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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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By JACK FREDERICK KILPATRICK and ANNA GRITTS KILPATRICK

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 Wahnenaubi 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.

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	tsuna:hnigi:se	ani:dawe:?	u:tsawi	nv:tsawi
rising (pl.), it	which they left (w.p.k.)	wizards, they	U:tsawi	Nv:tsawi
du:nadosv:i	nv:do	wudeli:gv	dunu:gh(i)didi:sv	yv:wi
named, they	sun	over there going down, it	going in that direction, they	person
uyohusv:hi	unina:widv:ghané:i	gvno:nunv:nelé:i		
she died	they carried her with them (w.p.k.)	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 Wahnenuhi 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, it¹³ 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)*.

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 Wahnauhi 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)* (Wahnauhi Manuscript (Kilpatrick, ed., 1966); Ten Kate, 1839, 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?"

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 *galó:laʔdí*,¹⁹ and a very great magician.²⁰

10.—*VTSA:YI*²¹

Vtsa:yi lived down this river²² alongside the road. I²³ 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 side²⁵ 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.'"

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?

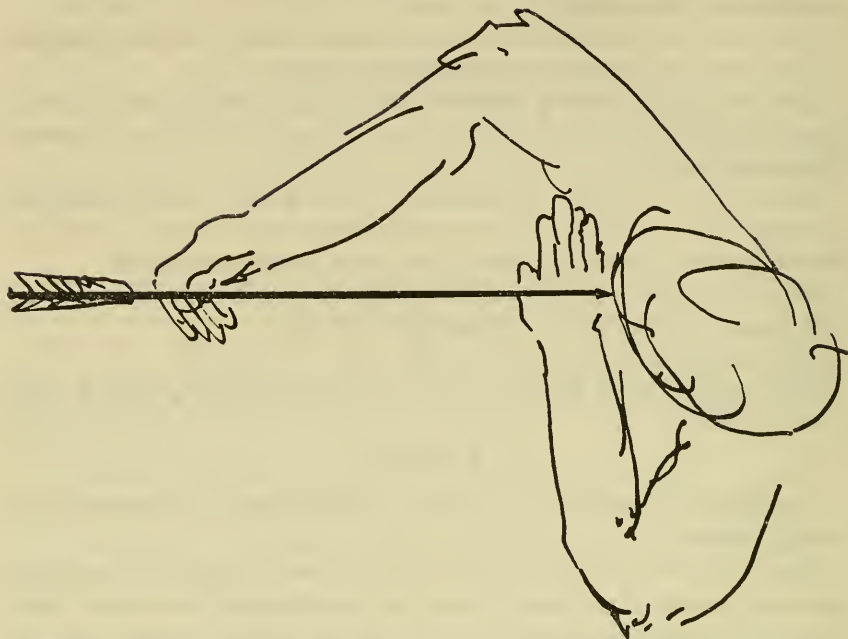


FIGURE 9.—Sketch by Olbrechts illustrating manner of holding arrow at beginning of game.

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.

