	103.6	1.9	11.3
Total	569.7	755.3	74.9	82.1

[1] Prepared by the Statistics and Analysis Section, U.S. Public Health Service, Albuquerque, N. Mex.

Physiological observations by Gordon Allen, M.D., are summarized by him (MS., 1957, p. 8) as follows:

The Ramah Navaho have significantly lower systolic blood pressures than Puerto Ricans or White industrial workers. Particularly striking is the virtual absence of any blood pressure rise in older women.

Blood pressure, pulse, cold pressor response and Schneider Physical Fitness Score are all significantly related to age, as are weight and somatotype. Cardiovascular efficiency is significantly higher in older individuals, and in the most

[18] Five children died while away at school. These have not been included in the tabulation even where cause of death was known.

acculturated males despite their younger average age. Family analysis suggests that sex-specific genetic factors partly determine blood pressure within the normal range and that this genetic control is more effective or achieves greater vaso-motor stability in the Navaho environment than in modern industrial society.

PHYSIQUE [19]

A mean stature of 167 cm. places the Ramah Navaho male in the medium-tall category. Although a few women are obese, the typical Ramah Navaho is not heavy in terms of stature. They are moderately long armed and broad shouldered and their legs are relatively short compared to stature. The head is round with a mean cephalic index of 86 in both sexes. The occiput is usually flattened but rarely deformed. Head height ranges from low to medium. The face is broad with relatively large and projecting malars although the bizygomatic breadth is not great compared to head breadth. Total facial mass is large compared to cephalic mass. Nose form ranges from narrow to medium and a moderate degree of midfacial prognathism is usually present.

Skin color varies from light-yellow brown to dark-yellow brown. Exposed areas of the skin are deeply tanned. Hair color is medium brown to dark brown and is lighter in females and children than in adult males. A minority have some red hair pigment not masked by melanin. The hair is typically straight and coarse. Head hair is abundant; body hair is scarce, although some males have moustaches. Eye color is typically dark brown but light-brown eyes occur in some kindreds.

There is considerable variation in body types both within and between sexes. Females are higher in endomorphy and males are higher in ectomorphy. The range of adult body types in females is 721 to 215 and in males 543 to 135. The two most common body types in females are 413 and 423 and in males 225 and 434.

About 77 percent are blood group O and 23 percent are A_1, the B gene being absent from the population. Only 1 percent are type N and all are Rh positive. Less than 2 percent are nontasters for phenylthiocarbamide and less than 1 percent are nonsecretors for the ABO blood group substances. About 2 percent of males are red-green colorblind.

Table 11 presents 12 measurements of body size and weight in adult Ramah Navaho Indians compared to adult White residents of Ann Arbor, Mich., all measured by the same technique and investigator.[20]

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[19] For motor habits, see Bailey, 1942.

[20] The section on "Physique," with table 11, was kindly prepared by Dr. J. N. Spuhler, Department of Medical Genetics, University of Michigan.

TABLE 11.—*Comparative measurements of adult Ramah Navaho Indians and adult White residents of Ann Arbor, Mich.*

Measurement	Ramah Navaho Indians				Ann Arbor Whites			
	Males (N=101)		Females (N=117)		Males (N=202)		Females (N=228)	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Weight (pounds)	133.1	21.1	122.3	21.0	167.8	25.9	134.0	25.0
Stature (cm.)	167.3	5.3	156.4	6.0	174.6	6.5	161.4	6.1
Sitting height (cm.)	88.8	3.1	82.3	3.5	91.6	3.4	86.0	3.2
Head length (mm.)	182.7	6.7	174.1	6.3	197.0	6.6	185.6	6.5
Head breadth (mm.)	158.0	5.6	150.6	5.3	154.0	5.1	147.2	5.3
Head height (mm.)	126.8	5.6	124.3	5.5	133.7	7.3	126.6	7.4
Minimum frontal breadth (mm.)	110.1	4.3	107.5	3.5	107.7	4.7	102.8	5.0
Bizygomatic breadth (mm.)	148.0	5.1	140.2	4.2	140.3	5.1	131.3	4.9
Bigonial breadth (mm.)	109.7	5.1	104.1	4.4	106.2	6.4	98.0	5.4
Total face height (mm.)	119.3	6.1	111.8	5.0	121.9	7.4	111.5	6.2
Upper face height (mm.)	68.9	4.0	64.8	3.9	71.4	5.0	66.4	4.3
Nose height (mm.)	51.7	3.5	47.0	3.1	55.1	4.4	50.9	3.5
Nose breadth (mm.)	39.0	2.9	35.4	2.8	36.3	3.1	32.5	2.7

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The technical details of the Navaho kinship system have been reviewed by Bellah (1952) and others. Here only some salient points will be mentioned. Descent is matrilineal. The brothers of the mother play an important role with her children as disciplinarians, in arranging marriages, and in inheritance. Maternal grandparents also take considerable responsibility, though this may be assumed by paternal grandparents in the case of patrilocal residence. There are separate terms for maternal grandfather and grandmother, only one term for paternal grandparents. The relationships between siblings of the same sex is characterized by closeness and solidarity (especially in the case of sisters); toward siblings of opposite sex, restraint and respect are observed. There are joking relationships of various types and intensities between relatives of various classes, that with both male and female cross-cousins being coarse. Mother-in-law and son-in-law avoid each other.

Each Navaho belongs to the clan of the mother and is "born for" the clan of the father. Members of one's own clan are addressed by the same kinship terms that are used for immediate biological relatives of corresponding sex and generation. There are sentimental linkages and some economic reciprocities between all clansmen. These apply—but in attenuated form—to the group of two to five clans that are "linked" to one's own. In recent generations, however, the prime function of clans and of linked clan groups has been that of regulating marriage. One may not marry:

1. A member of one's own clan
2. A member of one's father's clan
3. A member of a clan "linked" to one's own clan
4. A member of a clan "linked" to one's father's clan

The Ramah genealogies show four violations (out of 399 marriages) of the first prohibition and five violations of the second. Transgressions of the third and fourth regulations have been more frequent but cannot be enumerated exactly because of disagreement among the Navaho themselves as to which of the clans should be considered linked. Indeed many Navahos under 40 years of age in 1950 could not name with confidence the clans linked to their own, let alone to those of their fathers.

The first known violation of clan exogamy occurred in 1932 and was a serious one because a man who was Bitter Water clan (father's clan: Meadow) married a woman of Meadow clan whose father was of Bitter Water clan. There was a great local scandal, and strenuous efforts were made to prevent the marriage and to break it up after it occurred. By 1950, the prohibition against marrying into the clan group of one's father or mother could be considered operative only in the case of a small number of very conservative families.

Of the more than 50 Navaho clans, 25 have been represented in the Ramah genealogies, but a number of these by only one or a very few individuals who married in from other Navaho bands. As of 1948, 19 clans were represented in the Ramah population. Four of these were represented by single in-marrying males, and only six had memberships comprising more than 16 individuals. These six clans included 97 percent of the total population: The four largest clans comprised 77 percent, the two largest about 40 percent. (Kluckhohn and Griffith, 1950; Spuhler, 1953.)

MARRIAGE

In theory—and to a considerable (though decreasing) extent in practice—the first marriage is celebrated with a simple ceremony that has often been described in the literature. Prior to 1940, well over 90 percent of first marriages and approximately 75 percent of later marriages were arranged by the families of the two prospective spouses—or, in the case of males in middle age and beyond, by the man's direct negotiation with the family of his prospective wife. Marriages in the 1940–50 decade were arranged in only 60 percent (roughly) of the cases, though in a good many of the instances where the initiative was taken by the principals, the families eventually became involved in the exchanges of property which normally accompanied arranged (socially sanctioned) marriages. Many of the "affairs" represent only philandering. Others, however, are cases where man and woman were drawn to a stable relationship, but marriage was opposed by their relatives on economic grounds or violation of clan or clan group exogamy. A sizable proportion of the affairs become recognized marriages on the birth of children.

Approximately 12 percent of all marriages involved a mate from outside the Ramah population. These were predominantly arranged marriages. It was 1930 before a Ramah girl went to live on the Navajo Reservation with a boy she had met at school. (This was also the first instance of a Ramah *woman* emigrating on marriage.) Since 1940, four women and two men have made seven nonarranged marriages with Navahos they had met at school or while at work away from Ramah. The Laguna Indian who moved into the Ramah area in 1894 as a sheepherder for Spanish-Americans represents the only other case of a nonarranged marriage with "outsiders."

Men ordinarily move away from Ramah on their marriage to a woman elsewhere. Since 1890, 26 Ramah men have married out (12 to the Two Wells area, 8 to the Thoreau area, 3 to Fort Wingate, and 3 to other parts of the Navaho country). Five of these marriages are more correctly described as bilocal because the family spent at least a few months a year in the Ramah area. Fourteen of the men returned to Ramah on the dissolution of their marriages elsewhere. Conversely, only five women moved away from Ramah upon marriage; one to the nearby Zuni farming village (Pescado), two to the Thoreau area, and two to the Navajo Reservation. Of these, three returned to Ramah.

Since 1890, 39 men from outside have married into Ramah (24 from the Two Wells area, 8 from Thoreau, 2 from Fort Wingate, 2 from Zuni, and 3 from other Navaho regions). Of these, 18 returned to their former homes on the dissolution of their Ramah marriages. Eleven women (six from Two Wells, three from Fort Wingate, and two from Thoreau) settled in Ramah on marriage to men there, though one of these marriages could be called bilocal. It is notable that, in contrast to the figures for the men, only one of these women subsequently moved out of Ramah and she left with her husband and family.

The fact that marriages both in and out come overwhelmingly from three areas (Two Wells, Thoreau, and Fort Wingate) reflects three factors; relative proximity, historical association, and the Navaho pattern of exchange of siblings between family groups. Actually, proximity is clear cut only in the Two Wells case, though Thoreau by trail is about as close as any Navaho band except Two Wells. The historical factor arises from the circumstance that a number of the "founders" of the Ramah population were either born in these three areas or had settled in one or more of them for some time before moving to Ramah. Connections with relatives in these regions have been kept up through the years.[21] This, in turn, facilitated the arrange-

[21] Ceremonials (e.g., Enemy Way) are an occasion during which relatives from different areas meet and potential spouses can look each other over.

ment of marriages, particularly in the form of repeated exchanges between an extended family at Ramah and an extended family in one of the other areas. For instance, four men and two women (all closely related) from Thoreau over a period of years married individuals from the same family line at Ramah. Reciprocally, the Ramah group sent two men and two women back to the Thoreau group. Fully three-fourths of all emigrating and immigrating marriages since 1890 fall into the category of perpetuation of an exchange (initiated before or after 1890) between very close or slightly less close relatives in the Ramah area and a similar group in the other area.

This same pattern prevails, of course, for marriages within the Ramah population. If a young man from family *A* marries a girl from family *B*, there is a strong likelihood that a younger brother or sister from family *A* will marry a girl or boy from family *B*. If one is not available from the biological family, one will often be provided from the extended family. Failing this, there is an appreciable preference for a biologically related spouse from the same clan as the children of family *B*. This is the probable explanation of the fact that marriages between clans at Ramah (Spuhler, 1953, p. 301) show preferential tendencies for clans to exchange members in ways not determined by the system of linked clan exogamy.

On September 1, 1950, there were 41 women and 19 men of the age of 25 [22] or over who lacked spouses. Seven men (only one past the age of 40) had never married and were not reported to have had children. Seven women (all still of reproductive age) had neither married nor had children. Four women had never married, but had subadult children. There were six divorced men (three under 40, one of 48, one of 56, and one of 72), nine widows (all past reproductive age), and three widowers (all over 69 years of age). An additional 10 widows, 2 widowers, 11 divorced women, and 2 divorced men were living as "heads of families"—i.e., without spouses but with subadult children in their homes. Of the widows, seven were beyond reproductive age; of the divorced women, three. Two of the men were in their fifties, two in their sixties.

On the same date, there were 97 marriages in force at Ramah (see table 12, p. 364). Of the 11 polygynous ones, 7 involved the marriage of a man to two full or half sisters (daughters of the same mother or of the same father, but by two different wives who were biological sisters); 2 were cases of the marriage of a man to a woman and to her daughter by a previous marriage; and 2 involved the marriage of a man to two unrelated women. Of all the polygynous marriages at Ramah, 29 have been sororal, 10 have involved step-

[22] This seems the right age to take as of this date. (See table 4, p. 351, for the age of first marriage, 1940–50.)

daughter marriage, and 12 have involved marriages to unrelated women. Only three of the latter occurred prior to 1930. The data show this form of polygyny to be much less stable than the other two types.

There are seven cases of the simple sororate. If one looks at the matter from the Navaho point of view, including cases of a widower marrying a parallel cousin (or other "clan sister") of his deceased wife, the number mounts to 18. There are only three instances of the simple levirate; seven more as defined by Navaho culture.

One is tempted to say that sororal polygyny, the sororate and all other forms of marriages preferred by this culture are merely special instances of the more general principle; repeated exchanges between two extended families or other groups of close relatives. This generalization will cover the overwhelming majority of all Ramah marriages,[23] embracing such instances as the following which are less sharply patterned than the exchange of marriageable siblings between two biological or extended families. A man married the divorced wife of his sister's son. Another married the widow of his sister's son. Conversely, another Navaho married the widow of his mother's brother. Still another married two daughters born to the wives of his mother's brother by their previous marriages. A young man married the daughter of his father's divorced wife (from Thoreau). Six men have married a sister of a wife from whom they had been divorced. One man married three sisters in succession with one of the two from whom he was divorced marrying his biological brother and the other marrying his parallel cousin. There are numerous cases of men marrying former wives of their brothers and of women marrying brothers or "clan brothers" of their ex-husbands. Two men (brothers) married (in succession) the daughter of their brother-in-law by a former marriage. In this instance, as in others, one has grounds to suspect the factor of sheer propinquity as well as that of the patterned economic and other reciprocities. In fact, one can ordinarily separate these two factors only by somewhat artificial abstraction. Quite frequently, the relationships involved become somewhat intricate. For example, a man married as his first wife the sister of his sister's husband and as his second wife the daughter of his father's sister's son (who was also the man's mother's brother's son).

In most cases, Navaho women are younger than their husbands. Often—and this increasingly in the last 20 years—the difference in

[23] There is, to be sure, always a first time. But one marriage of any duration almost always leads to others. An instance occuring in the 1940–50 decade is entirely representative. In 1942, Jo Miguel married Mary, the daughter of Pete Caballo. Two years later a marriage was arranged between Jo's son, Easy, and a cousin of Mary. In 1946, Jo also married Mary's sister. In 1949, Pete, Mary's father, married the young daughter of Jo.

age is only a few years. However, in the total Ramah records,[24] the wife was 5–10 years younger in 49 cases, 10–15 years younger in 27 cases, 15–20 years younger in 18 cases, and more than 20 years younger in 28 cases. The last figure reflects the fact that men past 50 who are widowed or whose wife has passed the reproductive age frequently marry again and prefer a young wife if they can obtain one through economic or other arrangements. The converse of this is that 13 men have married women 5–10 years older than themselves, 7 have married women 10–15 years older, and 5 have taken wives more than 15 years older. In all save four of these cases, the marriage has been the young man's first. In 11 cases, the women had one or more daughters by a previous marriage, and in 3 of these instances the young man eventually also married his wife's daughter. All of these marriages of young men to older women have been arranged in the pattern of continuing exchanges, largely but not exclusively economic. The Navaho also rationalize this type of marriage by saying that it is good for a young man to marry a woman who is experienced in sexual and subsistence activities.

Table 12 provides information on the duration of marriages and incidence of termination by death and divorce. It is evident that the first 2 years (and especially the first months) are crucial. This is notably the case with arranged marriages. The birth of a child who survives is no guarantee that a marriage will endure beyond a year or two, but it does make a difference because then the families of both spouses will usually bring considerable pressure to preserve the marriage. Navaho women who conceive at all, ordinarily conceive quickly. Figures (as of 1946) are: 11 mothers had their first child when they were 15 years of age or under; an additional 61 mothers had a first child when the mother was under 20; 46 more women bore when they were under 25; and only 19 women had their first child after the age of 25.

One cannot, of course, specify the "causes" of divorce with equal precision. One can only list the factors the Navaho talk about most frequently and which seem to obtain from observed behavior. The Navaho often speaks of laziness or irresponsibility or drunkenness or physical aggression. Unwillingness or inability to perform the sex act is also considered a valid ground for divorce. There is much talk of nagging or unreasonable demands from relatives of the spouse. On the basis of inference, there is reason to suspect that many of

[24] The population from which this and other statements referring to all marriages recorded in the Ramah census should be taken as "around 400." Actually, some information on about 750 marriages appears on the cards. But data on marriages before 1890, on marriages of emigrants, and on marriages of some individuals who died before 1920 are incomplete. For some purposes where reasonably reliable dates are necessary, the number that can be tabulated falls to around 300. But for most of the tabulations in this section the numbers fluctuate between 360 and 425.

TABLE 12.—*Duration of marriages* [1] [2]

Years	Still in force	Terminated by death	Terminated by divorce	Total
0–1	6	5	43	54
1–2	5	2	21	28
2–3	8	4	13	25
3–4	8	4	5	17
4–5	7	6	5	18
5–10	24	15	22	61
10–15	17	16	10	43
15–20	9	8	9	26
More than 20	13	31	9	53
Total	97	91	137	325

[1] As of September 1, 1950.

[2] Only those marriages are included whose dates are fixed with reasonable accuracy. Marriages broken up temporarily but reunited are treated as a single marriage. Polygynous marriages are treated separately for each woman involved. They often dissolved at different times.

the arranged marriages fail to survive the first year or two because of "incompatibility" whether sexual or temperamental: The spouses do not know each other or hardly know each other, and one or the other has to live in, or in very close contact with, a group that is unfamiliar and has somewhat different patterns of and for behavior.

Inbreeding coefficients have been calculated for 316 matings which produced 1,118 offspring during 7 generations (Spuhler, 1953). Of the 316 sibships, 123 are inbred. The range of inbreeding coefficient for individuals is 0.0010–0.0977, the mean for inbred siblings is 0.0175, and the mean for the later generations 4 through 8 is 0.0080, and the mean for the total population, generations 1 through 8 is 0.0066. These values are minimum estimates for the population.

Coefficients of the order observed for the Ramah Navaho, while about two times those found for Japan and four times those reported for Europe, are small compared to the estimate for the Dunker isolates in the United States and compared to such regular systems of inbreeding as full first cousin mating.

RESIDENCE

Even the most accurate picture of the distribution of a Navaho group by locality on a given date can be misleading unless certain facts are borne constantly in mind. The composition of some families and their places of residence have shown remarkable continuity over the past 20 years. The membership of these family groups has changed, to be sure, with births, deaths, and marriages, but the basic patterns have remained very stable. Residence has shifted at one or more seasons of the year to other hogans, cabins, or camps, but the moves have followed each year at approximately the same times to places that varied only a little in location as dictated by grazing conditions or the building of a new dwelling (after someone had died in

the old one or it had fallen into bad condition). In the case of other family groups, however—and most especially in the case of those of unfavorable economic circumstances—shifts are often sudden, frequent, and major. A biological family will break off from one extended family unit and join another or will establish neolocal residence. The combinations of orphaned children and isolated adults attached to one or more biological families constantly break and re-form in new ways. Moreover, it should be realized that some old widows and widowers (these most of all) can hardly be said to have "a" residence at all. They move, with stays of varying duration, among the homes of their children, primarily their daughters; but there are cases where widowed fathers divide their time exclusively among the homes of their sons. Most of the children of marriages dissolved by death or divorce are likewise constantly shifting residence at intervals of weeks, months, or years. In the case of divorce, children ordinarily stay with the mother, but there are instances where they divide their time between their parents, and a few where some of the children of a broken marriage have resided consistently with the father. In the case of death of the mother, children most often go to the mother's mother or mother's sister, but sometimes alternate residence with one of these and the father's mother, father's sister, father alone, or father with new wife.

Only one generalization as to residence is without exception in the history of this group. In cases of sororal and stepdaughter polygyny, each wife has her own hogan, but the hogans of the cowives are close together. When men have married unrelated women, the hogans of the wives are at some distance and in several cases have been 15 miles or more apart. So far as other patterns of residence are concerned, one can at best describe relative incidence. Thus one can say that uxorilocal residence has always been the preferred form at Ramah, but that there has always been a not negligible minority of virilocal residences and at least a few bilocal and neolocal residences. The proportion of virilocal and neolocal residences has slowly but steadily mounted over the years.

The only way to get a vivid and concrete picture of the variety of residence and of composition of units is by summarizing the facts as of June 1950.[25] Even here cautions must be specified. For example, a family is not classified as bilocal unless approximately half the time for the preceding year in question was spent at each residence. How-

[25] In the case of individuals or families away from the Ramah area at this time (but who had not moved away permanently) the facts are detailed as of the most recent residence of these individuals at Ramah. School children are assigned the residences of their parents or the residence where they last stayed while at home on vacations. There are some small discrepancies between the figures in this list and in table 7 because the residence survey was made early in the summer of 1950 and some deaths and other changes occurred before September 1.

ever, in certain instances, families assigned as "virilocal" spent as much as 4 months that year in uxorilocal or neolocal residence. In two cases listed as "virilocal," wives and children (joined by the husbands for portions of these periods) spent 3 months or more "visiting" the mothers' families of orientation in Thoreau and Fort Wingate. A man (with wife and child) who had been working at the Ramah Navaho Day School some time is considered as a case of neolocal residence. This assignment is arbitrary and arguable. From the point of view of interaction and economic reciprocities, this family could properly be grouped with the husband's divorced sister (also working at the Day School) and her two children as constituting an extended family, or—still better—as belonging to the extended family of the parents of the man and his sister, who resided only a few miles away. The above are given merely as examples to warn against an overly literal interpretation of the list about to be presented. The list, should, nevertheless, prevent simple generalizations (other than purely statistical) as to residence patterns and composition of family units.