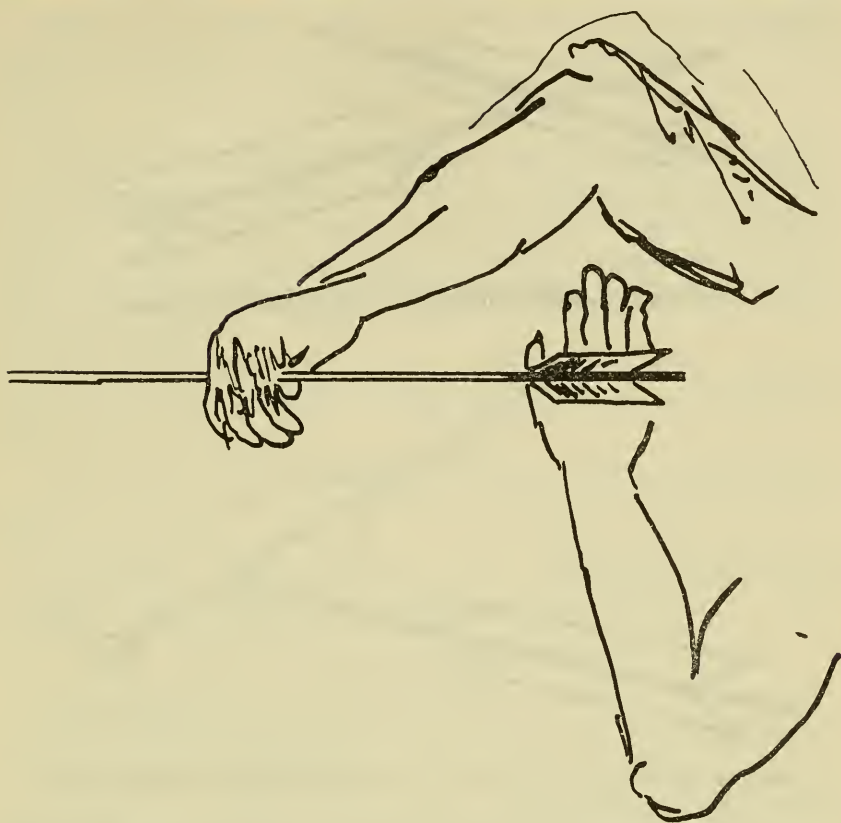


FIGURE 10.—Sketch by Olbrechts illustrating tipping of arrow.

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 gourd²⁵ 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*

²⁵ The significance of this gourd is obscure. Olbrechts' notes make no further reference to it.

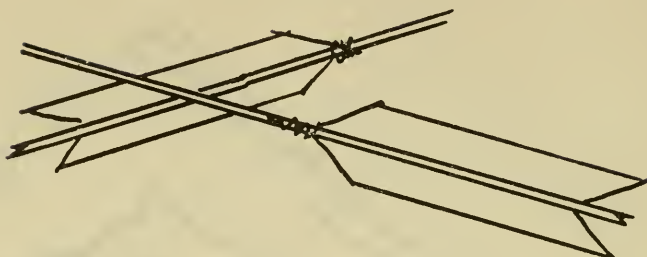


FIGURE 11.—Method of scoring, as illustrated by Olbrechts.

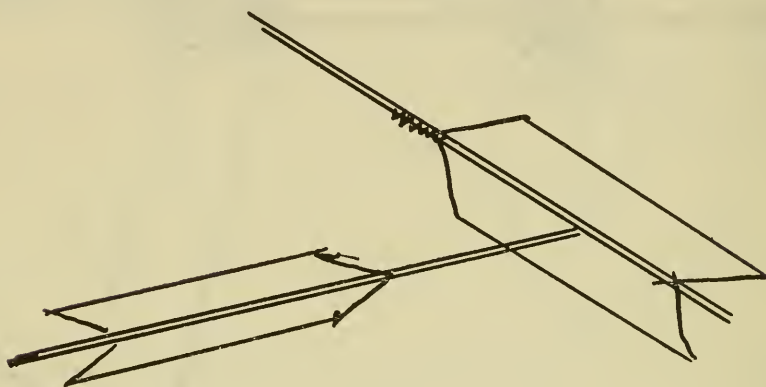


FIGURE 12.—Sketch by Olbrechts illustrating method of double scoring.

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)tschínvda-gwalé: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: ɪ*"

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.

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 Lalgatonōhona" in Swanton (1929, p. 184) has many points of similarity to it.

³¹ Basswood, or lilm-tree (*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.

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.

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.

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

* Winter wren, see footnote 10, p. 339.

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:lgo: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.

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 piscatory 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^g 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:yì* ('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:yvsó: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.)

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 Tsigigi 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.

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 Tassigil 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

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.⁴³

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.

⁴³ 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 FLEAKILLER⁵¹

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.

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:ghwaha:dlo* ('his [or her] face'), or perhaps *u:ghwadhodl: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."

* *An(a)lá:spallá* ('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.

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 of 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 East to find out if that was his way. This time the stone did not come 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:GHVV*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:ghvv* 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:ghvv* 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.

⁵⁵ The term *dha:ghvv* is applied to the whale as well as to the man-eating mythic fish in reference here. There is a *dha:ghvv* 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 *a²ghana: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."

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:dhayó: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.

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, 453-461)

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.

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.

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

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

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 Ela⁷¹ 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."

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 lonesome 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.

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.

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)gtl(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 man⁷⁸ 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 mountain-side. 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

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.

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 WAR1.—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 Gap⁸⁶ to where the mound near Bryson City⁸⁷ is and killed a man and took his scalp. Later they came by Yellowhill⁸⁸ and killed three men and took their scalps.

The Cherokees pursued the *Ani:gh(i)sgi*. The *Ani:gh(i)sgi* went to *Unidv:dhlal̃:yì*⁸⁹ and camped there. The Cherokees had their camp this side of *Unidv:dhlal̃:yì*.

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

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)hiesgi* ('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:dhl̃:ñ:yì*.

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.

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

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

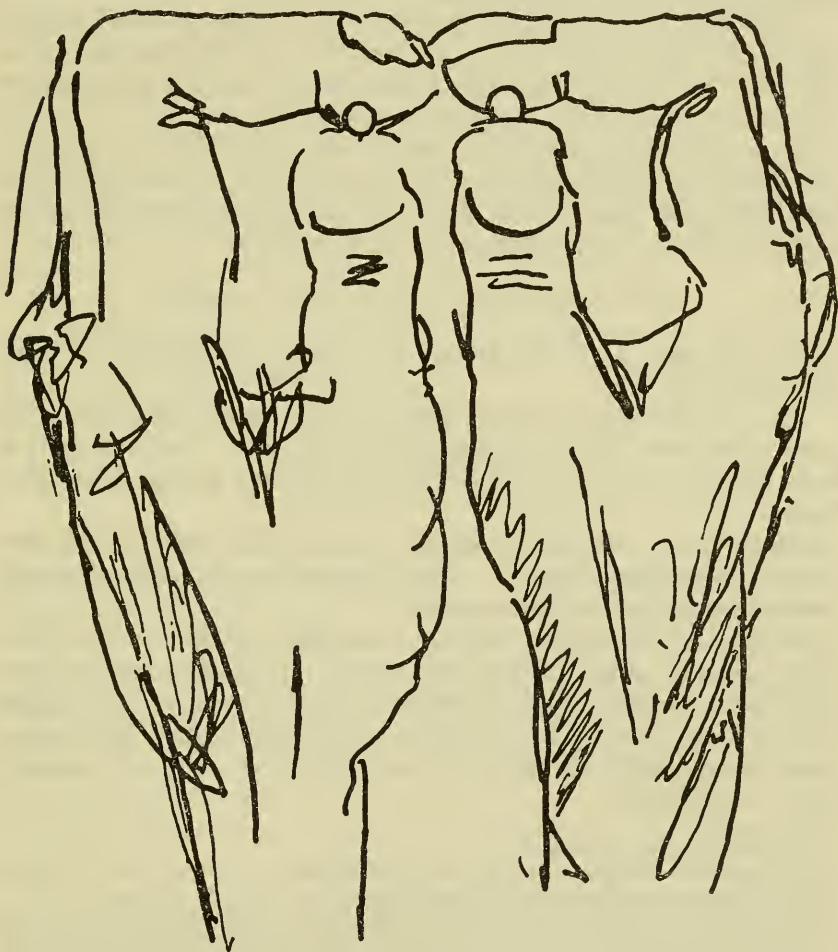


FIGURE 13.—Manner of holding beads for divining, as sketched by Olbrechts.

⁹⁴ Several methods of divining with *ade:lv* ('beads') are still employed by the Cherokee, and a sizable number of the prefatory *idi:gawé:sdí* ('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 *WA²DHO: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 *Wa²dho:gi*⁹⁶ and killed a hunter. The hunters that were with him went to *Wa²dho:gi* and told the people there what happened.