In 97 cases, residence was uxorilocal in 47,[26] virilocal in 33,[26] bilocal in 6,[27] neolocal in 8, and could be classified only arbitrarily in 3.[28]

COMPOSITION BY SOCIAL GROUPS

I have made a complete listing of the population for June, 1950 by "units." A "unit" consists of persons (in three instances of only a single person) who ordinarily live together (though not necessarily sleeping in the same dwelling) and who share meals, chores, and—to some extent—possessions. The term "household" would be appropriate except that, on the one hand, it perhaps implies a single "roof" and that, on the other hand, it could properly be applied to at least some of the extended families of the Ramah Navaho. In many cases a unit means an elementary family or a polygynous family. In other cases it consists of a single divorced or widowed parent with subadult children. Often, however, a unit includes additional adults: unmarried or widowed or divorced children or siblings of a spouse or spouses; a widowed or divorced parent of a spouse; collateral relatives and adopted children. When two parents are present (and sometimes in other cases), additional adult relatives ordinarily sleep in a different dwelling, but the unit nevertheless works and eats together. A type of unit that occurs frequently and characteristically

[26] This means residence in an area occupied by the family of the wife or husband, respectively. It does not necessarily mean residence within a stone's throw of wife's or husband's parents or parent (if still alive).

[27] These figures embrace, of course, only marriages in force at that time; they do not include widowed and divorced persons residing with one or more subadult children.

[28] Two of these ambiguous cases could be considered avunculocal as far as instigating circumstances are concerned, but the residence of the maternal uncles in question was virilocal. The other case could perhaps be described as filiolocal.

among the Ramah Navaho I call a "relict" unit; one that lacks a single complete biological family but comprises the "remains" of two or more marriages broken by death or divorce or the "relicts" of one such marriage plus an unmarried adult.

An "extended family" comprises two or more units each of which includes one parent with child or children and at least one of which includes both parents. These units must also be linked by at least one lineal ancestor common to all children in the group. The dwellings of an "extended family" are ordinarily within sight of each other; at any rate, they are close enough so that daily meals and work activities rather constantly cut across the lines of the distinct units. The extended family is involved, as well as the biological family, in questions of inheritance, marriage, etc.

To comprehend Navaho social organization, one must introduce two additional categories: "group" and "outfit." The criterion for group is primarily geographical. A group consists of two or more units that live within a radius of a few miles and are in frequent interaction. Each unit has close relatives in at least one other unit in the group, but there is ordinarily no lineal link of all children in the group. In the few instances where this condition does prevail with units I have classified as a group rather than as an extended family, the classification was made on one or more of the following grounds: One or more units in the group resided at such a distance from the others that interaction occurred more nearly at a weekly than at a daily level; there was irregular and relatively infrequent sharing of meals and work activities; the group had more than one "center of gravity" as judged by its affiliations and participations and by the absence or irregularity of joint decisions on matters of inheritance, marriage, and the like.

In other words, a group is a somewhat attenuated, less fully organized or unified extended family.

The criterion for "outfit" is primarily that of fairly infrequent but rather regular pooling of resources among a group of relatives (wider than the extended family) for certain major occasions such as sheep dipping, shearing, and lambing; the giving of long ceremonials; sometimes planting and harvesting. A group is sometimes coterminous with an outfit, and an extended family could be regarded as a more closely knit outfit that performs a greater number of functions. But most outfits embrace either a good many units residing over a sizable space or at least one unit that is at a considerable distance from the geographical center of the outfit. Finally, an outfit always has either an actual leader or a figure (a man in most cases) who has prestige through age, ceremonial knowledge, wealth—or two or more of these factors. Navahos, speaking either in English or in Navaho,

will constantly attach the name of this individual to indicate the aggregation of units they have in mind.

Western speech designates as an outfit a group of persons who habitually cooperate for certain purposes under recognized leadership, either genuine or symbolic. This fits the observed facts in the Ramah Navaho case very well. While the lines defining many of the outfits are somewhat fluid and amorphous, it is nevertheless impossible without attention to this category to understand not only the composition of groups which work together on major occasions but also such phenomena as Ramah Navaho "politics" and certain apparently casual patterns of visiting and small economic reciprocities.

There were (in June 1950) 125 units (135 if one counted the polygynous marriages separately). These units were composed of 39 simple nuclear families; 25 nuclear families where one or more of the children did not belong to both spouses; 5 nuclear families where one or more children did not belong to either spouse [29] (including two families where one or more children were grandchildren of the spouses); 6 nuclear families plus one unmarried adult; 11 units of polygynous marriage; [30] 17 units where a single parent lives with subadult children; 19 relict units; and 3 isolated individuals.[31]

Of these units 53 are embraced in 18 extended families. If one used somewhat more flexible but still relevant criteria or considered a period a year or two earlier, one could speak of an additional 14 extended families. There are 5 uxorilocal groups, 2 virilocal, 5 mixed, and 2 relict groups. There are seven clearly recognizable outfits, all but one of which are also geographical groups.

In part, both the list and this breakdown merely reflect familiar aspects of Navaho culture such as the frequency of children being separated from one or both parents by death and divorce and the propensity for repeated exchanges of marriage partners between two families or extended families. But some less familiar trends with hints as to the values underlying them also emerge. Both the list and the breakdown show that Navaho social organization is based upon the association of relatives, but it is equally clear that actual patterns take many forms; matrilineal, patrilineal, and bilateral. Just from the distribution one could guess (and this is confirmed by field notes) that some groupings arise not from standard factors of Navaho culture but individual likes and dislikes and from economic convenience. Some groups contain particularly large aggregations of regrouped couples or of single spouses with their children or of women with

[29] All save one are cases of adoption of relatives. The other instance is that of orphaned siblings of the husband.

[30] Only 3 husbands out of 11 have children by both wives.

[31] Only two of these actually live mainly in complete isolation. The third individual lives alone but in a hogan next to hogans occupied by two other units.

unmarried children. Finally, the evidence of acculturation upon residence and other aspects is obvious. In general, the greater the influence of European culture the greater the probability that residence will be virilocal or neolocal and the greater the tendency toward "weak" social organization. It is almost impossible today to make valid generalizations about "ideal patterns" of residence as opposed to the behavioral facts. The best one can say is that there is still—even among younger people—a feeling that uxorilocal residence "ought" to be preferred but a growing conviction that the newly married couple can properly choose their place of residence in accord with all the circumstances bearing upon their particular case.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Power has tended to be in the hands of older people [32] who are still in full possession of their faculties, of the more wealthy, of singers. More often than not at least two of these qualities are combined in the person of a leader. The degree of power of, say, an elderly, well-off singer depends upon his individual personality and upon the number of energetic and respected relatives he has in his extended family or outfit. The exercise of power is seldom overt and direct but rather masked, oblique, and diffuse. Evident power, like evident wealth, is a cause of jealousy and an invitation either to attack by witches or to gossip that the holder is a witch.

Most decisions, from the level of the nuclear family to that of the total Ramah group, are in fact arrived at by informal and often long protracted discussions. In the old days—and to some extent as late as 1950—matters of dispute or decisions that went beyond the extended family were threshed out in a meeting in the presence of the recognized leader of the outfit or the headman of the Ramah band. Anyone present (including women) might speak. The leader or leaders would ordinarily say little (beyond asking questions) until toward the conclusion of the discussion when advice or a decision would be rendered.

From about 1880 until 1942, the leaders of the Ramah community were from a single family line: Many Beads; his son, Bidaga; the brother-in-law of Bidaga; and the son of the daughter of Many Beads. These individuals were recognized as headmen by the United States Government, though in 1924 the Government introduced a "chapter" organization. According to this system an annual meeting of adult men and women elected a president, vice president, and secretary. But annual meetings were not always held, and the authority of

[32] In the postwar years several younger men have emerged to positions of distinct leadership. The most recent "headman" has been in his middle to late thirties, wealthy, and married polygynously.

the headman continued to be recognized until 1942 whether or not he happened to be president of the chapter at the time. Indeed, Bidaga exercised great influence and was consulted more or less formally by individuals and groups after he had (in 1935) turned over his post as headman to his brother-in-law. In fact, his role as elder statesman of the community prevailed until his death in 1954.

After 1939 the Ramah band elected not only chapter officers but also a delegate to the Navaho Tribal Council. This position came within a few years to be regarded as equivalent to the old headmanship, and from 1942 onward many elections were hotly contested along factional lines which in considerable part were those of "progressive" and "conservative" and, on some occasions, Christian versus the ancient religion. There have usually been two main factions, though their membership has fluctuated and some families have never consistently alined themselves with either faction. From time to time another issue between the factions has been whether the Ramah band should be under the jurisdiction of the Navajo Agency at Window Rock or the United Pueblos Agency at Albuquerque (with subagency at Black Rock).

Frequency of community meetings has varied greatly with the character and personality of local leaders and representatives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In some years during the 1940–50 period there were only 2 or 3 meetings a year, in others as many as 20. Meetings are held at the chapter house [33] near the school which was built in 1943. Adult attendance has been as low as 15 and as high as 98. Matters considered range from complaints of improper conduct on the part of members of the group to consideration of the activities of missionaries, sending the Navaho children to school, elections, and requests to the Bureau of Indian Affairs for services or action of some kind. Discussion often lasts 5 or 6 hours or longer, for the goal is still that of reaching a unanimous consensus of opinion. Moreover, presentations are stylized, deliberate, and repetitious. Most of the speeches are by men and by individuals of at least middle age, though a few of the veterans of World War II have spoken often and at length.

During most of the period since 1943, there has also been a local, elected Navaho judge who hears cases that are not serious enough for the Federal courts. Analysis of the records shows that charges are most frequently brought for the following (in order of frequency): drunkenness with attendant bodily or sexual assault or property damage; theft; and trouble between a married couple or illicit sexual acts. An attempt is usually made to arrange restitution or otherwise work out an amicable settlement between the parties. Where this

[33] Built by cooperative Navaho effort under stimulation from the then agent at Black Rock

fails, fines or jail sentences are imposed. Intermittently since 1939 there has been a local Navaho policeman.

The main mechanisms of social control in daily life remain the informal and customary ones. The Ramah Navaho have never constituted a unified and tightly knit community. Trends in this direction have been sporadic, short lived, and artificial because instigated from the outside. During an interval in the forties when the agent at Black Rock was exceptionally interested in the Ramah Navaho and was liked and trusted by them, the chapter house was built by voluntary effort and there was an attempt to run a cooperative trading store with two veterans as managers. But this latter venture collapsed after a few years, and the store was sold to one of the Mormon traders from Ramah. Probably one of the principal reasons that the Navaho have been much less resistant to cultural change than the Zuni is the lack of a strong central social and political organization to oppose change.

RELIGION

Navaho religion in general, and that of the Ramah Navaho in particular, has been presented at great length in numerous publications (see Rapoport, 1954). Here, therefore, I shall only add a little new material.

The 1940–50 period was one during which a fair number of Ramah Navahos for longer or shorter periods completely rejected their native religion. However, Vogt's (1951, p. 107) figures on ceremonial participation of 15 young men during 1947 demonstrate that only 1 failed to attend a single ceremonial during that year and the mean number of ceremonials attended was 10.6. Indeed there are other hints (such as increased taking of sweat baths during at least 1947 and 1948) of a response of antagonistic acculturaltion to missionary activity, the Ramah Navaho Day School, and other new pressures. The number of witchcraft stories (gossip and actual accusations) also hit a new peak during the 1945–50 epoch. This latter probably reflects the heightened economic anxieties and increased interpersonal tension consequent upon economic threat, erosion of the traditional culture and the reforming of the community after the dislocations of World War II (soldiers leaving and returning, men and whole families leaving the area to work in ammunition depots, etc.). The peyote religion has gained no adherents at Ramah.

A vivid and detailed account of Navaho religion in the life of one person (himself a diviner) will be found in Leighton and Leighton (1948). Spencer (1957) has analyzed intensively a portion of Navaho mythology to throw light on Navaho life view.

The value themes identified in plot construction center in four areas: the maintenance of health; the acquisition of supernatural power; the maintenance of harmony in family relationships; and the process of the young man's attainment of adult status. [Ibid., p. 86.]

Responsibility and self-reliance are valued character traits, but self-assertion contains both beneficent and aggressive-destructive components. The problem of aggression tends to be treated on the basis of a "practical" morality. (Ibid., pp. 92–94.)

PSYCHOLOGY

Leighton and Kluckhohn (1947, especially chs. 4 and 8) have presented a more extended treatment of Navaho "psychology" than will be possible here. The purpose of this section is to summarize some of the material obtained in the past decade insofar as it appears to constitute background relevant to an understanding of Ramah Navaho values. The Navaho are not a very "open" people in dealing with outsiders (cf. McAllester, 1954, pp. 76–77, 80–81). Even compared with, say, the Western Apache, they are reticent and suspicious and take a good deal of knowing. This is due, I believe, at least in part, to their having been so badly "seared" by their contacts with Whites. This reaction and the accompanying withdrawal and defensiveness appear more prominently at Ramah than in some other Navaho areas.

Bruner (1953) administered the dart test to 152 Ramah Navahos over 12 years of age. This experiment indicated that the Navaho individual changes his own aspirations in the direction of the aspirations of the Navaho group once the group's norms are made known to him. The Navaho also tend to sit tight and do nothing in an unfamiliar situation. Women were found to be less conforming than men on the dart test.

This last finding fits with the demonstration by Hughes (MS., 1951) and Rapoport (1954) that women have joined the Nazarene church in greater numbers than men and play a more active role in singing and other aspects of the services. It may also link with Strodtbeck's (1951) discovery that when Navaho couples engage in a discussion the wives win more decisions than the husbands, although the number of their acts of participation in these small group situations is lower than that of their husbands. The special psychology of Navaho women may also be reflected in Edmonson's (MS.) finding that, in contrast to both Hispano and Anglo culture, Navaho culture has a type of "dirty joke" appropriate to each sex.

Heath's (MS., 1952) study of drinking among the Ramah Navaho highlights many features both of psychology and of social structure. Drinking parties are an occasion for sociability but also for sexual

release and much expression of aggression. Drinking tends to take place in small groups. Heath's sample shows 39 pairs, 22 trios, and only 12 groups of four or more persons. The most frequent combinations of kin are maternal uncle with maternal nephew and brothers-in-law. Biological brothers and clan brothers drink together with only slightly less frequency. Husbands and wives drink together about half as often. Drinking by women is condemned by the more conservative Navahos, and far the greatest part of female drinking at Ramah is by women under 35. With the partial exception of married couples, drinking in mixed groups is generally disapproved, and out of 405 drinking episodes Heath found only 46 in which both sexes participated.[34] The hostility which comes out is not random but bears a relation to some of the main tensions in Navaho social structure as well as to geographical propinquity. Drunken assaults occur in the following order of frequency: husband and wife; maternal uncle and nephew; father-in-law and son-in-law; and clan brothers.[35] It is noteworthy that although cross-cousins often drink together, there is not a single instance in the field notes of drunken quarrels between them.

Kaplan's (1954) work with projective tests indicates that only on a few points can one make sound generalizations (other than gross and somewhat conflicting statistical trends) about the psychology of the Ramah Navaho. They do (ibid., p. 24) manifest an oral dependency syndrome which is completely absent in the Mormon group.

A monograph by Bailey (1950) and a chapter by Kluckhohn (1955) contribute to an understanding of the sexual psychology of the Ramah Navaho. Briefly, sex and the reproductive cycle of women are heavily tinged with supernatural beliefs and practices. On the other hand, sex at the suitable time and place and with a proper person is not "nasty" but rather one of the good things of life. In Freudian language, the Navaho have object taboos but not aim taboos. While—by the standards of Christian culture—the Navaho are far from puritanical as far as sexual behavior is concerned, and they make many ribald jokes (though between certain relatives reticences must be scrupulously observed), they are nevertheless modest about exposure of the genital areas.

As for the more cognitive aspects of psychology, the Navaho operate with a more limited variety of hypotheses than do Anglos; but within those limits the best Navaho minds think as rigorously as any others (cf. Ladd, 1956). Navahos tend to be systematists and classifiers, and they are often quite precise about their categories. There is a

[34] In only 15 of these incidents did sexual promiscuity fail to occur.

[35] Includes only pairs reported on four or more occasions.

marked tendency for all systems to be anchored at one or more points to Navaho theology and its terminology.

FINAL REMARKS

In reflecting on the values of the Ramah Navaho one must always bear in mind the variations as well as the similarities in the situation and culture of this group. Situation varies with age groups; degree of acculturation of one or more members of the family; sheer location (distance from Ramah, Zuni, Atarque); and quality of the land held. The effective culture varies along the lines of sex, generation, and acculturation as dependent upon personal experience regardless of age, location, and other factors. Even among closely related families of not dissimilar age composition, living contiguously, Roberts' (1954) microscopic investigation has indicated how many positive and negative differences may exist.

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EASTERN CHEROKEE FOLKTALES: RECONSTRUCTED FROM THE FIELD NOTES OF FRANS M. OLBRECHTS

By Jack Frederick Kilpatrick and Anna Gritts Kilpatrick

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EASTERN CHEROKEE FOLKTALES: RECONSTRUCTED FROM THE FIELD NOTES OF FRANS M. OLBRECHTS

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INTRODUCTION

The Frans M. Olbrechts collection of North Carolina Cherokee myths, legends, and miscellaneous stories and ethnographic data is not a collection in the generally accepted sense of that term, but rather a body of stenographic notes made at Big Cove on the Eastern Cherokee Reservation during a series of seven sessions with informants Will West Long and his half brother, Morgan Calhoun, on January 24 and February 1–3, 7–9, 1927. These notes are contained in eight small, lined notebooks plus five loose sheets.

Olbrechts' sprawling calligraphy evidences the haste with which he wrote. While almost every word of it is legible, unfortunately much of what he jotted down cannot be assembled into cohesive narratives. Groups of more or less complete sentences may be interspersed with assemblages that consist only of key words or phrases and mnemonic symbols across which one who has no familiarity with the tales cannot bridge the story lines. For this reason several stories that apparently never before had been collected could not be reconstructed.

Olbrechts' notes are in English, with an occasional Flemish phrase or paragraph or a Cherokee word. The Cherokee terms embedded in the stories and marginal linguistic notes are written in Olbrechts' complex phonetic system that presents serious problems in decipherment when handwritten in haste, and peculiar typographical difficulties to the printer. We, therefore, retranslated all Cherokee terms and set them down in Lounsbury-Kilpatrick, a typographically more practical system. We collated each story with other collections of Cherokee folktales and with the major collections of stories from the Southeastern cultural area.

Those myths which could not be found in the published literature of the Southeast are marked with an asterisk.

It would appear that Olbrechts intended to publish his collection, for he made rough typescripts of 16 stories. Two of these typescripts were prepared on August 1, 1931; the others were probably made during that same year.

As one might expect, the items in the collection are not of uniform importance. Some of them are better represented in other collections, and some are of slight intrinsic worth. But certain of the stories—the Fleakiller Cycle and the legends of the *Ani:gh(i)sgi* War, for example—are of primary importance, not only because they appear nowhere in the published literature, but also because they are choice specimens of the Cherokee storyteller's art.

Apparently most of the stories were obtained from Morgan Calhoun, who died at the age of 64, a few months after his association with Olbrechts. The affection of the 28-year-old Belgian anthropologist for the old Cherokee shaman and traditionalist is amply evidenced in "The Swimmer Manuscript" (Mooney and Olbrechts, 1932, pp. 112–113), wherein Calhoun is referred to as Og.—a code designation for *Ogan(a)sdo:da* ('groundhog, ground up, it'), the informant's Cherokee name. One gets some concept of the extent of backward reach of many of these stories when one considers that Calhoun learned them from a certain *Tsi:sghwana:i*[1] ('birds, going, they') who was born about 1836, and who in turn doubtlessly learned them from individuals born about the time of the founding of the United States.

The editors gratefully acknowledge that certain aspects of the investigation necessary to the preparation of this paper were made possible by a grant from the National Science Foundation.

COSMOGONIC MYTHS

1.—THE OBTAINING OF FIRE

Fire was first set in a hollow in the ground on an island. Every fowl, animal, and human being tried to get it.

First the Eagle flew over the island to try to get it, but he failed, and was burned to a dark color. The Raven next made a try, but he was burned so badly that he, too, turned black. The same thing happened to the Crow; the same thing happened to the Buzzard; and the same thing happened to the Turkey.

Then some of the animals thought that they might get the fire.

[1] Olbrechts writes this proper name *Tsi:sghwa Na:i*. There is a possibility that his White surname was Nye, and that his first name was Bird.

In trying, the Bear was burned until he was black. The Skunk was partially burned, and became spotted. The *Ino:li*[2] also became black.

The last creature that attempted to get the fire was the Spider. It was doubted that he could get it because he was so small and light, and because he had no way of getting across the water to the island.

But the Spider got a *dusdi:a*, the small clay bowl that we still call the "Indian pot," and tied it behind him with spiderweb; then he walked upon the surface of the water, just as he does today. And when he arrived where the fire was, he prepared a bunch of spinrags.[3] He threw these into the fire, and then pulled the fire toward him in the bowl.

He brought the fire back. That is how fire was obtained.[4]

2.—THE FIRE WOMAN*

In olden times men had to go hunting. Near the trail down which they passed was a woman—a very, very old woman with white hair—who sat in the bottom of a hollow tree. Every time a hunter came back from the hunt she would ask him, "Would you allow me to lick your meat?" Every hunter allowed her to do this. He would just cut off a piece of meat and hold it over her head. All the hunters wondered who this woman was.

One day the last hunter to return from a hunt passed by.

"Hold it above my head," the old woman said.

As she licked the piece of meat that he had cut for her, it became as if cooked by fire, and the fat of it trickled down upon her head. The man wondered if this old woman were Fire.

When he returned home, he told all the people what had happened, and they decided that the old woman was Fire.

"How can we get fire from that hollow tree?" they asked themselves.

They sent birds to get it, but it was too hot for them to do it.

The Turkey tried to get it; his head and neck were burned.

The Mole said, "I can crawl underneath the ground and get it"; but when he attempted to do so, he was burned black all over.

A man said, "I can get it. I can urinate on it and extinguish it. I can burst the tree." He was Thunder.

---

[2] Black fox.

[3] Spun rags?

[4] There is little variation here from statements of the myth in Mooney (1900, pp. 240–242), the Wahnenauhi Manuscript (Kilpatrick, ed., 1965), and the Barber Collection—the latter being in Sequoyah syllabary.

Olbrechts made a note of an alternate ending known to one of his informants: "Different story. Spider did not get it, but Thunders sent bolts of lightning and burst the fire and brought it back in hard pumpkin shells."

The lightning flashed and the rain poured down. The Fire was almost put out, but when the rain stopped, there was still a little of it left, and this he brought back to the people.[5]

3.—THE ORIGIN OF DEATH

In the days when the red people were satisfied to use barks and roots to cure whoever was ill, that is when the medicine was pure.

If a person died, he had to go out West (*Usv:hi:yi*) [6]; that was the place for him. Every 3 or 4 years someone might die. Not many persons died in those days, and there was not much serious illness.

At that time it was the custom to have a Chief. The Thunders and the Little People were living then, too.

The dead people were living where the magicians lived. Whoever died was dead for 7 days; then he came back to life. The Little People had to go get his soul and bring it back.

The first person who died was a girl. Two Little People took a black box with them, and when they went out West, they found the girl. When they found her, they asked her if she were willing to go back with them. She said that she was willing. So they put her into the coffin which was sealed tightly. There was no air in it, and there were no cracks in it.

On the way back the Little People rested at the first gap. At the second gap, as they were again resting, they heard the girl asking them for a crack through which to breathe. (The Chief had told them not to pay attention to anything that the girl said. She was a pretty girl when she died, and old enough to marry.)

While the two Little People were resting at the seventh gap, it became necessary for one of them to go away for awhile. When he had left, the other one made a hole in the coffin so that the girl might breathe. As he did so, he felt a strong wind against his face.

When the two Little People brought the coffin before the Chief, it was empty.[7]

This goes to show that if a taboo is broken, we cannot cure someone who is ill.

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[5] This variant of the preceding myth to our knowledge is not found anywhere in the literature. It is possible that the episode of the woman in the hollow tree is but the restoration of a detail that was lost in other tellings of the obtaining-of-fire myth.

[6] 'Night place,' the abode of the dead.

[7] This is but a detail of "The Daughter of the Sun" myth found in Mooney (1900, pp. 252-254), but apparently nowhere else.

The going to the West by the Little People in order to bring back the soul of the dead girl is echoed in a beautiful unpublished curing conjuration of the Oklahoma Cherokees which concludes thus:

edhi:iyv	nudadv:ne:lv	nasgi:ya	nidadv:ga	nv:do
ancient times	then he did it to	the same	now let us (all) do it to (imp.)	sun

4.—THE COUNCIL FOR APPORTIONMENT

All kinds of animals and human beings assembled (the animals could talk then).

The Frog was opposed to men being made alive again after 7 days of death sleep: "If all of them live, it will be so crowded that they might step on us and take my [scabs ?]." [8]

The *Tsuliyv:dhagv* [grubworm='which (is) segmented, it'] used to walk with his legs, but when he heard what the Frog said, he was so surprised that he fell backward.

Then all assembled said, "He will walk so forever"—and so he still does walk.

The Chipmunk (*ghi:yu:ga*) decided that women, when menstruating, should be under a taboo for 7 days.

Then all decided that he would have 10 or more stripes.[9]

5.—*GHANA:DI* PUNISHES HIS SONS

A man named *Ghana:di* lived with his wife and two small boys. Whenever they wanted meat, the father went out with his bow and arrows and always came back with game—a bear, a deer, a turkey, or the like.

The boys had a *tsitsi* [10] to play with: this was all that they had to play with, and when they finished playing with it, it always flew off and went under a cliff in the distance.

The boys were very interested in feet, in animals' feet—bears' feet, turkeys' feet, and so forth. So when they went to hunt, they took some feet with them to compare. . . .

In the open they hid . . . wasps, flies, gnats, yellow jackets, hornets, mosquitoes, fleas, lice. . . .

---

dighalv:gv rising (pl.), it	tsuna:hnigi:se which they left (w.p.k.)	ani:dawe:? wizards, they	u:tsawi U:tsawi	nv:tsawi Nv:tsawi
du:nadosv́:i named, they	nv:do sun	wudeli:gv over there going down, it	dunu:gh(i)didi:sv going in that direction, they	yv:wi person
uyohusv́:hi she died	unina:widv:dhané:i they carried her with them (w.p.k.)	gvno:nunv:nelé:i alive, they made her (w.p.k.)		

("Let us do as done in ancient times, when those wizards named *U:tsawi* and *Nv:tsawi* left the East and went to the West and carried back with them the dead person whom they restored to life.")

This is written down in the *Uwe:da:sadh* (*i*) Medicine Book No. 25.

There is a Huron myth that bears several significant points of resemblance to the story above (cf. Tooker, 1964, pp. 143–145).

[8] If our reading here is correct, the reference may be to the warts of the toad.

[9] This is an extract, with certain details varying, from the "Origin of Disease and Medicine" myth in Mooney (1900, pp. 250–252).

[10] Winter wren (*Nannus hiemalis hiemalis*).

When their father noticed what they had done, he made a noise like thunder, and came and helped them brush off from themselves the flies, gnats, fleas, and lice.[11]

6.—THE SONS OF *GHANA:DI* AND THE LITTLE PERSON [12]*

Ghana:di had forbidden his two sons to go to a certain cliff because it was dangerous there. They did not obey, however, and went there.

They found a Little Person, very handsome, sitting in the middle of a cave there. As soon as the two boys came in, he got up and said, "Would one of you two carry me about? Let me sit upon his back."

The youngest of the two was willing, and stooped to let the Little Person sit upon his shoulders. The Little Person got on and said, "Now! Carry me all about."

The boy walked all about with him, and the Little Person liked this very much. But the boy got tired of carrying him about, and the boys could not get the Little Person to come down. The boy felt that the back of his neck and the front of the Little Person were growing together.

The boy thought: "I will climb a tree, and fall down, and act as if I were dead. Then he will get off."

He climbed a tree, and fell off it, and pretended to be dead. As he did not get up again, the Little Person dismounted and said, "Now, that is a pity that he should be dead! He carried me all about so nicely, and I liked it so well!"

The Little Person started back toward his cave.

When he had been gone for some time, the boy "came to life" again, and with his brother ran for home.

But the Little Person had seen them, and ran after them.

Their father was a great wizard, and knew all that had happened. He went to meet the boys, and the eldest told him of their trouble.

"That's what I told you!" their father said. "I warned you not to go to that place."

And when the Little Person came near, the father cut him all to pieces, and as there was a pond nearby, he threw the pieces into it.

---

[11] While the lacunae in this story are somewhat damaging, it is clear that what Olbrechts heard but failed to make sufficient notes upon was a retelling of the releasing of insects by *Ghana:di* to torment his sons as a punishment for their permitting the animals to escape from the cave in which he had confined them (cf. Mooney, 1900, p. 244).

[12] Among the Oklahoma Cherokee we have yet to encounter the imputation of malice to a Little Person. The North Carolina attitude toward Little People is discussed in Witthoft and Hadlock (1946, passim), the Oklahoma attitude in the Wahnenauhi Manuscript (Kilpatrick, ed., 1966), and Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick (1964, pp. 79–95).

Every piece became a frog. That is why we have so many frogs now.

7.—THE ORIGIN OF CORN

The mother of *Ghana:di*'s sons always provided corn and beans and everything else that one eats. The boys wanted to find out where she obtained these things, so they decided to watch her.

When she went into the other room, they peeped through a crack and saw their mother open her legs. Corn and beans fell out of her vagina onto the ground.

Then they said, "Our mother feeds us with something bitter. We had better kill her."

The mother noticed how the boys felt, and she knew that she was going to be killed by her two sons.

She said to them. "Before you kill me, clear some land. Drag me around it. But you must not sleep all that night. If you sleep before morning, it[13] will take a long time to grow."

Then they killed her and placed her head in the window where she usually sat watching for the return of *Ghana:di*. They dragged her body around the piece of land that they had cleared. That night the corn began to grow. They could see it grow, and by morning it had grown *so* [60 cm.] high.

But they got tired and went to sleep, and when they awoke in the morning, the corn was barely standing above the ground.

If they had not gone to sleep, corn would grow in one night, but as they could not keep awake, it now takes 5 months in which to grow.[14]

8.—THUNDER KILLS AN *UGH(A)DHE:N(A)*[15]

Once Thunder was fighting an *Ugh(a)dhe:n(a)*. A man saw the fight. The *Ugh(a)dhe:n(a)* asked the man for help. Thunder asked the man to help *him*.

At first the man wondered whom to help; then he decided to help Thunder. When the man arrived upon the scene, the fight was over: Thunder had killed the *Ugh(a)dhe:n(a)*.

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[13] Corn (*se:lu*).

[14] The corn myth is possibly the most ubiquitous of all Cherokee myths. It is in the Payne Papers and the Wahnenauhi Manuscript (Kilpatrick, ed., 1966); Mooney recorded it twice (1888, pp. 97–106, and 1900, pp. 242 ff.); Gilbert collected it but did not publish it (1943, p. 302); and there is an exceptionally fine Western Cherokee version of it in Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick (1964, pp. 129–134). Four Creek variants (pp. 9–17), one Koasati (p. 168), and two Natchez-Cherokee (pp. 230–234) are in Swanton (1929).

[15] The Cherokee mythical sea dragon, variant spellings of which encountered in manuscripts written in Sequoyah syllabary are *Ugh(i)dhen:n(a)* and *Ugh(a)dhe:n(i)* (Wahnenauhi Manuscript (Kilpatrick, ed., 1966); Ten Kate, 1889, p. 55; Mooney, 1900, pp. 297–301, 458–461; Swanton, 1929, pp. 245–246; and Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, 1964, pp. 41–56).

Thunder said, "You will be my *vghiwi:na* [16]; you call me *edu:tsi* [17]."

Thunder commanded his two sisters to bring "horses," which were two huge snakes.

"Get on!" Thunder said. All got on.

They whooped, and at every whoop, lightning flashed and thunder sounded.

When we think it thunders, it is but the Thunder People whooping in the air.[18]

9.—THUNDER'S BROTHER-IN-LAW

Many years ago the Cherokees used to have many more dances than they do now. They had a dance every week.

Once to a dance there came two very attractive girls. Nobody knew them. When the dance was over, they left. One boy who was attracted to one of them more than all of the other boys followed the girls, but he could not overtake them.

The following Friday the girls again came to the dance. Again the boy followed them, but once more he could not overtake them.

So he went to a medicine man and asked him to prepare some attraction medicine.

The girls told their mother about the young man following them. She told them to wait for him the next time he followed them and to bring him home with them. So after the next dance the girls left, and the boy followed them, but this time the girls waited for him, and he went with them.

One of the girls asked, "To which one of us two do you want to talk?"

The one who asked was the one to whom the boy was the more attracted. She knew that before he told her; that is why she asked.

So they all went together to the girls' house.

Three or four days afterward there was the sound of thunder. The girl that was the wife of the boy shouted gladly, "Listen! My brother is coming!"

Soon afterward the brother of the girl came in; he was Thunder. He rode a very large snake, and every time it put out its tongue there was lightning.

The mother said, "Won't you take your brother-in-law with you for a ride?"

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[16] *Vghiwi:na*: my sister's son; my father's brother's daughter's son; my mother's sister's daughter's son; my mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son (Gilbert, 1943, p. 225).

[17] *Edu:tsi:* my mother's brother; my mother's mother's sister's son; my mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's son (Ibid., p. 224). The terms *agidu:tsi* and *edu:tsi* are not dialectal, nor are they interchangeable. Both are universally employed: the one in direct reference, the other in indirect.

[18] There is a Cherokee version of this myth in Mooney (1900, pp. 300–301) and three other versions of it in Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick (1964, pp. 50–56). Two Creek tellings of it are to be found in Swanton (1929, pp. 7–9).

Thunder said that he would do that. He said, "Go and saddle that horse in the stable."

But it was not a horse; it was another large snake that was brought out into the yard and put near the other snake.

Thunder said, "Take a necklace out of that box in the corner." When the boy raised the lid of the box, he saw that the necklace was a large rattlesnake.

The boy was afraid. As he stood on the porch, leaning, with his hand against a post, musing over whether or not to dare to pick up the rattlesnake, the people about him knew that he was afraid.

All of a sudden everything disappeared, and he stood in a very wild place, leaning, with his hand against a tree.

He managed to find his way home.

If he had not been afraid, he would be up *galv́:laʔdí*,[19] and a very great magician.[20]

10.—*VTSA:YI*[21]

Vtsa:yi lived down this river [22] alongside the road. I [23] don't know exactly where.

There are two versions told of what he used to play: (1) marbles; (2) *in(a)da:sada* ('you and I just put them [long] on top of each other').[24] *Vtsa:yi* wanted to play everybody who came past his house. He always won; he was a magician. He had gotten rich by his gains.

On the other side [25] lived a man that was Thunder. He often associated with a woman other than his wife, just as a human being does, and he had had a son by another woman without his wife knowing about it.

When he became grown, this boy had spots and sores all over his body. His mother told him: "Go to where your father lives and tell him you are his son, and he will cure you. *Vtsa:yi* will ask you to play with him, but don't listen to him. Tell him, 'When I come back.'"

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[19] Above, i.e., in heaven.

[20] There is an excellent telling of this myth in Mooney (1900, pp. 345-346), and Gilbert (1943, p. 302) states that he collected a version of "Thunder's Brother-in-Law."

[21] Mooney (1900, p. 544) is no doubt correct in stating that this word is "based upon the resemblance of the sound to that produced by striking a sheet of metal." It is usually translated as 'brass'; but it is also the word for "copper" which, surely, was its aboriginal value.

[22] Probably the Oconaluftee.

[23] Morgan Calhoun.

[24] In Oklahoma, where the game is seemingly extinct, it is usually referred to as *in(a) da:dhlada*. Olbrechts' note reads: "They put a heap of brushwood (small tree branches with leaves still on) about 1.50 diameter and same height. Each player has a number of (usual) arrows. The one who plays first holds arrow with point toward him [fig. 9], and tipping it over [fig. 10] makes it land on top of brushwood; the other party has to try to make his arrow land in such a way that it touches arrows of opponent [fig. 11]. If so, he wins, and takes arrow from opponent. If he manages to slip his arrow between reed and feathers of opponent's arrow [fig. 12], he wins two arrows. The game was revived last spring [1926]."

[25] Of the river?

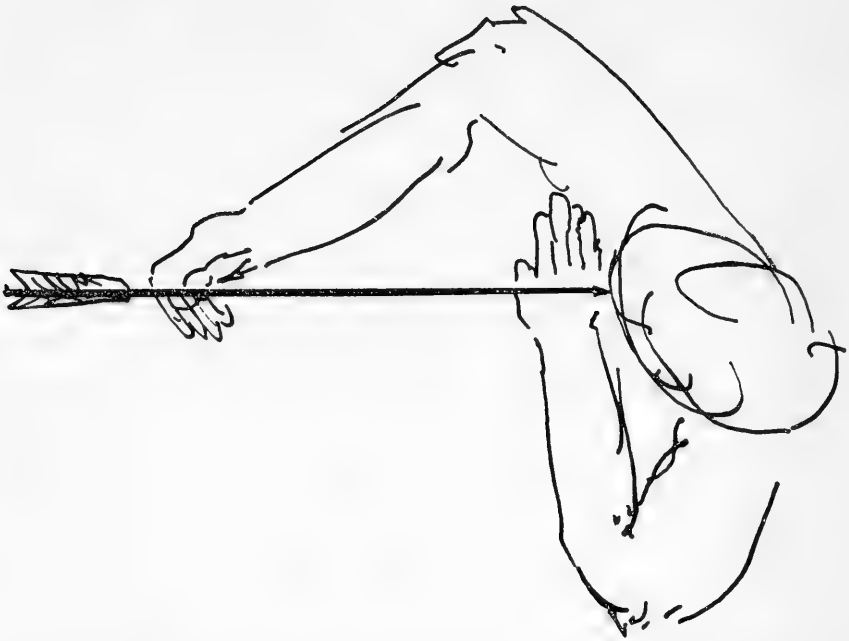

FIGURE 9.—Sketch by Olbrechts illustrating manner of holding arrow at beginning of game.

When the boy came past *Vtsa:yi's* house, the latter asked him to gamble, but the boy said that he had nothing to wager. Then *Vtsa:yi* said, "Let us play for your spots. If I lose, I will have them." He said this to make fun of the boy; but the boy continued on his way.

When he arrived at where his father lived, his father was absent. He told his stepmother that he was his father's son, and that his mother had sent him to be cured of his spots.

When Thunder came home, his wife told him what the boy had said, and she said, "I did not know that you had been to urinate out the other way."

Thunder said that he would soon find out if the boy were his son.

Next morning he went out to get the medicine with which to doctor the boy, and when he had gathered it all, he put it into an Indian pot to boil, and when it was all boiled, he took his son up by the hand and let him fall into the pot. Then he took the pot and threw it into the river. The pot burst all to pieces, and lightning came from it and struck a sycamore tree on the opposite bank of the river.

Then Thunder saw that the boy truly was his son, and he took the boy home with him.

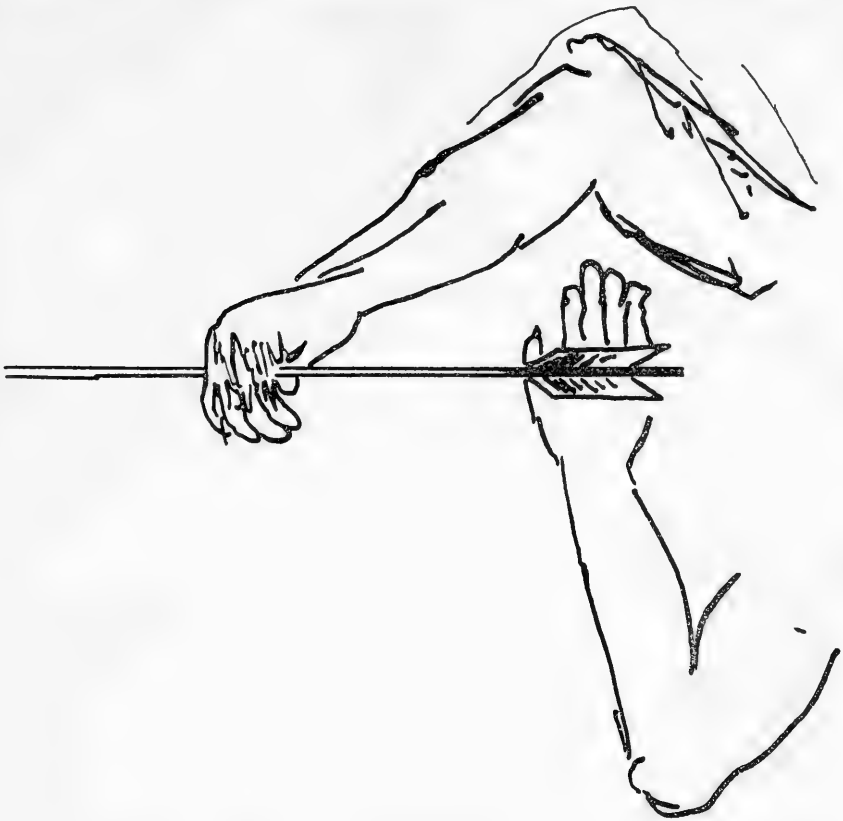

FIGURE 10.—Sketch by Olbrechts illustrating tipping of arrow.

When they arrived at Thunder's home, Thunder wanted another proof of the boy's paternity. There were seven locust trees standing there. Thunder said, "Let us see what you can do."

The boy struck a tree; it was splintered. He struck another one, and then another, until his father told him to stop.

The boy told his father that *Vtsa:yi* had wanted him to gamble. So Thunder got a gourd [26] and put beads in it—so many that all of them could never be taken out. Then Thunder commanded the Katydid to make arrows. In making them the Katydid used his tail (which is like a knife, but turned upside down) as a knife.

Then the boy went back to where *Vtsa:yi* was and told him that he had come back to gamble.

The boy said that *Vtsa:yi* must throw first. *Vtsa:yi* did so, but as soon as his arrow hit the brushwood, it burst all to pieces. *Vtsa:yi*

[26] The significance of this gourd is obscure. Olbrechts' notes make no further reference to it.

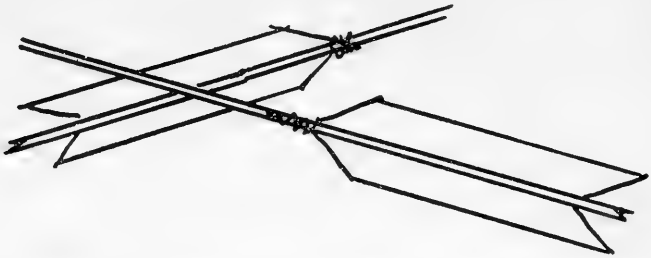

FIGURE 11.—Method of scoring, as illustrated by Olbrechts.