An old man ordered the people to pursue the *Ani:gh(i)sgi*, who ran for *Wa²dho:gi* Mound.⁹⁷ The old man from *Wa²dho: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.

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:dhalv:yi* ('hooked, it-place'); (4) *Gidu:hwa*, near Governors Island; (5) *Ganv:hdv:yi* ('long, it-place'), in Cherokee County, near Murphy, at the "limit of the Asheville Division Railroad"; (6) *Wa²dho: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 *Wa²dho: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:hnv: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 *Adá²ho:nd* ("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."

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:hnv: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:NÍ:YI*

This is a true story.

There is a place, halfway between the Fieldhouse and Cherokee,³ called *Ugh(a)dhe:ní: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:ní:yi*,⁵ or *Ugh(a)dhe:ní:yi*.⁶

4.—THE GHOST OF *DISO:LVDH(V)DÍ:YI*

About a quarter of a mile this side of Birdtown is a place called *Diso:lvdh(v)dí: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

¹ Olbrechts' note: "W.[ill West Long] and TN [*Tsi:ghwa Na:f*] 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 jackets⁸ 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 weeds⁹ (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

⁷ Olbrechts notes that this is called *A⁹hlu:nó:ti*, 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.

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:nuuwa* (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."

¹⁴ *Do:sv:ddʔi* ('ant').

¹⁵ The above bears resemblances to a Natchez-Cherokee story in Swanton (1920, p. 242).

¹⁶ Probably the stone roller (*Campepostoma*).

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.

Somebody¹⁷ 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)datso: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

¹⁷ Olbrechts' note: "*Une:hlané: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:

<i>"Tso:gin(v)tsv:sdi</i>	<i>agwadu:liha</i>
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.

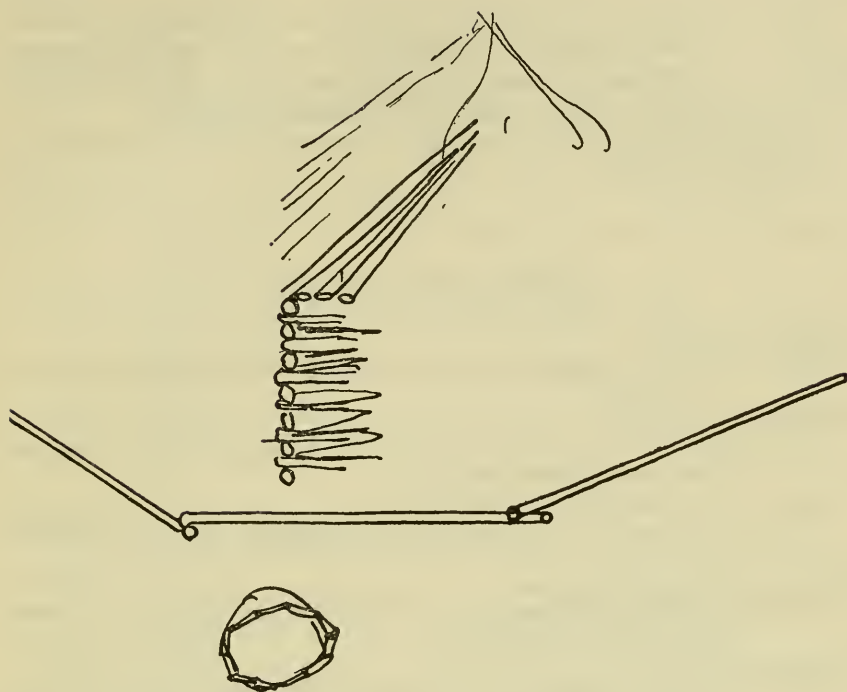


FIGURE 14.—Sketches by Olbrechts illustrating the method used to construct a dance house. *Top*, profile of wall and roof; *center*, plan for laying of ground timbers; *bottom*, unidentified.

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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