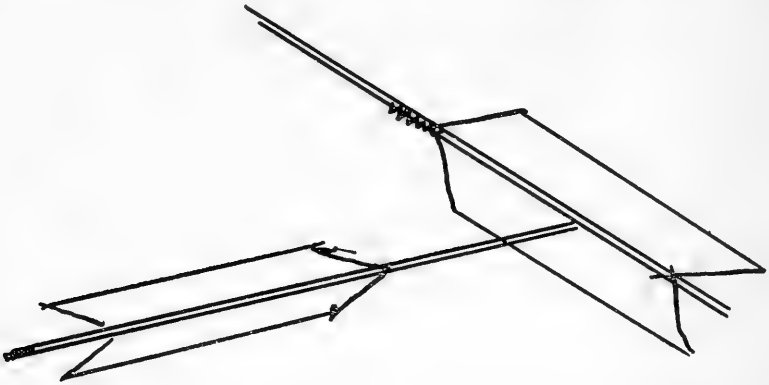

FIGURE 12.—Sketch by Olbrechts illustrating method of double scoring.

took a second arrow; this also burst. The same thing happened again and again until all of *Vtsa:yi's* arrows had burst.

Then the boy said, "I have brought some arrows. Take one of them."

Vtsa:yi took one of them and threw. The arrow did not burst.

The boy threw and won.

Every time they played, the boy won, until *Vtsa:yi* had no possessions left to wager. He then wagered a finger joint, then two finger joints, then a whole finger, then two fingers; then he wagered a hand, then an arm as far as the elbow, then a whole arm. He always lost. Then he wagered a toe, then a foot, and so on, until he lost his whole body. He wagered his wife, but again he lost; he wagered his life, but this he also lost.

Vtsa:yi then told the boy, "Well, you can kill me, but first I must go behind the house. I will come back right away."

He went, but he did not come back. The boy looked for him behind the house, but there was only a very old woman there, making an Indian pot.

The boy went back to his father, who sent the *i:gh(i)tschínvdagwalé:ga* ('it rolls excrement')[27] with him to look for *Vtsa:yi.* The beetle flew against the forehead of the old woman, and it rang out: "*Tsayi:* !"

The lightning struck, but it missed the old woman, and she escaped.

Vtsa:yi changed himself into all sorts of objects and animals as he fled toward the west, but every time he transformed himself, the beetle unmasked him, and lightning struck at him. Yet upon each occasion *Vtsa:yi* escaped, and there was but a hole in the ground where lightning had struck.[28]

Finally *Vtsa:yi* was caught, and put into the great water. A grapevine grew from his navel and sent out its tendrils onto a tree that grew on the bank of the ocean.

Vtsa:yi called upon beavers to cut the vine. They came, and began to gnaw at it; but the vine shook, and crows came and frightened the beavers away.

And so *Vtsa:yi* remains until now. *Agi:se:gwa* ('large female [animal]')[29] is the name given to *Vtsa:yi* as he lies there.[30]

11.—NOTES ON STONECLAD

One of his hands was sharp, and made of stone.

He transformed himself into different shapes. Sometimes he was an old woman, a grandmother.

He had to go through seven gaps. The people got seven women who were menstruating, had them strip off their clothes, and with their legs wide open, lie at the seventh gap.

When Stoneclad came by, he said, "My! What pretty girls all of you are!"

He was pleased to see them; but he began to spit blood unceasingly.

He told the people to make a fire of *i:déha* [31] in order to burn him.

He sang the songs for them.

He told them that after he was burned, they were to pick up the fragments of stone remaining, and that if they did this, they would never forget the songs that he had taught them.

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[27] Tumblebug. Olbrechts' note: "This beetle has greenish scales and comes out about June. On its head it has a spot like brass. That is where he struck Brass."

[28] Olbrechts' note: "Morgan's grandmother, when she came back from out West had seen the holes where lightning had struck."

[29] A colloquialism for a male who is afraid to enter an athletic contest or who repudiates a debt incurred in gambling.

[30] There is a lengthy example of this story in Mooney (1900, pp. 311–315), and Gilbert (1943, p. 302) states that he collected a version of it. The Koasati myth called "Thunder and Laigatonōhona" in Swanton (1929, p. 184) has many points of similarity to it.

[31] Basswood, or limetree (*Tilia americana* L.)

Whoever picked up some of the fragments was to mention that at which he wished to be successful.[32]

12.—THE ORIGIN OF THE PLEIADES

There were seven boys who played inside the *ga:dhi*[33] all day long. They had a drum, and they danced the Eagle Dance.

One day while they were dancing, they noticed that they were rising up into the air.

Near the Seven Stars is an eighth one, a very small one. This, they say, is the drum that the seven boys used.[34]

ANIMAL MYTHS

1.—THE POSSUM AND THE TERRAPIN ARE TRIED FOR KILLING THE WOLF

The possum is a poor animal. It is not very quick, and you can kill it easily. If you hit it with a stick, it will die. And it is tricky, too; if you throw it down on the ground, it will keep still as dead, but when you are not watching, it will jump up and run away.

The possum was a great magician, and always carried a flint in his pocket. (He has a pocket on his breast in which he carries his young.)

Terrapins are food for a wolf, and wolves are always trying to catch them.

Once the Wolf caught the Terrapin and was getting ready to kill him and to eat him. The Terrapin said, "Are you hungry?"

"Yes," the Wolf answered.

"Well," said the Terrapin, "if you will spare me, I will be glad. You see, I have a friend, and he has some persimmons for me to eat. I was just going over there where he is. If you wish, you can come, too, and you can have some persimmons. My friend can climb the tree and throw the persimmons down, and we can eat them as he throws them down."

The Terrapin's friend was the Possum; the Terrapin and the Possum were great friends. They had had a talk, and had agreed to help each other if one of them were caught by an enemy.

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[32] The story of the petrous giant who was destroyed by the magical influence deriving from menstrual women is one of the most widely reported of Cherokee myths. The account in Mooney (1900, pp. 319–320) is seemingly the most reliable version of the myth; other narrations are in: Ten Kate (1889, pp. 54–55); Terrell (1892, pp. 125–126); Howard (1959, pp. 134–138); and Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick (1964, pp. 59–61). Gilbert (1943, p. 302) also collected the myth. Olbrechts adds little, if anything, to the foregoing accounts.

[33] One of the several commonly used forms of the designation for a townhouse, or dance house.

[34] This is but a synoptic version of the myth told in Mooney (1900, pp. 258–259). It resembles a Koasati myth in Swanton (1929, p. 166).

As the Possum was getting ready to throw the persimmons down, the Terrapin said, "We'll see who gets them first. The one who is quicker will get the fruit."

Three times the Possum threw persimmons down, and the Wolf got them every time. The Wolf said, "Well! I didn't know these persimmons were so good to eat!"

The fourth time that the Possum threw something down, he threw the piece of flint that he carried about with him. The Wolf rushed up, thinking it was a persimmon, and swallowed it. It stuck in his throat, and he could not get his breath. That's how he died.

The Terrapin and the Possum were very pleased. The Possum climbed down from the tree. But before leaving, the two friends said, "Let's make dippers out of his ears to eat beans with." So they cut the Wolf's ears off and went on.

When they came to where some people were living, the people were just getting ready to eat. They said, "Come in!" and when the Possum and the Terrapin came into the house, the people said, "Sit down!"

The head of the family got up to get each of the animals a spoon, but they said, "We don't want spoons. We have our own spoons." So each took out his Wolf's ear and began to dip beans with it.

When the people saw this, they said, "Why, those are the Wolf's ears! They must have killed the Wolf!"

At that time it was against the law for animals to kill each other, so the people in the settlement assembled and decided that the Possum and the Terrapin were to be punished. They were arrested and brought to trial.

At the trial the Possum did not say a thing in his defense. He was quite willing to die, he said. But he had a trick—that's why he didn't care.

"Now! How are we going to kill this Terrapin?" the people said. Then they reached a decision: "We'll put him in the fire," they said.

"I don't care," the Terrapin said. "The fire won't harm me. I'll urinate on it and put it out!"

Then the people said, "We'll throw him down from a steep hill. That will kill him."

"I wouldn't mind that," said the Terrapin. "My shell will save me. I often jump off steep hills."

Then the people said, "We'll boil him in a pot, in water just as hot as we can get it to boil."

"I'll kick the pot to pieces," said the Terrapin.

Then the people said, "We'll throw him in the deepest hole of water that we can find. He will go to the bottom and certainly die."

When the Terrapin heard them say that, he began to cry, and his eyes became red. (They are still red to this day.) He said, "I'll surely die if you do that."

Then the people were pleased that they had found some way to kill him.

They threw him into the water, and down went the Terrapin, right to the bottom; and the people started back home, very pleased. But suddenly they heard someone whoop, and they saw the Terrapin upon the other side of the river.

The Possum they hit with a stick, and he fell down as if he were dead, but as soon as they quit watching him, he got up and ran away. So he still does today.[35]

2.—HOW THE BEAR LOST HIS TAIL*

The Bear used to have a bushy tail, just like the one the Fox has now. All the other animals were very jealous of the Bear.

Once, in winter, he met the Fox carrying a lot of fish. The Bear asked the Fox where he got them.

"I caught them," the Fox said.

"Where did you catch them?" the Bear asked.

"Come on! I'll show you."

So they went to where the water was frozen. The Fox cut a hole in the ice. "Now," he said, "put your tail into the hole, and you will catch just as many fish as you want."

The Bear did as the Fox told him. The Fox said, "Now sit still, and don't mind it if it hurts a bit, because the fish will come and bite your tail."

When the Bear's tail was frozen tight into the ice, the Fox said, "Now see how many fish you have."

But the Bear could not pull his tail out.

"Well!" the Fox said. "You must have *many* fish. You can't pull them out. Wait until I get somebody to help you."

Then the Fox ran swiftly past a house where there were two ferocious dogs, and as soon as they saw the Fox, they started in pursuit. The people shouted, and followed the dogs with their guns. The Fox ran back in the direction where the Bear was, and as soon as he had put the dogs on the Bear's track, he ran off.

The Bear could not get away; so he pulled and pulled until he got loose. But his tail was left sticking in the ice.

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[35] Mooney (1900, pp. 278–279) recorded this myth, but the above version is far superior to it; in fact, it is a superb example of Cherokee storytelling, one of the finest extant. The full flavor of the original language is happily preserved.

3.—HOW THE GROUNDHOG LOST HIS TAIL*

The Groundhog used to have a bushy tail.

Once the Wolf caught the Groundhog and was getting ready to kill him.

The Groundhog said, "Don't kill me yet. Before you kill me, let me sing a pretty song for you, and you can dance to it seven times around that tree."

So he began to sing, and the Wolf danced around the tree. As he was dancing around the tree for the seventh time, the Groundhog turned a somersault and dived into a hole under the tree.

The Wolf caught him by the tail, which came off, and was left in the Wolf's claw. The groundhog has not had a bushy tail since.

4.—THE CONTEST OF THE DEER FOR SEXUAL DIFFERENTIATION

Two deer agreed to have a contest. They were to jump across the river where it was deep and flooded to a flat rock on the other side.

"If one of us jumps as far as the other bank, that one will be a buck," they said, "but if one of us falls into the river, that one will be a doe."

They jumped at the same time, but only one of them managed to get across. That one became a buck. The one that had fallen into the river became a doe.

Up until a few years ago the flat rock upon which the deer landed, about a mile from Ela, toward Governors Island,[36] could still be seen. A deer's hoofprint in the rock could be plainly seen. The place was called *Ahwi Tsula:sgv:i* ('deer, where footprinted, he'). About ———[37] years ago a highway was built which necessitated blasting the rock.

AVIAN MYTHS

1.—THE BIRD THAT WAS ASHAMED OF HIS FEET*

There is a bird called a *no:ghw(i)si*[38] which is about the size of a quail and which walks like a quail. It usually stays in lowlands.

The feet of one of these birds grew so long that he became ashamed of himself and hid in the grass all the time.

The Grasshopper came to see him and said, "What are you hiding for?"

"I am ashamed to go out," said the bird.

"Why?" asked the Grasshopper.

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[36] In Swain County, N.C., on the Tuckasegee River, adjacent to the part of the Eastern Cherokee Reservation known as the 3200-Acre Tract.

[37] Olbrechts forgot to supply a figure here.

[38] Meadowlark. *No:ghw(i)si* also means 'star.'

"Because my feet are so long," answered the bird.

"Well, they will be useful to you one of these days," said the Grasshopper.

"How?" asked the bird.

"You just wait. You'll see," said the Grasshopper. Then the Grasshopper told him to quit hiding and to go out in the fields and sing.

The bird took his advice and went forth and sang. His song was so beautiful that everyone stopped to listen to it. The next afternoon he went out and sang again. But he kept thinking to himself, "My feet are good for nothing." He hid in the grass again.

A female bird had laid some eggs in the middle of a wheatfield. The wheat became ripe, and she heard some men say that they were going to cut it. She began to cry because she had no way of saving her eggs.

The Grasshopper came to see her. "What are you crying for?" he asked.

"I am crying because the wheat is going to be cut and my eggs will be destroyed," she said.

"There is a bird living over there in the grass who is always hiding because he has big feet," said the Grasshopper. "I am sure that he can help you out."

The female bird said, "I'll go see him. Maybe he can carry away the eggs in his claws."

She went to see him, and he agreed to try and help her. Then he found that with his long feet he could carry the eggs very easily. He took them for her to a safe place.

"Now I see what the Grasshopper meant," he said.

2.—THE BIRDS SELECT A CHIEF*

All the birds decided to select a Chief and an Assistant Chief. They considered how they could determine which ones of them to choose and decided that they would have a contest. The one who flew highest would be Chief; the one who flew second highest would be Assistant Chief.

The *Tsitsi* [39] knew that the Eagle was certain to go highest, so he got under the Eagle's wing, and as the *Tsitsi* weighed very little, the Eagle did not notice his presence. All the birds flew off.

Some did not go very high, and when they had gone as high as they could go, they came down. The Eagle went highest, and when he had satisfied himself that no other bird had gone higher than he, then

[39] Winter wren, see footnote 10, p. 389.

he started to descend. The *Sa:nuwa*[40] went second highest, and was the last bird but one to come down.

When the Eagle was nearly down, the *Tsitsi* came out from under the Eagle's wing without being noticed. When the Eagle had landed, and all the birds were about to agree that he should be Chief, they noticed that the *Tsitsi* was still up in the air, and they concluded that he must have flown higher than the Eagle.

3.—THE MAN AND THE FISHINGHAWK*

A man was fishing, but he could catch no fish. At the same spot the Fishinghawk was also fishing—stopping still, flapping his wings and calling: "*Tsu! Tsu! Tsu!*" He made this sound to call fish, and he got just as many fish as he wanted.

Because the Fishinghawk was so successful, and he could catch nothing, the man became jealous. So he thought an *aye:ligo:gi*[41] against the Fishinghawk. Then when the Fishinghawk called, the fish did not come to him. "*Tsi! Tsi! Tsi!*" the Fishinghawk shouted, and he cried. Then he flew up into the heavens and disappeared.

The man laughed at him.

But soon he saw the Fishinghawk descending, with red fish, which he had caught up above, in his bill. He perched in a tree nearby, and then he began to catch fish. The man then saw that the Fishinghawk was a magician, and he began to cry.

After 7 days the man died.

Because of this, it is believed that the Fishinghawk is a greater magician than man, and therefore useful in a fishing prayer.[42]

4.—THE CRANE LEADS THE DANCE*

There lived a woman whose daughter had died. The woman had loved her daughter very much, and she thought of her all the time and wept. The woman's health declined; she would not eat. She looked so ill that the people thought that she was going to die.

"What can we do for her?" they said. "We must make her happy, and make her stop thinking of her daughter."

They decided that they would have a dance.

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[40] The great mythic hawk (see "The Nest of the *Sa:nuwa*" p. 437). is almost certainly not the bird in reference here. The allusion may be to the *sa:nuwa usdi:i* ('*sa:nuwa*, small') which Mooney (1900, p. 284) tentatively identifies as the goshawk.

[41] An illness created by sorcery (Mooney and Olbrechts, 1932, pp. 33-34).

[42] In contradistinction to what has been reported to be the case in North Carolina, a noteworthy corpus of pescatory magic still exists in Oklahoma. Western Cherokee fishing-charms frequently importune the Fishinghawk-spirit (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, in press).

So that night they had a dance, and they varied the dancing a great deal in order to distract her thinking by constant change. She became happy, but just for a little while.

Toward morning, when they were going to perform the last dance, they saw that they still had not succeeded in their intentions. The Crane was standing at the door, watching them (the Crane is a funny bird, with his thin body and long legs and bill). They called him in to lead the dance because they knew that he was a very funny dance leader.

"*Yu:! Yu:!*" the Crane called, and the dance began, with the Crane leading it. The woman looked at the Crane and became very much interested in him.

When the Crane came to the place in the dance where he was supposed to bow down and say: "*Tsiwí:na tsige:sú:i tsin(i)gadhv:nehó:i* ('what I did [habitually] when I was a young man')," he bowed down, and standing with his hindquarters toward the woman, he defecated.

This made everybody, and especially the sad mother, laugh so much that she kept thinking of it all the time, and every time she had to eat again, she thought of it, and in this way she was cured.

ADVENTURES OF THE TRICKSTER RABBIT

1.—THE RABBIT DUPES THE FOX*

The Fox was a great fisher. Once, when he had caught a great many fish, he met the Rabbit. The Rabbit could not fish.

He asked the Fox, "Would you let me have some fish?"

But the Fox said, "No!"

The Rabbit thought: "How can I get them?"

So he walked along with the Fox for some distance, and then left him. But he ran back by some roundabout way until he came back to the trail in front of the Fox, and there lay down as dead.

When the Fox passed, he thought: "Well! A dead rabbit!" But he did not care because he had so many fish.

As soon as the Fox was gone, the Rabbit got up, and again by some roundabout way ran to a spot that the Fox was to pass. There again he lay down, pretending to be dead.

As he passed by, the Fox thought: "Well! Another dead rabbit!" But since he was carrying so many fish, he did not want to bother with a rabbit.

When he was gone, the Rabbit jumped up, and once more he ran by a roundabout way to a place which the Fox was to pass, and as before, he pretended to be dead.

When the Fox saw the third "dead" rabbit lying there, he thought: "Now! That's the third rabbit. If I get them all, they would make a nice rabbit-mash." So he put his fish down, and went to get the two other rabbits.

While he was away, the Rabbit ran off with the fish.

When the Fox arrived where the "second" rabbit had lain, it was gone. The "first" rabbit also was gone.

Then the Fox realized that he had been tricked, but he did not care because he believed that he could go back where he had left them and get the "third" rabbit and the fish.

When he arrived at the place where he had expected to find them, they, too, were gone.

So he had nothing at all.

2.—THE RABBIT DUPES THE WILDCAT*

Upon another occasion the Rabbit was caught by the Wildcat.

The Rabbit said, "Let's go out and kill a deer instead of me. I know where the deer feed. They eat moss in the river, and they are down there in the river right now."

"Deer?" said the Wildcat. "Do you eat deer?"

"Certainly," said the Rabbit. "I catch deer all the time."

The Wildcat believed him. So the two animals went down to the river where they saw many deer, large and small, feeding on moss.

There was a tree overhanging the water where the deer were feeding. The Rabbit climbed this tree. There was a deer directly beneath it. The Rabbit let himself drop upon the deer's back. The deer shook off the Rabbit, who fell into the water and let himself drift downstream with the current. He climbed out of the water on the other side of the river, and thus got away from the Wildcat.

The Wildcat leaped on a very small deer and had it for his food instead of the Rabbit.[43]

3.—THE RABBIT DUPES THE OTTER

Otters eat rabbits.

Once the Otter had caught the Rabbit and wanted to eat him.

"Don't eat me," the Rabbit said. "We are relatives."

The Otter was doubtful because the Rabbit looked so different from himself, but the Rabbit maintained that what he said was true.

"Are you sure that we are kinsfolk?" asked the Otter.

"Why, yes—quite sure!" the Rabbit said.

---

[43] While we do not find this story in the published literature, its affinity to the tale wherein the Rabbit transfers the Wildcat's predatory intentions to a flock of turkeys is obvious (cf. Mooney, 1900, pp. 269–270; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, 1964, pp. 32–35; see also Swanton, 1929, pp. 47–49, 109, 200, 259, and Speck, 1909, p. 153).

"How can we find out that what you say is true?" asked the Otter.

"I know how," the Rabbit said. "What are your stools like when you defecate?"

"When I defecate," said the Otter, "there are shells of crayfish in my stools."

Said the Rabbit, "It's the same with me—shells of crayfish, heaps of them. Let's both of us sit down, close our eyes, and defecate. Then you will see that we are kinsfolk."

So they both sat down. Closing his eyes, the Otter defecated. As soon as he had done so, the Rabbit took half of the stool of the Otter and placed it under himself. Then he told the Otter to open his eyes. Sure enough, there was the same kind of ordure under both of them.

"And yet," the Otter said, "I never knew myself to defecate so little."

"Nor am I accustomed to defecating so little," said the Rabbit.

The Otter was still doubtful, and did not let the Rabbit loose. They traveled together along the same trail, and when night was approaching, at the place called *Dida:dhlahosgí:yi* ('they [granulated] which fall upon one-place'), they halted and built a fire.

The Otter went to sleep, but the Rabbit kept awake, and as soon as the Otter was fast asleep, the Rabbit took a piece of bark, and using it as a shovel, threw burning coals upon the Otter's coat. The Otter was badly burned, and suffered severely.

The Rabbit shouted, "Run this way to the water!"

The Rabbit ran the other way, but the Otter ran straight into the water, and he has lived there ever since.

The place where this happened is called *Dé:gale:yvsú:i* ('burned [in several places], one-place').[44]

4.—THE RABBIT DUPES THE POSSUM

In olden times the animals had a principal chief, and they had a place of assembly where they often went to discuss their affairs. The Rabbit heard about one of their meetings, so he went to where the animals were assembled.

There was an important matter under discussion at the meeting. The Rabbit listened. (The Rabbit was going to pretend that they were talking about something else, and thus have some fun. He sat there listening with his ears pricked up, thinking of the fun he was going to have.)

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[44] Olbrechts informs us that a place near Bryson City, in Swain County, is called by this term.

It is probable that this story was originally Muskogean, for one finds in Swanton (1929) the following versions of it: four Creek (pp. 42–45); two Alabama (pp. 159–161); two Koasati (pp. 205–206, 207–208); and one Natchez-Cherokee (pp. 259–261). There is a Tasgigi version in Speck (1907, p. 154). The ending of the story is almost identical with an episode in a Cherokee myth in Mooney (1900, pp. 267–268).

Then the Rabbit left, and when he got home, he told the Chief and the townsfolk that he had come from where the chiefs were assembled, and that they had decreed that his settlement must have a dance, and that every girl must go to it with a boy and have fun with him (you know what I mean).

The Chief said, "Well, if our chiefs have decided that, we must obey." So arrangements for a dance were made.

The Rabbit had many girls to go with because he had a good attract-medicine, but the Possum could not get a single girl because girls were not attracted to him. The next day the Possum went to the Rabbit and complained because he had not had any success at the dance. He asked the Rabbit if there was going to be another dance soon.

"Well, I'll go hear what the council says," the Rabbit said, "and if it decides that we must have another dance, why, we'll have it."

The Rabbit went again to the place where the chiefs were assembled. They were discussing some important business.

When the Rabbit returned home, he said, "This time our chiefs said that we have to fight. They want us to fight as hard as we can."

The Chief said, "We must do what the council says to do."

So arrangements to have a fight were made, and then when the night for it had come, all fought as hard as they could.

The Possum got hit so hard that he became almost dead (he is a poor fighter, and soon dies), but when the fight was all over, he came back to life again.

Now, therefore, when you hit the Possum, he dies immediately, but comes back to life again soon afterward.[45]

5.—THE RABBIT DUPES THE WOLF

The Wolf was the best runner of all the animals—and he still is.

One day he met up with the Rabbit and challenged the Rabbit to a race. The Rabbit said, "I don't know whether I could beat you or not, but maybe I can find someone to race against you." The Wolf was very proud because the Rabbit said that, and said that he was willing to race against anyone that the Rabbit might find.

The Rabbit went to see the Terrapin, and they talked over the matter. The Rabbit had a trick in mind. The Terrapin said that he would be willing to do as the Rabbit said.

The Rabbit went out and found six terrapins which were exactly the same color as the Terrapin. When he had everything ready, he

[45] This story is but slightly varied from a presentation in Mooney (1900, p. 273).

announced that there was to be a race over seven gaps between the Wolf and the Terrapin.

The day set for the race arrived. The Wolf and the Terrapin started off together. The Wolf started off swiftly, and the Terrapin crawled along as fast as he could.

As the Wolf was nearing the second gap, someone ahead of him whooped. When the Wolf looked to see who it was, he saw that it was the "Terrapin," crawling along far ahead. The Wolf was much surprised. (He thought it was the Terrapin, but it was only one of the terrapins which had been sent to that place by the Rabbit.)

When the Wolf came to the spot where he thought he had seen the Terrapin, he did not see anything. The terrapin had hidden among the leaves.

So the Wolf thought that he had passed the Terrapin, but as he neared the third gap, again he heard someone whoop. Once more the Wolf thought that it was the Terrapin, for he did not know that it was another one of the terrapins, sent there by the Rabbit.

And so again and again.

As the Wolf approached the seventh gap, again he saw the "Terrapin" crawling in front of him, and the "Terrapin" got to the seventh gap ahead of the Wolf. The Wolf was very tired, out of breath, and sweating all over. The "Terrapin" was just as fresh looking as if he had not hurried at all.

The Terrapin won the race, and everyone made fun of the Wolf because he had lost the race against the slow Terrapin.[46]

6.—THE RABBIT AND THE TERRAPIN DUPE THE WOLF*

The Rabbit had a place in the grass where he liked to sit. One day when he was dozing there, he awoke to discover that the Wolf was approaching. The Rabbit ran into his hole.

The Wolf dug in the earth, first upon the front side of the burrow and then upon the back side, and caught the Rabbit.

"You mustn't kill me," the Rabbit said.

"Why not?" asked the Wolf.

"We have a Judge right here," said the Rabbit. "If he decides that you can kill me, that will be all right—or he may find some other way of giving you satisfaction."

They went over to where the Terrapin was sitting. He was the Judge.

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[46] The motif of a race between the Terrapin and some speedy animal is ubiquitous in the Southeast. Swanton (1929) presents these examples of it: five Creek (pp. 53–55); one Hitchiti (pp. 101–102); one Alabama (pp. 157–158); one Koasati (p. 201); and one Natchez-Cherokee (p. 252). There is also a Tasgigi version in Speck (1907, p. 155). Mooney (1900, pp. 270–271) records an Eastern Cherokee specimen of it, and Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick (1964, pp. 17–19) offer three Western Cherokee versions.

The Rabbit said, "The Wolf has caught me, and he is bringing me here to you for you to decide if it is all right for him to kill me."

(The Rabbit and the Terrapin were very close friends, and they lived together. They had agreed if either of them were caught, the other was to help him. Over the Rabbit's hole they had propped up a heavy stone.)

The Terrapin said to the Wolf, "Where did you catch him?"

"Over there, in his hole," the Wolf said.

"Well, let's go over there," the Terrapin said.

So they all started over to the Rabbit's burrow, and when they got there, the Terrapin said, "How did you catch him? Show me."

Then the Wolf explained that he had first tried, but had failed, to get the Rabbit by digging into the front of the hole, and then later had dug from behind and had found the Rabbit squatting against the back of his burrow.

"Let's see just how you did it," said the Terrapin.

So the Wolf dug into the burrow again. The Terrapin and the Rabbit remained outside. As soon as the Wolf was well into the hole, the Terrapin and the Rabbit pulled away the props and the heavy stone fell and buried the Wolf.

That is the way the Wolf was killed.

7.—THE DEER DUPES THE RABBIT

This story is about another kind of Rabbit—a larger one.

He had played many tricks upon the other animals, but it was against the law to kill him. So the animals assembled and asked each other, "How can we get rid of this Rabbit?"

They agreed that they must remove him, so at this meeting of the animals the Deer said, "I can make him leave the country; I can put him in another country."

All the animals said that they would like that.

So the Deer went to talk to the Rabbit and asked him if he would like to enter a contest to jump across a small stream. The Rabbit, a great jumper, was willing.

The Deer and the Rabbit came to a small stream which the Rabbit knew that he could jump across with ease. "You jump first," said the Deer.

The Rabbit gave a tremendous leap; the Deer did not jump at all.

When the Rabbit hit the ground, he looked back and saw that he had jumped across the ocean.[47]

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[47] Mooney (1900, p. 277) records this story substantially as it stands here

8.—THE RABBIT GOES DUCK HUNTING

Once the Rabbit was caught by the Otter. The Rabbit wanted to preserve his life, and he said, "Don't kill me because you and I are the best of friends. I'll show you something good to eat."

There were some ducks in the vicinity. "I'll catch one of those ducks, and that will show you that you and I are kinsfolk," the Rabbit said to the Otter.

The Rabbit got some hickory bark and took it with him as he dived under the water. He had to surface soon to stick his nose up out of the water in order to breathe. After doing this a few times, swimming underwater and then surfacing in order to get his breath, he got near a duck; then diving underwater one last time, he swam under the duck, grasped its leg, and quickly tied his hickory bark around it. When the duck felt this, it flew up into the air, carrying the Rabbit with it.

While he was being pulled through the air, the Rabbit could hold onto the hickory bark no longer. He fell into the hollow stump of a tree. He could not get out of it and get anything to eat. He ate decayed wood and his own fur, just as rabbits still do, you know, when they cannot get food.

The Rabbit heard two turkeys talking near the stump. The turkeys had been his enemies since he had played the trick upon them. The Rabbit said, "Cut a hole in this tree. I am the prettiest girl that you have ever seen."

The turkeys cut a hole, but the Rabbit said, "Make it a bit bigger. I am a pretty good size."

Then they cut it bigger, and the Rabbit said, "Now stand aside! I am coming out!"

When the turkeys got out of his way, he suddenly jumped out through the hole, all naked as he was, and disappeared.[48]

9.—THE RABBIT DESTROYS STONECLAD

The Rabbit and Stoneclad (the one who was burnt) met up with each other. Stoneclad tried to kill the Rabbit, but the Rabbit said, "You and I are the best of friends!"

Stoneclad believed him.

"We'll stay together overnight," the Rabbit said. They built a fire.

The Rabbit made a hammer of stone.

"Why did you make that hammer?" Stoneclad asked.

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[48] There exist other Cherokee versions of this story (Mooney, 1900, pp. 266–267; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, 1964, pp. 24–25), and Koasati (p. 208) and Natchez (p. 241) accounts in Swanton (1929) bear some slight resemblance to it.

"I was just playing around," the Rabbit answered.

Stoneclad went to sleep. The Rabbit watched him, and after Stoneclad was sleeping soundly, the Rabbit heated a stone, inserted it in the anus of Stoneclad, and drove it in with a well-placed blow from the stone hammer. Then the Rabbit ran toward his hole.

Just as he got near it, he heard a loud explosion; Stoneclad had blown to pieces. A bit of stone hit the Rabbit upon the tail. That is how his tail was cut off; that is why it is as it is now.[49]

10.—THE RABBIT STEALS THE MASK OF THE SON OF *U:GHV*[50]

A man—they called him *U:ghv*—had a son who was very handsome, and who had a fine mask. Every time he went to a dance, he took the mask with him, and everybody thought that the mask was his natural face. There were seven girls that always went with him when there was a dance.

The Rabbit had watched him closely, and had found out that his handsome face was not his own, but merely a mask. He knew where *U:ghv's* son had put the mask, and one day he stole it and went to the dance.

He sat at some distance away, but the girls saw him, and taking him to be their friend, went and sat with him. They joked with each other, and asked the Rabbit some questions for fun. But the Rabbit could not answer them because his language was different from theirs. Then they watched him closely, and found out that it was only the Rabbit under the mask. Immediately they began to chase him, but the Rabbit threw away the mask and escaped.

When *U:ghv's* son came to the dance, he could not get the attention of any of the seven girls anymore.

STORIES OF FLEAKILLER[51]

1.—FLEAKILLER AVENGES HIS MOTHER*

There lived a woman who had a son. He was just a small boy. He was always shooting fleas with his bow and arrows. He must have been a wizard. On some days he would kill *this* many [about two handfuls]. That was all he was good for.

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[49] Flint is substituted for Stoneclad in versions of this tale found in Mooney (1900, pp. 274–275) and in Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick (1964, p. 62). In still another version (ibid., pp. 62–64) the Western Cherokee human trickster figure *Tsegh(i)sgi:n(a)* ('Jack-devil') replaces the Rabbit.

[50] While we cannot be certain of the etymology of this proper name, from the relationship of its possessor to the story line we venture the conjecture that it might bear some affinity to *u:ghvha:dlv* ('his [or her] face'), or perhaps *u:ghvhadhoʔdi:yi* ('to form a face with, he [or she]'), or 'mask.' We have never encountered the story elsewhere.

[51] To our knowledge, the character Fleakiller does not appear anywhere in the published literature, but his resemblance to the figure of the Orphan Boy with supernatural powers, a familiar one in Muskogean mythology, is patent.

One day the mother went to wash clothes in the river. A big watersnake that was living in the river at that place spouted forth a great gush of water which washed the woman away. She was never seen anymore. From then on the people knew that this was a dangerous place and did not dare to go there anymore.

The boy never thought of his mother; he was but a small child and never even noticed her absence.

One day, when he was about 5 or 6 years old, he was making a new bow and some arrows. He used a stone to sharpen his knife, and with every stroke of the knife upon the stone he heard: "*Tsatsi, tsatsi!*"

He inquired of people about this word: "Was there any person who ever lived whom I could call *tsatsi?*"

They said: "Yes, that word means 'your mother.' You used to have a mother once."

He asked them what had become of his mother. They told him all about what had happened to her—how she had once gone to wash clothes in the river, and how a big watersnake had washed her from the bank.

When he heard this, he became angry at this reptile and said that he was going to the place where this had happened.

"You had better not do that," the people told him. "There must be something dangerous living there. Nobody ever goes there."

"Well, I am going there anyway," he said, "and I am going to kill that snake."

They told him not to try to do this because the snake would kill him; but "I will go anyway," he said, and he started off.

As soon as he came to the place, he saw the snake lying right in the middle of the river.

He shot it, and killed it.

2.—FLEAKILLER PLAYS KICK BALL*

This is what they also told me about Fleakiller (it happened when he had grown up):

He had a sister, and wherever Fleakiller went, he and his sister were always together.

Once they met one of the Little People, also with his sister. (The Little People are great wizards.) They challenged Fleakiller and his sister to a game of kick ball.[52] They wanted Fleakiller to play against the Little Person's sister first. Fleakiller refused, unless she kicked first.

"No," she said. "You kick first."

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[52] *An(a)lá:sgaliá* ('they apply the foot to it'). It is played by a team of women versus a team of men.

"Indeed not! You kick first!" he said.

Finally he told her, "If I kick first, I'll win."

Since she still insisted, Fleakiller kicked. The ball did not fly off, but the Little Person's sister went up into the air and fell on the goalpost which was as sharp at the top as it could be, and her body was pierced and she was killed.

The Little Person went to the post and took off the body of his sister, and being a powerful wizard, brought his sister to life again.[53]

3.—THE LITTLE PEOPLE TAKE FLEAKILLER BEAR HUNTING*

Since the kick ball, the Little People hated Fleakiller. (Everybody hated him.) The Little People thought: "How can we get rid of him?" So they decided to take him along with them on a bear hunt. He said, "Yes, I am willing to go with you." So he went.

The bear lived in a dense laurel thicket in the wilderness. The Little People told Fleakiller to go into the thicket and to stalk the bear so that they could surround the thicket and kill the bear as it came out. But they did not want the bear; they wanted Fleakiller to get lost.

Fleakiller went into the thicket, saw the bear, and killed it. (He always carried his bow and arrows with him, and also a piece of brown stone.[54]) It was a dark day, and there was no sun. He cut the bear up and prepared the meat to carry it home with him, but when he started to go, he could not find his way back.

The Little People knew he was lost, and as soon as they returned home, because they were rid of him forever, they decided that they would have a feast. They were going to have a dance like the Eagle Dance.

When Fleakiller saw that he was lost, he took his piece of brown stone and said a prayer in which he called his stone "Brown Dog." He then rolled it in the direction of the North, to find out if that was his way to go home. But the stone came rolling back: the North was not his way to go back.

He then rolled the stone toward the West, to find out if his home was in that direction; but again the stone came rolling back: the West was not his way to go back.

Next he rolled the stone toward the South, to find out if that was the way he would have to go; but again the stone came back to where Fleakiller was; the South was not the way.

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[53] Olbrechts' note: "The end of this story does not seem to be as it ought to be[.] M.[organ] does not seem to be very certain and W.[ill West Long] is sleepy. M.[organ] seems to make what is told in this story the reason for the L.[ittle] People's hate of Flk. [Fleakiller]." The studied enmity of the Little People toward an individual is a motif that we do not find in the published literature.

[54] A divining pebble (see Mooney, 1891, pp. 386–387). The motif of rolling a chunky disk toward each o the cardinal directions for the purpose of divination is found in Mooney (1900, p. 246).

Then he took the stone and rolled it in the direction of the Easte to find out if that was his way. This time the stone did not com, back.

"That is the direction of my home," thought Fleakiller.

Then he tried again; he took his bow and shot an arrow toward the North, but the arrow came back. Next he shot it toward the West, but again it came back to him. He then shot it toward the South, but back again it came. But when he shot it toward the East, the arrow did not return.

This time he was sure that his home was in the direction of the East, and straightway he started out. He got back to the settlement the very night that the people were having a dance to celebrate his loss.

The Chief was addressing the Little People, telling them that they were having this dance because Fleakiller had at last disappeared forever. Nobody saw Fleakiller as he was standing near the doorway of the townhouse, listening to all that was being said about him.

Then Fleakiller spoke: "Shame on all of you! You wanted me to go with you on a bear hunt. All of you ran away, but I went and killed the bear and brought his meat home. Here it is!"

Everybody became quiet and ashamed because he spoke that way.

4. FLEAKILLER KILLS A *DHA:GHWV* [55] *

The Little People hated Fleakiller still more. They thought that they would again try to get rid of him.

One day they went fishing and asked him to come along. They took him to a place where there was a *dha:ghwv* living in a hole in the river.

They said to Fleakiller, "Get into the water and drive all the fish toward us. We will wait for the fish in the shallow place, and as they come swimming along, we will catch them."

Fleakiller got into the water; but as soon as the *dha:ghwv* came at him, instead of running away, he stood still and killed it.

The Little People, as soon as they had seen Fleakiller wade forth into the river, were sure that he was going to be killed by the terrible water monster, and they went back to their settlement in good spirits and made arrangements for a dance to celebrate the final loss of the hated Fleakiller.

But as the Little People had gathered for the dance, and stood listening to the Chief, who was explaining why they were to rejoice, Fleakiller had again come back, and had overheard everything the Chief said.

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[55] The term *dha:ghwv* is applied to the whale as well as to the maneating mythic fish in reference here. There is a *dha:ghwv* story in Mooney (1900, pp. 320-321).

Fleakiller spoke sharply to them because they were such cowards as to leave him after having sent him forth to fight the fearsome *dha:ghwv* by himself.

WONDER STORIES

1. THE WATER DWELLERS

There was a sick man who lived alone. He had no relatives. Since he could not provide his own food, he became very hungry and weak.

One day two women came to see him and brought him something to eat. They asked him, "Will you go home with us?"

But the man said that he did not think that he was strong enough to go. So the women went home and told their father, "Well, he says that he isn't strong enough."

A second time the women came to see the sick man, and again they asked him if he would go home with them, and again he answered that he did not feel strong enough to go.

The same thing happened upon a third visit.

Before the two women left home to see the sick man for the fourth time, their father said to them, "If he says again that he is too weak, let him walk between you two. Bring him here, and I will cure him, and then he can return home."

When the two women went the fourth time to where the sick man lived, they brought him food, just as they had upon the other visits. When they asked him if he would like to go home with them, he thought to himself: "I am not strong enough."

But they said that they would help him along the way, and each took him by an arm and thus supported him. They told him, "It won't be very far. Now we are going to assist you." They walked together toward the women's home. He walked between the women.

After they had gone but a little way, they came to the river. The man became frightened and thought: "It appears that they are going to drown me."

But the two women knew what he was thinking, and said, "This is not a river, but a road." Then they stepped into the river which they walked on as if they were walking upon a road.

When they came to a deep hole in the water, the women said, "This is not a deep hole; it is our house." They also said, "Our father will say to you, 'Sit down!' repeatedly. You will see high, soft chairs *this* [70 cm.] high, and also stools. Don't be afraid of them. Just sit down."

When they came into the house, the Old Man appeared to be pleased to see the sick man. He said, "Sit down! Sit down! Sit down!"

The high, soft chairs that were there in the house were not chairs, but an *ugh(a)dhe:n(a)*, and when the sick man sat down in one, he could hear the crackle of scales. The stools were mud turtles. All over the floor were wriggling young snakes. The two women called them "dust," and continually kept sweeping them out.

The Old Man doctored the sick man, who soon became well again. Then the women escorted him back home, but before leaving him, they said, "For 7 days don't speak about this. If you speak about it before 7 days have passed, you will die."

So for 7 days after he returned home, the man did not say anything about his experience, but after that time he told the people all that had happened to him.[56]

2.—THE JEALOUS FATHER-IN-LAW*

Since the time when the animals had been scattered all over the forest from the cave in which *Ghana:di* had kept them enclosed, men had to hunt in order to get meat. They hunted with the prayers that they had learned from Stoneclad.

There was a man who was a very successful hunter; any game that he wanted, he brought back. He had a daughter. Another man, who was also *aʔghana:diyu*[57] wanted to marry her.

So he married her, and came to live with the woman and her father. The young man and his father-in-law always went out hunting together.

The young man was so successful that the old man became jealous of him, and decided to remain at home. The old man was a great magician. He wanted to make his son-in-law unsuccessful. The old man would send his son-in-law out to get exactly what he, the old man, wanted—the meat of bear, deer, and the like. The old man was a magician, and he tried his best to make the young man unsuccessful.

The son-in-law was a powerful magician, too, and he noticed how his father-in-law felt; so he always got up early in the morning before the old man arose.

The old man always used to tell the young man where to go and what to shoot.

"There is great game at that place over there," once he told the young man. "You had better go there. Bring me some meat of what you shoot there."

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[56] The resemblance of this story to "Thunder's Brother-in-Law" is patent. It also bears aspects in common with Cherokee stories in Mooney (1900, pp. 343–345) and to a narrative in Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick (1964, pp. 84–91), the latter which is surely one of the most beautiful examples of the Southeastern Indian folktale in existence. Two tales in Swanton (1929) have some affinity to the above: one Creek (pp. 34–36), the other Hitchiti (pp. 98–99).

[57] 'Wise, knowing, cunning, in a superlative degree.'

When he arrived at the location that the old man had selected, the young man saw an *Ugh(a)dhe:na.* He shot it, and brought back its meat.

In the fall the hummingbirds disappear. The old man said that he wanted hummingbirds.

The young man went out, but instead of a hummingbird, he shot a *waghv:dha.*[58] He took the feathers from its breast and made hummingbirds of them. He brought them home, and from them and hominy was made bird soup.

As soon as the old man began eating, his stomach swelled up; but still he kept on eating, and his stomach kept swelling and swelling until it burst.

No food came out of it—only feathers of the *waghv:dha.*

3.—A WOMAN IS KILLED BY A MAGIC ARROWHEAD *

In olden times, when they still used to have dances regularly at the townhouse (*ga:dhiyó:hi*),[59] there was a woman who always wore the terrapin shells upon her legs. (She was the leading dancer.)

There was another woman who was very desirous of dancing with the terrapin shells upon her legs, but the first woman would never let her wear them.

One night when there was a dance, the woman who always wore the terrapin shells was late in arriving, and when she came to the dance, the other woman, her rival, was already dancing with the terrapin shells upon her legs. She kept the terrapin shells on all night. The first woman became very jealous.

At the next dance, exactly the same thing happened. The woman became even more jealous.

When there was to be a dance again, the jealous woman did not even go to it. Her parents called in a very old man who was a very powerful wizard. This man brought with him a piece of buckskin, and also a small gourd rattle. They all waited until they thought that the woman against whom they intended to "work" [60] had put on the terrapin shells. It was now very dark.

The conjurer took from the piece of buckskin seven black arrowheads, and also the *ulv:sadv,*[61] the transparent stone, and in a corner of the hearth he made a small heap of warm ashes. This ash heap he smoothed with his hands and put the *ulv:sadv* stone upright in the center of it. Around the stone he laid in a circle the seven arrowheads, with their points toward the outside.

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[58] Fox sparrow (*Passerella iliaca iliaca*).

[59] One of the several forms of the word for townhouse.

[60] The act of engaging in a magical activity is almost invariably referred to by the circumlocution "work" (verb stem *-lv:sda-*).

[61] 'Shone through, it.' This is a quartz crystal used for divining (Mooney, 1900, pp. 297–298, 458–461)

When he decided that the right time had come, he began to recite an incantation in a low voice. All of a sudden there was heard a thump against the wall of the log cabin. With a rattling noise one of the arrowheads left its place upon the ashes and went out of the cabin through a crack in the wall. They waited some time, then all of a sudden the same rattling noise was heard; the flint arrowhead had come back and resumed its place upon the heap of ashes.

The conjurer said, "Let us have light so that we may examine."

They made some light and examined the *ulv:sadv* stone standing in the middle of the ring of arrowheads. They did not see any blood in the center of the *ulv:sadv* stone.

"I suppose that it is still too early and that she is not there yet," the conjurer said. "Let us wait awhile."

They sent one of the family to the dance house to see if the woman was there and if she had on the terrapin shells. He came back straightway and said that she was there, leading the dance.

They immediately put out the light and started to "work" again. Again a flint arrowhead left the cabin with a rattling noise. Soon afterward it came back and resumed its place.

Again they made a light and examined; the arrowhead had blood all over it, and the *ulv:sadv* stone had a streak in its center. They then knew that the arrowhead had penetrated.

They had supper, and afterward they left for the dance house.

When they arrived there, the woman against whom they had "worked" was dead.

The conjurer wailed, and said, "This poor woman!" But I suppose he wailed merely to hide his pleasure.[62]

4.—THE HUNTER AND THE THREE DOGS *

A man had three dogs, a very small one and two larger ones. He told his wife to feed them while he was out hunting, but she did not like the dogs, and did not feed them.

When the man returned from hunting, the dogs looked lean and starved. While he had been away his wife had eaten without giving them anything for their food.

Again he went off to hunt, and a third time he went. The same thing happened. The woman hated the dogs, and that is why she did not give them anything to eat.

One day the man returned from where he had gone to hunt, and the Little Dog ran out and spoke to him. He was a magician, and he could speak just as we speak.

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[62] This story is quite representative of a favorite genre of Cherokee story, choice examples of which are still exchanged before a winter fire in both North Carolina and Oklahoma.

"Brother," he said, "your wife does not treat us right. Whenever you go out to hunt, she never gives us anything to eat. One of these days we'll treat her in a way that she won't like."

The man was very angry and told the Little Dog, "Do to her whatever you feel like doing! Shame on her for treating you that way!"

Soon afterward the man went off again to hunt. The dogs spoke to one another about what they would do.

The woman was a great magician. She kept what they call *urenda* [63] in a small bag. This was filled with roots and bark.

The dogs knew where the woman had hidden this bag, and they got it. They thought that it was meat, but when they saw that it was not, they put it back. But they had smelled the roots in it, and had become magical.

The next morning they watched the woman closely while she was at breakfast. She ate choice meat, but again she did not give them any of it. (She had noticed that the bag was torn, but she thought that rats had torn it.)

As she was eating, she bit her finger instead of meat. She thought that the blood from the bite tasted good, so she sucked it all out of her finger. Then she bit another of her fingers, and then another one. Then she bit her toe. Then she cut off a piece of her breast and ate it.

By the next day she had become completely insane.

She had a little daughter who told her not to do what she was doing, eating her own flesh in that manner, but the woman cut her daughter to pieces and ate her.

Then the dogs became afraid, and ran away to where the hunter was coming.

The Little Dog said, "Brother, your wife has become a maneater. Don't go that way toward your home. Let us all go the other way."

They all ran the other way, but the woman discovered them, and pursued them.

They came to a lake. The man made something like a raft, or a canoe, and they all got upon it and went to the center of the water. But the woman jumped into the lake and swam toward them, and overtook them. Then the man pushed her away, and she was drowned.

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[63] Olbrechts notes that this term was that employed by the father of Will West Long, the storyteller, and suspects its having been borrowed from the Iroquois. Hewitt (1910) defines the word as "The Iroquois name of the fictive force, principle, or magic power which was assumed by the inchoate reasoning of primitive man to be inherent in every body and being of nature and in every personified attribute, property, or activity, belonging to each of these and conceived to be the active cause or force, or dynamic energy, involved in every operation or phenomenon of nature, in any manner affecting or controlling the welfare of man."

The man and the dogs went on until they came to the other side of the lake. There they saw an old man and an old woman. The man and the dogs asked if they might stay there with the old couple. The old man and the old woman said that they had no food for the man and the dogs.

"We will hunt for you," the hunter said.

"All right, then," the old couple answered. "But be careful. Our chief is very evil, and he may want to challenge you to a game. He may want you to race against him."

Soon afterward the Chief came and said that he wanted to race against the hunter. The hunter agreed to race him.

But the Little Dog said, "Don't race against him. You will lose. But lend me your clothes, and I'll run in your stead."

So the man stripped and put his clothes on the Little Dog who became just like a man, just like the hunter.

Two days afterward the race was run, and the dog won.

Then the Chief said, "Let us play ball. If you win, you may cut off my head, and you will be chief of all of this settlement."

The Little Dog said to the hunter, "I am too small to play ball. Get our larger brother to play. We'll go hunting."

Two days afterward the Chief came, and the game began. The Little Dog and the hunter went off to the woods, but all the time the Little Dog knew all about the game, as if he were seeing it.

The dog won, and the Little Dog knew it.

So he said to the hunter, "It's all over now. We'll go back."

They went back, and the hunter became chief of the settlement.[64]

5.—THE BOY AND THE MANEATING WOMAN

There once lived a maneating people.

A man lived with his son, and a woman lived in their neighborhood. She was a maneater. The man would go out to hunt, and what he killed, he always brought to the woman. If he had not done this, the woman would have eaten him. The man went out to hunt every day.

The boy cried for his father to give him meat. He especially wanted liver. His father said, "I can't do that. I am buying our lives. If we do not give her meat, she will kill us."

One day the man went out hunting and came home at nightfall. The boy went out and examined his father's arrows. They were stained with blood for half of their length.

The next day the boy decided: "I will go and see *agili:si*." [65] His

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[64] Stories similar to the above are in Swanton (1929), from the following sources: Creek (two examples) (pp. 23–26); Hitchiti (two examples) (pp. 92–94); Koasati (p. 194); Natchez-Cherokee (pp. 243–245). There is a Tasgigi specimen in Speck (1907, pp. 160–161).

[65] Mother's mother (for additional connotations see Gilbert, 1943, p. 225).

father told him not to do it. The boy did not go very close to the house of the maneating woman. From a distance he saw her meat hanging up, drying, inside her house. As she had gone out of the house for but a short while, the boy at a distance got some liver from the house. He was a magician.

The boy's father asked, "Why did you do that?"

"I want liver," the boy answered.

The father said, "She will come after you!"

Soon the woman came home and found that the boy had taken the liver. She went to him and said, "I want that liver back!" She seized him, and holding him by the legs, she shook him.

"She will challenge you to a race," the father told the boy.

"I will accept," the boy said.

The boy accepted her challenge.

He observed how she prepared for the race, and he, too, prepared. He took a hand's-length of mulberry bark and made it into a string. Then he went out to hunt a weasel, [66] killed one, and removed its skin. Then he went out to hunt a panther, killed one, and took one of its whiskers.

Two days later the maneating woman came out and said that she was ready to begin the race. She took the boy by the hand and led him along to the place from which the contestants were to start.

There was a tall hickory tree standing there. The woman made the boy step upon this tree, and as he did so, it bent down. She made him walk its full length. Then suddenly she let loose of the boy, and the tree, in taking its upright position, hurled the boy back a long way.

The woman began to run. She ran out a long way ahead of the boy.

But the boy changed the weasel skin into a deer, which he mounted and rode. The mulberry bark he transformed into a snake.[67] The panther's whisker he made into a panther which ate the maneating woman.

When the boy arrived at the goal, there were a number of old men sitting there, smoking out of a pipe. They were Maneating People. They felt certain that the woman was going to win the race, and when they saw the boy arrive first, they were much surprised. The woman had wagered the boy that if she won, she was to kill the boy, but if she lost, all of the Maneating People were to be killed.[68]

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[66] Olbrechts' notes state that the boy also killed a rat. Inasmuch as there is no subsequent mention of a rat, we hypothesize that Olbrechts' informant, since he was thinking in Cherokee and not English, first said "rat," and then in correction said "weasel" (the term for weasel in Cherokee literally means 'yellow rat'), and that Olbrechts in error wrote down both "rat" and "weasel."

[67] The role of the snake is obscure. Either Olbrechts or his informant failed to elaborate at this juncture.

[68] The motif of the cannibal woman, widely distributed over North America, is found in a Natchez-Cherokee story in Swanton (1929, pp. 219–222), that doubtlessly has some slight affinity to the above story. The tale of the maneating woman in Mooney (1900, pp. 316–319) seemingly is unrelated to either of them.

6.—THE MAN WHO BECAME A BEAR

A man went out to hunt. He followed a bear's track, and found the bear feeding. He shot the bear, but it got away. The man followed in pursuit. The bear ran to a dense laurel thicket under a cliff.

When the hunter got there, he saw a white bear sitting there next to the wounded bear. The white bear was a doctor. He spoke to the hunter: "Why, you have hurt him very much," he said. The white bear took the arrows out of the wounded bear and began to cure him. He asked the hunter, "Would you like to live with us?"

"I will try," the hunter said.

He lived with the Bear people, and they lived just as we do. He ate their food.

The white bear was the Chief, and he told the wounded bear and the hunter to go and live together for the winter. They ate chestnuts, which the bear produced by rubbing his forepaws together, and when the winter was passed, they came out for spring. By this time the hunter had become like a real bear, with sharp claws, long shaggy hair, and a short tail.

The bear assigned a branch [creek] for him to live on, and chose one for himself. They agreed upon a meeting place. There they met again the next fall, and they went to live together again for the winter.

After they had stayed together some time, the bear felt as if something was going back and forth over his head. He knew this to be a sign that some human being was going to find him soon. He told his companion about it, and said, "When the hunters come, you must keep quiet. They will find me and kill me, but in 7 days I will become alive again and come back to you."

Indeed, hunters came and tracked and killed the bear. But they also saw the other bear; but this one talked and said, "I am not a bear, but one of your people—the one who was lost so many years ago."

They asked him why he stayed there, and why he lived like a bear. Then he told them how the Chief of the Bear people had commanded him to do so.

Then he went home with the hunters.[69]

STORIES OF ANIMAL, BIRD, AND INSECT MATES

1.—THE MAN WHO MARRIED AN ELK

A very long time ago there lived a man who was a very successful hunter. He lived with his old mother. He used to go out into the wilderness to hunt. At times he would stay away for a whole year, or

[69] The above is essentially the same as a story which in a fuller version was collected by Mooney (1900, pp. 327–329). A Koasati tale in Swanton (1929, pp. 191–192) exhibits a kinship to Mooney's narrative.

even longer. Then he lived in camp, went out hunting all day, and at night came in to dry the meat to take to his mother when he went back home.

One night when he returned to his camp, he noticed that someone had been in his cabin. It had been swept out neatly, the fire was burning, and his supper was ready for him—nice and warm. He looked about and saw the footprints of a woman.

He ate his supper and lay down to sleep, and next morning he went out to hunt, as usual.

When he came back at night, he again found his cabin swept, the fire lit, and his supper ready. He was anxious to find out who looked after him so well, and to see her; so instead of eating his supper, he fasted, and he sat up all night, and while next morning he went out as usual, he did not go far, but when he thought that the woman would be in his cabin, he returned.

When he entered the cabin, he found a good-looking woman, busy at household tasks. They talked to each other, and they agreed that they would be husband and wife, and that she would prepare his food for him.

They lived there together for perhaps 2 or 3 years. After a year had passed, a child was born, and after another year had passed, there was a second child. Both of the children were boys.

Soon after that the man said that he wanted to go home to see his mother, and to take her the dried meat. The woman said that it would be all right, and that she and the children would live on the meat that he left.

"But when you get there," she told him, "you must not pay any attention to the other girls. They will try to attract you, but you must come back to me and the children."

When he got home, his mother was very happy to see him. The people who had attractive girls sent them to get some of the meat.

One day his mother told him: "The parents of that girl that came and talked to me want you to marry their girl. And she is a pretty girl, too, so you had better do it."

He thought: "Yes, indeed, she is a pretty girl!"

So he did not mind what his wife in the wilderness had told him, and he married this girl.

After some time he became lonely, and he wanted to see his first wife and his little boys again. He went back to the place in the wilderness where he had left them, but when he got there, he found nobody, and there was no indication of anyone having been there for many years.

Then he wanted to find out where they had gone. He fasted, and I suppose he said a prayer, too, and he examined. I do not know

what he examined with—maybe with the brown stone, or with beads (he could use them, if he knew how).

Well, he found out that they had gone toward the East. His two little boys had each had a hatchet, and as they had traveled along, they had cut strips of bark off trees that they had passed. He followed these marks, but he could see no footprints.

The mother had told the children: "Your father will be looking for us. If he finds us, be careful. Act as if you do not recognize him."

The man followed all the way the trail along which they had gone, and finally found a woman and two children. He did not recognize them, and the woman did not talk to him. But the boys recognized him, and ran to him, calling "Father!"

The woman scolded them. She said, "Did I not forbid you to call him 'father'?"

Then the man said to her, "I recognize you, too. You are my wife."

At that moment the woman changed herself to her original form: she was an elk.[70]

2.—THE MAN WHO MARRIED A BEAVER

Once the people were having a dance. While they were dancing, there came in two girls. Nobody knew then, nor from what settlement they were, but they were very pretty, nice girls. Each had a beautiful ribbon hanging from her back.

All of the boys were very much attracted to them, and when the girls left, one of the boys followed them to find out where they lived. At the fork of Tuckasegee and Oconaluftee Rivers at Ela [71] they disappeared at the edge of the water.

The boy went home. He was very lovesick. He told his grandfather about the girls. His grandfather was a great wizard, and he told the boy what to do if he wanted to speak to the girls.

"Eat nothing all day on the day of the dance," he said, "and if you follow them again, they will not disappear from you."

So on the day of the next dance, he fasted all day. That night the two girls again came to the dance, and when they left, he followed them.

When the two girls came to the bank of the river, they stepped into the water. The boy was afraid to do the same thing, but one of the girls turned around and said, "Do not be afraid. This is not water; it is just a trail."

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[70] This story bears a general resemblance to a Koasati tale recorded in Swanton (1929, p. 193), and has a weak affinity to a Choctaw example in Bushnell (1909, p. 32). Its ending has points of similarity to the Oklahoma Cherokee tale of the man who mated with a deer, found in Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick (1964, pp. 84–91).

[71] We assume that Ravensfork, written here in place of Oconaluftee, is an error. This site is in Swain County, N.C., between Birdtown and what is known as the 3200-Acre Tract.

Then he walked behind them, and they all walked upon the water as if it had been a trail.

When the girls got to the other bank of the river, there was a door through which they went. He followed them, and found himself in a nice house. The father and mother of the girl and all of her people were there, and they all were very beautiful and attractive.

The father said, "Well, do you want to be my son-in-law? All right—just stay with us."

That night, as he lay with his wife, he felt that she had something at her back. It was a tail. She was a beaver, and all her people were beavers.

The next day he ate with his wife's people, but the food tasted very bad to him. It was snake meat. His wife's people knew what he was thinking, and they said, "Doesn't he like that food? All right! His people do not live far away. We will send to them to get some food that he likes." So they sent two of the family, who came back with corn and beans and other kinds of food that he customarily ate.

In time he became very lonesone and homesick. He did not like to stay with these beaver people. They knew what he was thinking, and they said, "Doesn't he like to stay with us? He is right; he had better go back to his own people."

So they sent his wife and her sister back with him to show him the way; but, before the girls left him, they said, "As long as you live, don't tell anything that has happened. If you do tell, we will expect you back in 7 days."

When he got back home, all of his people were much surprised. They remembered how he had followed the two unknown girls, and they wanted to know what had happened to him. At first he refused to tell them, but they insisted so much and made life so difficult for him that at last he could hold out no longer. He told them the whole story. His people were very sorry for him, especially when they heard what he said at the end.

Within 7 days he died.[72]

3.—THE OWL HUSBAND

In a certain settlement there was held a dance. A young man went to it. There were many girls there, and he fell in love with one of them. He talked to her, and they decided that they would become husband and wife. He said that he would come to her home toward nightfall on one of the following days. The girl was looking for him, and he came and lived with her.

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[72] The opening of this story is quite similar to the beginnings of a Hitchiti tale in Swanton (1929, pp 91-92) and an Oklahoma Cherokee narrative in Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick (1964, pp. 84-91). Certain details are paralleled in Mooney (1900, pp. 343-345).

He always arose before daylight, and he always said that he went off to hunt, but he never brought anything back when he returned at night. When he came in at night, he always stood with his back to the fire. No one ever saw his face. When he was asked why he always stood with his back to the fire, he said that he had a toothache and that the heat of the fire made it worse.

Then the brothers of the girl decided that they would see his face; so next day, when he was gone, they got some dry sumac to burn. (Dry sumac pops, and sends out sparks in all directions.)

That night, when he was standing with his back turned toward the fire, they put on the fire a stick of dry sumac, and soon sparks were flying in all directions. Some of them flew onto his back and set his clothing on fire.

He was scared, and he looked around to see what was wrong with the fire. Then they saw that he had two big eyes and a crooked nose.

He was an owl.[73]

4.—THE SAPSUCKER HUSBAND

A man saw a girl that he wanted to be his wife. He was a good-looking man, well dressed, and with something red upon his head. He finally succeeded in marrying her.

One cold day he told his wife that he was going out into the woods to cut wood. At noon she cooked him a good dinner, but after some time had passed and he still had not come home to eat it, she went out into the woods to look for him.

As she walked, she listened for the sound of his chopping. She did not hear it. After awhile she started home. On her way she noticed a big red-headed bird pecking as hard as he could all around a tree, as if he were trying to cut it down but was unable to do so.

Late that afternoon her husband came home and sat down near the fire. He sighed and put his hands to his head.

"I have a headache. I chopped too hard," he said.

His wife told him about the bird she had seen.

"That was I," he said.

The girl had married a *gh(v)gwo:gha.*[74]

5.—THE RED WORM HUSBAND

There was a man who used to come to see a girl in a family. He used to come by often. Finally he asked to marry the girl.

He was a good-looking man who wore red-brownish clothes.

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[73] Although there is a story of an owl-husband in Mooney (1900, pp. 291–292), the above bears less affinity to it than to a tale (ibid., pp. 292–293) wherein the *huhu* (yellow mockingbird) is the mate. The episode of the sumac in the above is found in an Oklahoma Cherokee tale wherein the husband with questionable credentials is the slant-eyed giant, *Tsu:hl(i)gvl(a)* (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, 1964, pp. 65–69).

[74] Sapsucker. This story is very similar indeed to "The Huhu Gets Married" in Mooney (1900, pp. 292–293).

The girl became pregnant. A child was born, and then another and another, until there was a heap of babies *this* high.[75]

The man became ashamed. He was a red worm, and the babies were not human beings.

The people left all the young worms in the house, which they set afire. They burned all of them with their mother.[76]

6.—THE INSECT HUSBAND

A man came and courted a woman. The woman became pregnant. She gave birth to as many babies as an insect has legs. The woman was ashamed, and told her husband to go away.

So he left, and they never saw each other again.[77]

TALES OF HUNTING AND FISHING

1.—THE HEADLESS BEAR

A man[78] went hunting. When he came to a mountain, he saw a bear upon a steep incline just above him.

He shot at the bear and hit it, for it came rolling down the mountainside. As it came nearer, he decided it was but a cub because it looked so small. When it arrived where he stood, it stopped. Then he saw that it was only the head of the bear.

The man saw the bear running on down the slope of the mountain. Then it turned and ran in the opposite direction. The man saw that pursuing an animal that kept changing directions was useless. He carried the head home.

2.—THE INDESTRUCTIBLE BEAR

Hunters once killed a bear in a cave. It had a slice of fat on its sides *that* [12–15 cm.] thick. The next year they went to the same cave and found that the bear was there again. Again they killed it, and found that the slice of fat was just a trifle thinner. And so on, for 7 years in succession, they returned to the same cave and killed that bear, the slice of fat being thinner each time.

After the seventh year, they returned to the cave, but found it deserted.[79]

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[75] Olbrechts did not record the height.

[76] A Creek version of this story is found in Swanton (1929, p. 38).

[77] The resemblance of this story to the one immediately preceding it is patent.

[78] Olbrechts comments that the name of this hunter was *U:sgo:h(a)* ('he has dandruff'), and that Morgan Calhoun, who told the story, although he knew the hunter personally, obtained the account from an unnamed individual who also knew *U:sgo:h(a)*.

[79] Olbrechts' note: "The informant [Morgan Calhoun] has not the slightest doubt but this was the same bear, coming back to life again six consecutive times. The tale was told me as 'proof' that bears come back to life.

3.—THE FAT BEAR

Three men went out to hunt. They shot and wounded a bear. The bear got away, but they followed its bloody trail.

Along the way they found a piece of fat meat from the side of the bear. They picked it up and went on. They kept finding pieces of fat until they had *so* much [a heap 20 cm. in diameter].

Finally they said, "Let the bear go. We have enough fat."

4.—A RIDE ON A BUCK

This happened to a man named *Idigv:ne:hi*,[80] who died about 25 years ago.[81] He was a very successful hunter.

One day he went hunting. Lead and powder were very scarce in those days. *Idigv:ne:hi* had just one bullet. He saw a big buck and shot it, and it rolled down from the hill to where *Idigv:ne:hi* stood. It had huge antlers.

When it arrived where the man stood, the buck revived. *Idigv:ne:hi* wanted to kill it with his hunting knife, and he got astride the buck. It jumped up and ran away with the man, who held onto it with both hands. The buck carried him a long distance, and then circled back to where *Idigv:ne:hi*'s gun was lying. The man managed to snatch up his gun as the buck ran past it, but the man could not do anything with it since he had to hold onto the buck's antlers.

Then the buck became exhausted and fell. The man then killed it.

5.—A HUNTER SHOOTS OVER A MOUNTAIN

A deer hunter went out to hunt. On top of the mountain he saw a herd of deer among which there was one very large animal, but, as he was getting ready to shoot, the herd went back over the top and on to the other side.

There was a tree standing on top of the mountain, and the hunter thought, "Maybe if I hit the branch of that tree, the bullet will ricochet down to where that big deer is."

He shot, and everything happened exactly as he had thought that it would.[82]

Footnote 79—Continued

"No cases are known where other animals—deer, turkey, rabbit, etc.—coming back to life after having been killed.

"A pretty similar variant of the same story is told by WW. [Will West Long], but is probably influenced by the above, told by his brother."

[80] 'Maker of them to do.'

[81] Ca. 1902.

[82] The Cherokee greatly relish tall tales of hunting, especially those with a humorous twist (*see* Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, 1964, pp. 101–104). Olbrechts comments upon this tale as follows: "M. [organ] knows another expedient in similar case: the man held his gun with both arms over his head and managed in that way to shoot over the mountain and hit his mark."

6.—AN ANGLER CATCHES A TURKEY

A fisherman went out to fish, but had had no luck. All of a sudden he felt a tug at his line. He thought he had a big fish and pulled up on his rod with such force that the hook flew over his head and landed in the brush behind him.

He tried to pull it back, but could not do it. When he went to see what was holding it, he found that he had caught a wild turkey in the eye.[83]

7.—THE HUNTER AND THE WATERDOGS

A man went hunting in the woods. He came to a hill. He heard strange sounds from the hollow on the other side of it.

Then he heard a voice say, "Is it close? You told us that the lake was near. My legs and arms are getting wrinkled."

Then he saw two waterdogs going along upon the hill, toward the lake.

8.—THE HUNTER AND THE PANTHER

A hunter was out in the woods alone, looking for deer. Panthers like to lie crouched upon leaning trees, where they make themselves look like dry leaves and old tree trunks. The hunter did not see that a panther was sitting above him. The panther leaped upon the hunter's back.

The hunter fell to the ground and pretended to be dead, for they say that a panther never eats warm meat. The hunter still had his bow in his hand, but all of his arrows were in his quiver.

With his tail the panther grasped the hunter, threw the man upon his back, and carried him off. When the panther had gone quite some distance, he put the hunter down and covered him with dry leaves. The panther was still not certain that the man was dead, so he kept watching him for awhile. Then he lay down upon a tree trunk in the sun.

Slowly and carefully, so as not to attract the panther's attention by the rustle of the leaves, the hunter got an arrow from his quiver and put it to his bow. Then suddenly he jumped up from under the leaves and shot and killed the panther.

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[83] Olbrechts' note: "This story smells vy [very] Europ. [ean]: W. [ill West Long] does not work out the humorous side of it: the man's astonishment at 'fishing' turkeys." In 1961 the editors taped in Oklahoma an erotic myth in Cherokee which begins quite similarly to the above, and there is a story in Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick (1964, pp. 134–135) that, except for a few details, is precisely the same story.

LEGENDS OF THE *ANI:GH(I)SGI*[84] WAR

1.—THE *ANI:GH(I)SGI* AND THE FOUR MAGICIANS

The *Ani:gh(i)sgi* lived over the mountains toward the west, where Sevierville,[85] Tenn., is now. They were Indians. They spoke a language that was different from Cherokee.

The *Ani:gh(i)sgi* came through Indian Gap [86] to where the mound near Bryson City [87] is and killed a man and took his scalp. Later they came by Yellowhill [88] and killed three men and took their scalps.

The Cherokees pursued the *Ani:gh(i)sgi*. The *Ani:gh(i)sgi* went to *Unidv:dhlalǒ:yi* [89] and camped there. The Cherokees had their camp this side of *Unidv:dhlalǒ:yi*.

The Cherokees had with them four old men, all very powerful magicians. One of them said to another one, "you go and see where the *Ani:gh(i)sgi* are."

"No," the other one said. "*You* go," he said to the third one.

But the third one said, "I won't go. *You* go," he said to the fourth magician.

The fourth magician said, "All right. I *will* go."

He went around a tree and disappeared. They heard a rat crawling up into a tree: "*Tsi:*! *Tsi:*! *Tsi:*!," and soon afterward they saw a crow fly off, calling: "*Gho:*! *Gho:*! *Gho:*!"

The Cherokees said to each other, "He is off!"

Just a little while after that they heard the crow come back, and then they heard the rat once more. Soon the man appeared from behind the tree.

Next morning the Cherokees went to where the *Ani:gh(i)sgi* had their camp. The Cherokees attacked them. The *Ani:gh(i)sgi* could

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[84] While the *Ani:gh(i)sgi* cannot be identified with certainty, they were probably the Chisca division of the Yuchi. As late as the 17th century some group of the Yuchi people lived on the western flanks of the Appalachians in what is now Tennessee (Swanton, 1922, pp. 286–312; 1946, pp. 212–215; 1952, pp. 116–120). In modern Cherokee the term *Ani:gh(i)sgi* means 'bob-tailed ones,' perhaps derived from some feature of costume; and there is a possibility that this tribal name may have been corrupted from *Ani:gh(i)hisgi* ('the ones who swallow'); but it is more than likely that the word represents an attempt to transfer into Cherokee what these people called themselves, or what still another tribe called them. We have never yet encountered among the Oklahoma Cherokee any reference, written or oral, to the *Ani:gh(i)sgi* as a tribe of Indians, but the term, used as a synonym for witches, or 'night-walkers,' is sometimes seen in manuscript medicine books. Unionist Cherokees sometimes referred to Confederate Cherokees as *Ani:gh(i)sgi*.

[85] Sevier County.

[86] Near Gatlinburg, Sevier County, Tenn. One of the principal trails across the Great Smoky Mountains ran through Indian Gap.

[87] Keetoowah (*Gidu:hwa*) Mound. This was the site of the Tuckasegee River settlement of the same name (Swain County, N.C.).

[88] One of the townships on the Eastern Cherokee Reservation.

[89] Mooney (1900, pp. 406, 516) identifies this as "Where they made arrows," on Straight Creek, near Cataluchee Peak, in Swain County, N.C., and so named because a Shawnee war party from across the mountains once stopped there in order to prepare arrows. We suspect some degree of corruption of this place name having occurred; for, if Mooney's translation is correct, then one would expect the term to be closer to *Duno:dhlvʔnǒ:yi*.

do nothing. The soil under them became muddy, and they sank into the ground up to their hips. The Cherokees killed them all.

2.—A MAGICIAN SPIES ON THE *ANI:GH(I)SGI*

Near what they now call Almond,[90] near Bryson City, in a fork of the Little Tennessee and Nantahala Rivers, there was a settlement of Cherokees.[91] They had there a place of amusement—perhaps a *ga:dhi.*

A party of *Ani:gh(i)sgi* from Tennessee, who had to come across Indian Gap, came there and killed many Cherokees. They captured a girl, and took her back with them toward their home.

When the Cherokees heard about this, they gathered from all the settlements and started in pursuit the same day of the raid.

Near Indian Gap the *Ani:gh(i)sgi,* who had become tired, camped and built a fire. The girl could not understand anything they said, and was afraid that they had taken her with them to kill her.

The pursuing Cherokees had with them an old man who was a great magician.

The greater part of the *Ani:gh(i)sgi* was asleep about the fire, but the girl could not sleep. In the night she heard a sparrow calling in a tree nearby: "*Tsi:wisdh(i)! Tsi:wisdh(i)!*" Then the sparrow seemed to flit from one tree to another. The girl knew that this meant that the Cherokees were near. She feigned sleep.

The Cherokees had also camped near the place where the *Ani:-gh(i)sgi* were sleeping, and the next morning the old man who was with them said, "I dreamed that the *Ani:gh(i)sgi* were quite near us, and that we were going to kill them all." He said that he had dreamed this, but he had not really dreamed it; he had been to the *Ani:-gh(i)sgi* camp himself in the form of a sparrow. He was a great magician.

So the Cherokees moved in immediately, surprised the *Ani:gh(i)sgi,* and killed them all.

3.—THE CHEROKEES AVENGE A WOMAN KILLED BY THE *ANI:GH(I)SGI*

At the edge of a big settlement a woman was living with her grandchild. All of the men were away from the village. The *Ani:gh(i)sgi* came and killed the old woman, but they could not catch the child, who ran and told the Cherokee men. They came at once to the old woman's home and found her dead. She had been scalped.

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[90] Macon County, N.C.

[91] This was *Ghanu:gahló:yi* ('briar [or blackberry]-place').

The men started after the enemy immediately, and chased them all night. The next day was rainy. The enemy had now gone as far as this side of Indian Gap, and they thought that they were safe. They went to sleep under some spruce trees. (The whole party had gotten just one scalp.)

But the Cherokees found them where they were sleeping and killed them all, and when they returned home, they had a fine scalp dance.[92]

4.—AN *A:GH(I)SGI*[93] IS KILLED BY A BONE

In olden times, when the Cherokees and the *Ani:gh(i)sgi* were at war, before the White people came, or maybe a little after that time, a Cherokee party went out against the enemy. In the forest they made a fence fort by putting up felled trees all around them. They had a doorway to go in and out, and a fire in the center.

About nightfall they were eating deer which they had killed during the day. They were eating the flesh off the bones. They heard the cry of a flying squirrel: "*Tsi:! Tsi:! Tsi:!*"

One of them said, "That is not a flying squirrel! It's an *A:gh(i)sgi!*" and he threw the bone that he was gnawing over the stockade in the direction from where the cry came. The sharp bone hit the *A:gh(i)sgi* who was standing there right in the eye, and he fell back and died.

All the other *Ani:gh(i)sgi* as soon as they saw this ran away as fast as they could because they thought that there were some powerful magicians in the party of Cherokees.

If this *A:gh(i)sgi* had not been killed by the bone, all of the Cherokees would certainly have been killed because the *Ani:gh(i)sgi* could have shot anyone coming out of the doorway, or showing his head above the stockade.

5.—A MAGICIAN DEFIES THE *ANI:GH(I)SGI*

At the time of the war between the *Ani:gh(i)sgi* and the Cherokees a person was not allowed to go out hunting alone; it was too dangerous, for he might be killed by the *Ani:gh(i)sgi*. So hunters always went out in parties of perhaps seven, eight, or nine men.

One time a party went out to hunt in the wilderness. At night they would build no fort, but had just a campfire upon which to cook their meat.

With them they had an old man to examine and find out if they were going to kill any deer, or if there were any enemies about. He could examine for *anything;* he was a powerful magician. Before

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[92] Olbrechts' note: "Scalps were not allowed to be seen before dance[.] Everyone dances individ.[ually] and says what he can do, produces the scalp and dances; when he has finished he shouts—'Hi+' and the singers stop. M.[organ] still knows the songs[.]"

[93] Singular of *Ani:gh(i)sgi*.

examining for deer, he would first examine for the presence of the enemy. He held his hands like this [fig. 13].

As he was examining for the presence of the enemy, the black bead moved toward the red one.[94] This was a sign that the enemy would come into the Cherokee camp. Then he examined to find out if any of the Cherokees would be killed, and if so, the names of the individuals.

As the Cherokees were talking about this, sitting by the fire, they suddenly saw the *Ani:gh(i)sgi.* The old man, the one who had

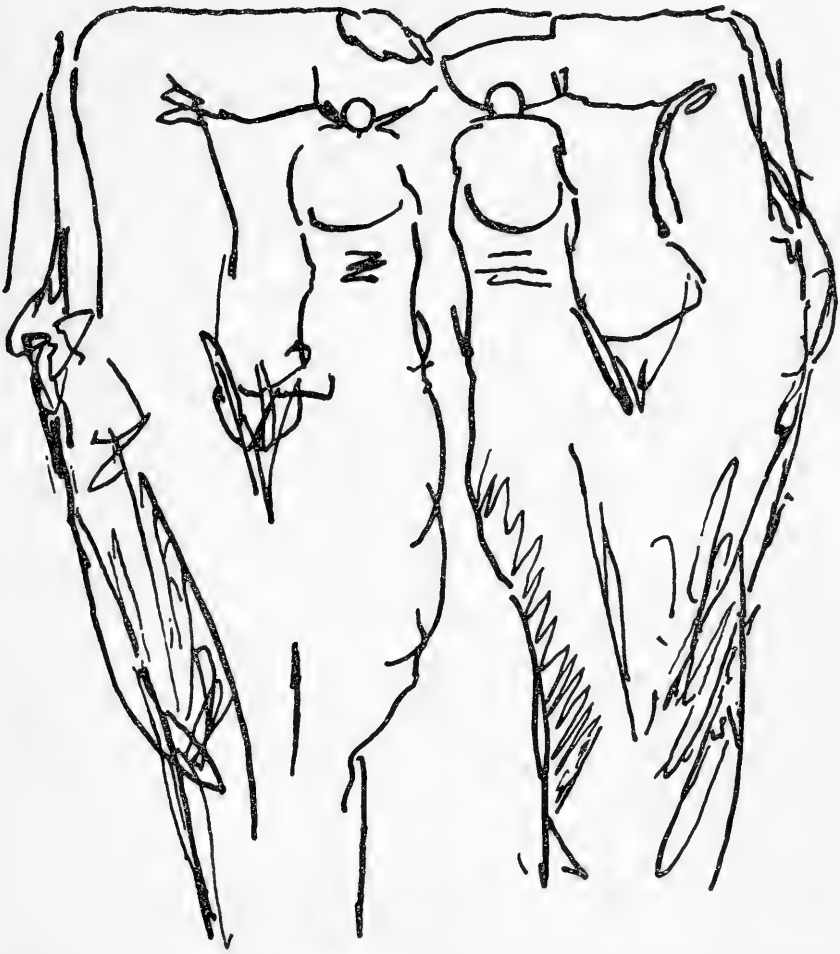

FIGURE 13.—Manner of holding beads for divining, as sketched by Olbrechts.

[94] Several methods of divining with *ade:lv* ('beads') are still employed by the Cherokee, and a sizable number of the prefatory *idi:gawé:sdi* ('to say them, one') used in bead divining exists (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, in press). Being of shell, these beads were originally white and purple, not red and black.

examined, said, "Run home as hard as you can! I will remain here and stand near the fire."

So the whole Cherokee party ran home as hard as it could.

When the *Ani:gh(i)sgi* saw the man standing near the fire, they shot at him, but missed him. Again they shot, but again they missed. He kept walking about the fire, very slowly. Then when the *Ani:gh(i)sgi* came nearer, and they shot at him again, he let himself fall to the ground, upon which he rolled about. They kept shooting at him from quite near until all their arrows had been shot. Then they had to retrieve their arrows.

While they were looking around for their arrows, he rolled a little way aside to the edge of a steep hill and then rolled all the way down the hill. By the time they had found arrows and had gotten ready to shoot again, they did not see him anymore.

He was a magician, and the reason why they could not kill him was that he was up in the air all the time that they were shooting at him, and what they were shooting at was only his shadow. They could not see him; they always shot at his shadow.

6.—THE BATTLE OF *WAʔDHO:GI* MOUND

The old men of the Cherokee were great magicians—the most powerful of all.

The *Ani:gh(i)sgi* had been fighting around here,[95] and then they went down near *Waʔdho:gi* [96] and killed a hunter. The hunters that were with him went to *Waʔdho:gi* and told the people there what happened.

An old man ordered the people to pursue the *Ani:gh(i)sgi*, who ran for *Waʔdho:gi* Mound.[97] The old man from *Waʔdho:gi* prayed for the *Ani:gh(i)sgi* to become weak.

As the *Ani:gh(i)sgi* climbed the mound (by way of which they had also come), the slope of it became muddy. There had been no mud there when they had come over the mound, but now they sank up to their ankles in the mud. As they climbed higher, they sank deeper and deeper, and by the time they reached the top, they were in mud up to their thighs.

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[95] The Eastern Cherokee Reservation.

[96] This settlement was located on Watauga Creek, near Franklin, Macon County, N.C. We cannot translate the name, and suspect that it is not from Cherokee.

[97] Olbrechts made a note to the effect that his informant, Morgan Calhoun, knew of several mounds: (1) One near Yellowhill from which "people from the government" had taken bones that they considered to be human, but which he thought were merely deer; (2) another one near Yellowhill, called *Nunv:yi* ('potato-place'); (3) one beyond (south of?) Birdtown, the southernmost of the Qualla townships, called *Ganv:dhalé:yi* ('hooked, it-place'); (4) *Gidu:hwa*, near Governors Island; (5) *Ganv:hidé:yi* ('long, it-place'), in Cherokee County, near Murphy, at the "limit of the Asheville Division Railroad"; (6) *Waʔdho:gi*, 'strongest of all,' which he erroneously thought to be somewhere in South Carolina or Georgia. Calhoun told Olbrechts that formerly there were many mounds that no longer exist. "He does not know what they were for[.] Forts perhaps? Or maybe people in olden times lived in them!"

They were very much worn out, and on the top of the mound the Cherokees overtook them and killed all of them except one. They took the scalps from all of those that they killed, and they also brought back the Cherokee scalp which the *Ani:gh(i)sgi* had taken.

From the one that they did not kill, they took the scalp, just the same, and then let him go. As soon as they told him to go back to his people the earth became dry again. (This was brought about by the powerful *Waʔdho:gi* magician.) They let one man go after having taken his scalp in order to let him go tell his people that the Cherokees were not afraid, and that they wanted all the *Ani:gh(i)sgi* to come so that the Cherokees could do the same thing to them.

With the *Ani:gh(i)sgi* was living a Cherokee girl whom they had captured many years ago, and who could speak their language. She later told her people all that the *Ani:gh(i)sgi* had said.

When the scalped man got back to where his people lived, he told them all that had happened. Then the chiefs of the *Ani:gh(i)sgi* assembled, and they decided that there must be peace between the *Ani:gh(i)sgi* and the Cherokee. (The Cherokee were very powerful at that time, and all the tribes were afraid of them.)

This is how peace came about between the Cherokee and the *Ani:gh(i)sgi*. This battle was the last one of the war.

The Cherokee girl came back to her people and told them all that the *Ani:gh(i)sgi* had said about them.

LOCAL LEGENDS

1.—THE DANCING GHOSTS

Between Bryson City and Almond, and Topton, along the Nantahala River, is a place they call *Dudv:hnv́:yi*.[98] It is a rock like two rooms; there is something like a portal to it, and there is a room on each side.

Once a few hunters went there and built a fire in one of the rooms. Later a few more hunters came. They all lay down to sleep. But one of them was mischievous, and he began to sing the *Adáʔho:ná* ("wood, cut it, you [imp.]"), the Women's Dance,[99] which is sung by men. He kept saying, "*Ditsa:nv:sv:dhv:ga!* (fasten them [solid] on, you all [imp.])."

As soon as he started to sing, all the men heard the sound of shells in the other room.

The man became nervous and said, "Let's go away from here! There are people living here, and they might not like for us to stay."

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[98] 'He stated them-place'? Seemingly this would be in Swain County, N.C.

[99] Speck and Broom (1951, p. 80) refer to this as the Women-Gathering-Wood Dance. The Cherokee term for it, which they translate as 'make wood,' contains a form of a verb used principally in reference to obtaining firewood. Its stem is merely -o-. It has no real English equivalent.

2.—THE *UGH(A)DHE:N(A)* BRIDGE

They all left.[1]

This happened on this side of *Dudv:hnv̂:yi.*[2]

Some men were out hunting. Darkness overtook them, but they kept going on. Suddenly they noticed a light. They did not know where it came from; there was nothing at the foot of the hill where they were. But when they looked up, they saw a sort of footlog from the top of one hill to another. It was lighted up.

They kept going on; they decided it was an *Ugh(a)dhe:n(a).*

3.—*UGH(A)DHE:NÎ:YI*

This is a true story.

There is a place, halfway between the Fieldhouse and Cherokee,[3] called *Ugh(a)dhe:nî:yi.*

Some people had been over there on the other side of the river. It seemed to them that something had been there in the brushwood. They thought that something must be living in the deep hole in the river there.

The men were anxious to see what it was, so they fasted all day. Between afternoon and evening they noticed something was in the water. The water rose, and whistled like the wind.

After a while it became calm. Then they saw big snakes, *Uni::gh(a)dhe:n(a),*[4] in the big hole of water. Then they went away. That is all they wanted to see.

That is what they call this place *Uni:gh(a)dhe:nî:yi,*[5] or *Ugh(a)dhe:nî:yi.*[6]

4.—THE GHOST OF *DISO:LVDH(V)DÎ:YI*

About a quarter of a mile this side of Birdtown is a place called *Diso:lvdh(v)dî:yi* ('to stretch out the arms-place'). There was a trail that passed by there, and people who used it often saw a human being standing there with his arms outstretched. Nobody knew who it was.

There used to be a ball ground there where a very strong man

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[1] Olbrechts' note: "W.[ill West Long] and TN [*Tsi:sghwa Na:i*] have heard of a pretty similar case. A solitary hunter wanted to spend night there. He also started singing same song. Same result." Morgan Calhoun doubtlessly told the tale to Olbrechts.

[2] See footnote 98, p. 435.

[3] On the Eastern Cherokee Reservation.

[4] The plural of *Ugh(a)dhe:n(a).*

[5] '*Ugh(a)dhe:n(a)* [pl.]-place.'

[6] '*Ugh(a)dhe:n(a)*-place.'

who always got the ball used to play. Before he put the ball through the posts, he always stopped and stretched out his arms.

5.—THE LITTLE PEOPLE AND THE GIANT YELLOW JACKETS

Little People lived at South Side Gap,[7] between Haywood and Jackson Counties. Yellow jackets [8] used to cross this gap, and the Little People would watch them. The yellow jackets used to catch pigs and fawns.

The Little People wondered where the nest of the yellow jackets was, for yellow jackets are good to eat. The Little People followed them, and found that their nest was to the east of the gap. The Little People got weeds [9] (they gathered a pile of them) and set fire to them. They put them on the ground and drove in the smoke.

The last nest of yellow jackets is that of queens (large ones). The queens remain throughout the winter.

When the *Sa:nuwa* [10] disappeared, all powerful insects, the big yellow jackets with them, went to heaven.

6.—THE NEST OF THE *SA:NUWA*

The *Sa:nuwa* were about the size of a man. These birds lived at the same time the other powerful birds and insects lived. These powerful birds could carry off a baby for their food.

A grandmother was taking care of a baby. A *Sa:nuwa* came and carried it off. The grandmother thought: "What can we do?"

She decided that she would make a rope of linden withes. She gathered some of them, stripped them, boiled them, and made a rope.

She went to the top of the cliff in which the *Sa:nuwa* lived. She tied pine limbs into the rope every now and again to rest her feet upon as she climbed down.

In the *Sa:nuwa's* nest were two young birds. The grandmother had with her a hatchet of stone, and with it she killed the fledglings. Then she threw the rope into the water and said, "This rope must become an *Ugh(a)dhe:n(a)*!" (This was near *Vdhi:guhi* ['pot in it [liquid]-place'].) [11]

She saw the two big parent birds come back. When they found the nest empty, they hovered about it in order to find out who had killed their young ones. Then they saw the *Ugh(a)dhe:n(a)*, and one bird

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[7] Olbrechts notes that this is called *A'hlu:nǒ:i*, the meaning of which appears to be 'chopped, one-place.'

[8] Olbrechts' note: "These Yellow Jackets were very big ones. Their body was that thick. M.[organ] shows 40 cm. diam. [eter]." Cf. Mooney (1900, p. 260) for another story of giant yellow jackets.

[9] Olbrechts' phonetic transcription of the Cherokee term here is apparently aiming at *atsi:sohi* ('it just caught fire'), which term in Oklahoma would in most dialects be *atsi:sdlohi*. Fleabane (*Erigeron canadense*) is probably meant.

[10] See "The Nest of the *Sa:nuwa*."

[11] Olbrechts' note: " 'Suck' is the place now called. The rock is covered with white stripes which are said to be the manure from the birds. It is near 'Pot in the Water.' *Sa:nuwo:yi* ['*Sa:nuwa*-place']down below." This is 8 miles below Chattanooga on the Tennessee River.

seized it in its claws and flew up into the air with it while the other bird kept striking pieces off the *Ugh(a)dhe:n(a)*. As these pieces fell to the ground, all of them became standing pillars of rock.[12]

MISCELLANEOUS LEGENDS

1.—A CHILD IS EATEN BY WOLVES

In olden times people did not know much about what was right or wrong.

A man and his wife, and their baby that could just sit up, went out to hunt. They came to a place in the wilderness where they made their camp, and the man began to hunt. He killed enough deer for both him and his wife to carry back home. They thought that it was not possible to carry all the meat and the baby also, so they decided to take the meat and to leave the baby. They put the baby upon the top of the bark shelter and gave it some bones to suck. Then they left.

When it was almost sunset, another man, who was also a hunter, came to that place and saw the baby sitting there. He thought that this baby had been left alone for just a little while, and that its parents were about somewhere. So he went on his way home.

At home he told his wife of the baby he had seen, sitting as if deserted, in the midst of the wilderness. His wife had no children of her own, and she said, "I think they must have left that child up there on purpose. You had better go back in the morning and bring it home for us to keep."

When the man went to the place in the morning, there was no baby there, just blood all about and the footprints of a wolf. A wolf had eaten the baby.

2.—A CHILD IS EATEN BY A TAME PANTHER

A man caught a young panther and kept him tied to a post. The animal was very gentle.

One day the man went off to hunt. He stayed overnight in the mountains, but he could not sleep. All night long he heard something howling in the woods.

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[12] Olbrechts' note: "M.[organ's] grandmother, who told him the story, saw them when she came back from West."

One story in Mooney (1900, pp. 315-316) is approximately the same as the above; another one (ibid., p. 317) is rather similar to the above. The motif of intrusion of a human being into the nest of a gigantic bird is recorded in Swanton (1929) from Hitchiti (p. 90), Alabama (p.154), Koasati (p.193), and Natchez-Cherokee (pp. 246-247) sources. The latter, as might be expected, is the closest to the Olbrechts version. There is a long *Sa:nuwa* (the word is usually *Dhlani:gw(a)* in the Oklahoma dialects) story in Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick (1964, pp. 71-76).

Next morning he felt discouraged, and thought that this howling meant that something had happened at home. When he got home, he found that his child had been all torn up by the panther.

He shot the panther.

3.—THE WOMAN AND THE WOLVES

In olden times a woman who was menstruating was not allowed to go into the mountains or the woods because wolves were very likely to find a woman in that condition, just as rattlesnakes are.

One such woman, a very brave woman, had no fear and went into the woods.

When she was returning, she noticed that wolves had gathered and were following her. She saw them approaching, and she climbed up a tree. She stood upon a limb of the tree almost all day and throughout the whole night following. She did not dare to come down, for the wolves stayed under the tree, just waiting for her to fall off.

Next morning she felt very sleepy, and she was afraid that if she fell asleep, she would fall from the tree. She had long hair, so she parted it and tied it to a limb just above her so that if she fell, she would not fall down where the wolves were.

The people, when they did not see the woman come back, went to look for her. They found her hanging by her hair from the limb to which she had tied herself.

She was dead.

4.—A MAN IS KILLED BY TURKEYS

A man out in the woods came upon a great flock of turkeys. When the turkeys caught sight of him, instead of fleeing from him, they attacked him. He could not successfully defend himself against such a number of birds that was in this flock. At last he grew weak, and they killed him.

The people in the settlement wondered what had happened to the man. They searched the woods and found his body. At first it was believed that he had been slain by tribal enemies, but no human footprints were to be seen about his body, only turkey tracks.

5.—A SKUNK CURES A MAN OF SMALLPOX

In olden times there were four men who went visiting a long way off from where they lived. While they were visiting, the smallpox appeared and killed many people.

The men became afraid and started back home, but one of them had already contracted the disease and was growing very weak. He

could hardly walk, so his three companions decided to leave him. So when they came to an open place in the forest, they gathered together some dry leaves and placed the sick man upon them. They told him that in 4 days they would come back for him, although they did not intend to do this; for they thought that he would be dead before then.

As the sick man lay there, he heard something in the distance howling like a fox. Again he heard it. Soon he heard the sound of an animal near him. Then the animal walked all over him, from his feet to his head, urinating as it went. Again it did this, and then once more it crept all over his body, from his feet to his head, and then back again, urinating all the while.

He saw that it was a skunk.[13]

Next morning he was well. He went on to where his people lived. They were very surprised to see him come back, for they thought that he had died from the smallpox.

6.—THE PROPHECY CONCERNING WHITE MEN

Before the White people came to America, there lived an old man, a very powerful magician. The people asked him, "Can you find out how long the brown people are going to live here?" He said that he could do this.

They found a piece of old rotten tree trunk, this long (60 cm.), very dry. They set fire to one end of it, and it burned slowly toward the other end. It all burned up, except for a small bit of it near the other end.

They asked the old man what this was a sign of, and he said, "I don't know when, but strangers are going to come, and bad things will happen. The whole of this log is where we live now. As you see, it has nearly all been burned up. Just a few of us will remain in the East. All the others will be driven toward the West like cattle. But those that remain in the East will remain here as long as the grass grows and the springs keep running."

When they heard that, some of the people said, "If that is going to happen, we might as well start now." But they did not tell their friends. They told their friends that they were going out to hunt, and their friends thought that they had merely gone to the woods. But their friends never saw them again. In this way one family after another would leave.

When they came to the brink of a big river, they could not cross the water. They took cane, made splints of it, and made a canoe, just as we make a basket. In that way they crossed the river.

[13] Olbrechts jotted here ". . . and it spoke to him and said:"; but he failed to record its statement.

MISCELLANEOUS STORIES

1.—THE METAMORPHOSES OF THE LAZY MAN

There lived a man who did not like to work and who wanted to live at ease. One day he took notice of some pismires [14] and thought to himself, "Now look at those pismires! What an easy life they have! They do not have to work, and they never have to go to war." So he wished so strongly to become a pismire that he became one.

But he soon found out that pismires have to work very hard for a living, and often they marched out against enemy ants and engaged in fierce battles. So he decided to become a human being again.

"Trees do not have to do anything at all," he thought. "They draw their living from the earth." So he became a tree.

But he was buffeted by the wind, and unprotected, he suffered in the intense cold of winter, and he was always in danger of being chopped down for firewood and burned. He decided to resume his human form.

"The life of a deer is a happy one," he thought. "He peacefully browses all day upon grass and leaves." He became a deer.

But he lived in constant terror of hunters and panthers, and he decided to become a human being once more.

He became a rock, only to be rent by lightning and chopped by men seeking flint for their arrowheads. As a fish, he was endangered by fishermen; as a steer, he was overworked by his harsh master; as a bear, he was pursued by hunters. He became a bird, but he had to be constantly on the alert in order not to be eaten by chicken hawks. No matter what he became, he could not escape toil or danger.

So he decided that nothing in the world really has an easy existence, and he remained a human being.[15]

2.—A LESSON FROM NATURE (1)

There was a young man who was very lazy. He fished all of the time.

One day he came to the bank of the river and down in the water saw some kind of fish carrying a stone.[16] The fish put the stone down, then went and got another stone and placed it beside the first one. The fish kept on carrying stones until soon it had built up quite a pile of them.

The young man suddenly became ashamed of himself. He looked at his hands and his arms, and he said, "I am strong. I am going to go to work."

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[14] *Do:sv:dá?li* ('ant').

[15] The above bears resemblances to a Natchez-Cherokee story in Swanton (1929, p. 242).

[16] Probably the stone roller (*Campostoma*).

When he went home, he told his family what he had seen and what he had decided to do. He became a great worker.

He learned something from the fish.

3.—A LESSON FROM NATURE (2)

There lived a lazy boy. Every morning he took his fishing pole and basket and went to the river to fish. He stayed there all day, even if he did not catch anything. He went about almost naked, dirty, and with long hair.

One day while he was walking in the brushwood, he noticed a bird in the crotch of a tree. It had something in its bill. Then another bird flew in, and it had something in its bill. The boy wondered why they were carrying things. Then he saw that they were building something nice and round. Although they had no hands, only legs, they managed to do this.

At a shallow place in the river he saw a big fish, a red head, swimming swiftly about gathering gravel. He watched it at work. He thought of the condition of the fish; it had neither hands nor legs.

Then understanding came to him. "I have arms and legs and a mind—more than they have!" he thought. So he broke his fishing pole and threw it into the water, than threw the basket in after it and went home.

It was early spring. He took an ax and cut down trees and cleared land. He borrowed watermelon and muskmelon seed and planted them. In the fall he had ever so many melons, and these he carried to market under his arms, two at a time, and sold them. With the money he received for them, he bought clothes. He washed himself.

The next year he planted more melons, and it was not long before he became one of the most prosperous young men in the settlement.

That is what he learned from the birds and the fish.

4.—THE WHITE MAN AND THE INDIAN

A White man and an Indian met and sat down together upon a log. The White man sat upon the right side, the Indian sat upon the left.

The White man kept moving over, pushing the Indian, until the Indian was sitting upon the very edge of the log. Still the White man pushed.

The Indian said, "I can't sit anymore. I suppose this is what will happen to us."

He meant that the White people would push the Indians out toward the West.

5.—THE WHITES, THE INDIANS, AND THE NEGROES

When people first began to live, there were Whites and Indians.

Somebody [17] came to the people bringing a printed book. He first offered it to the Indians, but they didn't like it. Then He turned to the Whites and offered them the book. They took it.

He also offered a bundle of barks and roots, which was medicine, to the White people, but they did not want it. He then turned around to where the Indians were, offered it to them, and they took it.

There were people who did not want either the book or the bundle, and laughed so much at both that their faces turned all black and their eyes white with laughing. Those were the black people.[18]

6.—THE REVENGE OF THE OLD MEN

In olden times there was once a *gadu:gi* [19] working, hoeing corn for a man (people always helped each other). For dinner there was soup made of dried young yellow jackets. The old men in the *gadu:gi* were very fond of this soup.

The young men ran in front of the old men and joked with them. "We are going to have stinging bugs [*di:n(a)datsv:sgi*] to eat!" they said.

The old men became jealous of the young men and decided that they would punish them. When the young men sat down to dinner and dipped out the yellow jackets, the insects came to life and stung the young men all over. Howling, the young men rushed outside.

When the old men came in, they did not say anything, but just laughed and sat down. All of the yellow jackets came back into the soup, and the old men ate them.

Then the old men asked the young men why they did not eat any of the "stinging bugs," and one by one the young men shamefacedly came back and sat down. The yellow jackets did not come to life again.

7.—SEVEN IRISHMEN GO GOLD-DIGGING

Seven Irishmen came to this country because they had heard that there was gold in the rivers.

One night as they walked along a river, they saw what they thought was gold lying in it. It was the moon that shone upon the surface of the water, but they did not know that. They got sticks and tried

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[17] Olbrechts' note: "*Une:hlanö:hi.*" This is the term for the "Provider," the Supreme Being.

[18] Oral variants of this story are frequently encountered among the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma. There are two Creek versions of it in Swanton (1929, pp. 74–75).

[19] The North Carolina permanent organization called the *gadu:gi* has no counterpart in the main body of Cherokees in Oklahoma, among whom a *gadu:gi* is a temporarily constituted group created to perform a specific task of a charitable or a public welfare nature.

to fish it out, but as they did not succeed, they decided upon another plan.

There was a tree standing near and overhanging the water. So, grasping a limb, one hung from the tree; another one grasped the legs of the first one; still another grasped the legs of the second one; and so on. When all were hanging this way, and the seventh one was getting ready to try to get the gold out of the water, the one on top said, "Hold on tight! I must spit upon my hands!"

So he and all of the others tumbled into the water.[20]

8.—CORN AND BEANS*

In a wild spot near a river, beautiful singing was heard (v). This is what was being sung:

"*Tso:gin(v)tsv:sdi*	*agwadu:liha*
to marry, he me I	I want."
I want to marry.	

Everyone went to find out who it was that was singing. Everyone saw that it was a woman, a beautiful young woman.

The Panther went up to her and said, "I will marry you."

"What can you do? What food can you give me?" she asked.

"Deer meat," replied the Panther.

"I don't eat deer meat. I don't like deer meat," said the woman.

Next the Wolf came to her and said, "I will marry you."

"What can you do for me?" asked the young woman.

"I can give you meat that I have stolen," replied the Wolf.

"I don't want things that have been stolen," said the beautiful young woman.

Then the Wildcat said to her, "Why don't you marry me? I will catch mice and moles for you."

"I don't live on such meat," she said.

Finally a young man came forward and said, "You can be my wife, and I will feed you roasting ears and beans."

This made the young woman very happy, and she arose and threw her arms around him.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

1.—THE CONVOCATION OF CHIEFS

In olden times the Seven Clans gathered in the *ga:dhi*. Each clan had to be there. (Each settlement had a chief, but there was also a principal chief.)

[20] This White man's story constitutes the ending of a Natchez-Cherokee narrative in Swanton (1929, p. 264). The Irishman as a stock comic figure is well represented in Cherokee folktales as yet uncollected. There is a longish tale of this genre in the Barber Collection.

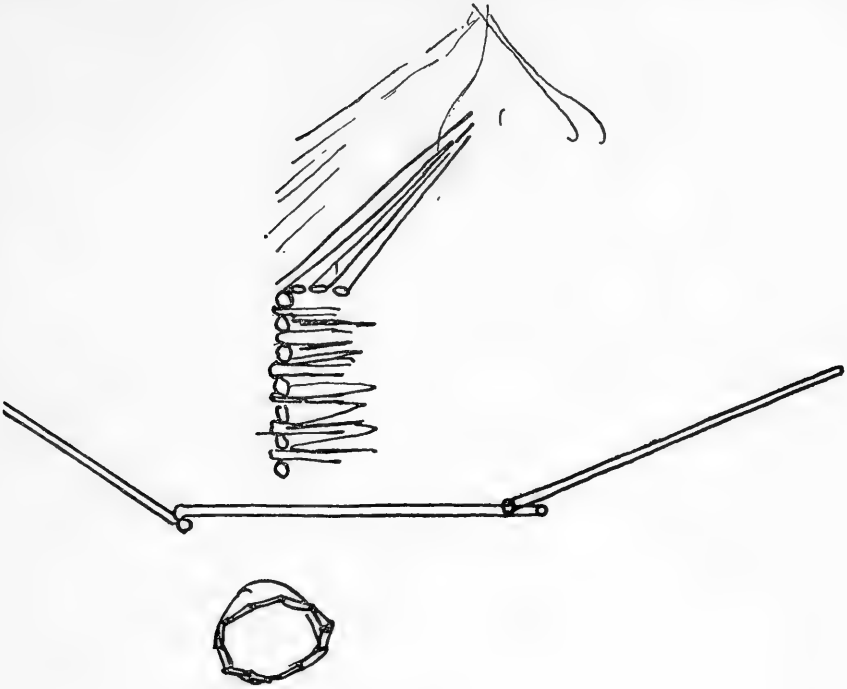

FIGURE 14.—Sketches by Olbrechts illustrating the method used to construct a dance house. *Top,* profile of wall and roof; *center,* plan for laying of ground timbers; *bottom,* unidentified.

The Chief [21] addressed the people, each in turn. One chief spoke just a few minutes: "Be peaceful; do not fight; do not have anything to do with whisky, etc." Then another chief spoke, and then another, until seven chiefs [22] had spoken.

After the people had been addressed, the peace pipe with seven stems was smoked.[23]

2.—THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF THE DANCE HOUSE

The missionaries had come; they wanted to build a meetinghouse. The people wanted to have a dance house nearby. It was built of logs in a circle and joined at the top like rafters [fig. 14].

[21] The chief of the settlement.

[22] The headmen of each of the seven clans.

[23] Olbrechts' note: "M.[organ] thinks it was of clay: has never seen one. A rock called *ganv:hnawa* ('pipe') was used to make carved pipes from. M.[organ] still makes them. On second consideration he thinks it possible that the peace-pipe was of this kind."

When the dance house had been built, the people wondered what to call it. They all gave the matter thought, but could not arrive at a name. When an old woman heard that they had built a place to dance, she jokingly said, "Well, *gá:dhahi:yá* ('maiden, I-still')!"

The people laughed, and one said, "Let's call this place the *ga:dhí:i*. It's a good name." [24]

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[24] Needless to say, this charming bit of folk etymology is not to be taken seriously. The editors suggest that the several terms for the Cherokee townhouse may be derived from the verb stem *-dhi-* ('to insert it [long]'), a reference to a pole stuck into the ground. In Oklahoma the "stomp ground," the central meeting place and dancing place of the community, traditionally had a pole in the center of the area—a return, perhaps, to something antedating the heptagonal.

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