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

By Anna Gritts Kilpatrick and Jack Frederick Kilpatrick
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Introduction</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Inoli Letters and other documents</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The author of the documents</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation note</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Wolftown chronicles |

<p>| No. 1. Notice concerning illegal cutting of timber | 10 |
| No. 2. Procedure for borrowing money (I) | 11 |
| No. 3. Procedure for borrowing money (II) | 13 |
| No. 4. Ga:Li:sadi:Hi requests a loan from the Wolftown Council | 15 |
| No. 5. Willingness of the treasurer to restore money lost | 17 |
| No. 6. Explanation of the treasurer | 18 |
| No. 7. Extension of time in which to repay a loan | 19 |
| No. 8. Sdhi:wi writes on Wolftown politics | 21 |
| No. 9. Letter from Sdhi:wi to Ino:li concerning school and fodder-pulling | 24 |
| No. 10. Tax roll and record of loans | 27 |
| No. 11. Note concerning some pigs | 32 |
| No. 12. Roll of Echota Methodist Mission | 33 |
| No. 13. Report of a meeting for the purpose of considering tax problems | 47 |
| No. 14. Gadu:G(i)[?] regulations | 48 |
| No. 15. Tso:tsaga sells his household furnishings | 50 |
| No. 16. O:L(u)Tsegí accuses Du:Na:yi of stealing her dresses | 52 |
| No. 17. Concerning a debt of Wahhyan':Da to Tsá:N(i)La:Ts' | 53 |
| No. 18. The clerk warns debtors | 54 |
| No. 19. Litigation over a debt: Sa:Yani vs. Uni:Lo:sv | 56 |
| No. 20. Regulations concerning marriage | 58 |
| No. 21. Request for payment of Wini's funeral expenses | 60 |
| No. 22. Announcement of auction at home of Wahhyagado:Ga | 63 |
| No. 23. The Gadu:G(i) works in Ino:Li's wheatfield | 65 |
| No. 24. Eni is accused of theft | 67 |
| No. 25. Counting of Wini's livestock and debt of Tsini | 69 |
| No. 26. Claim of Ino:Li's mother against estate of Wini | 70 |
| No. 27. Sale of personal effects of Wini | 71 |
| No. 28. Petition to James W. Terrell and tax record | 79 |
| No. 29. The clerk pays Wolftown officials | 85 |
| No. 30. Collections and disbursements: Estate of Wini | 86 |
| No. 31. Expense account: Recovering a horse | 88 |
| No. 32. Township collections, loans, and expenditures | 90 |
| No. 33. Receipt for payment of a bill at Qualla Store | 93 |
| No. 34. Sale of the estate of Gu:Dagi:Sgi | 93 |
| No. 35. Tsá:N(i)La:Ts' offers to work for some corn | 97 |
| No. 36. Roster of colony at Sandtown | 98 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Wa:huhu is granted a loan from the estate of one deceased.</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>The clerk pays the judge.</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Record of drowning of Tsu:li Ga:hwili.</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Da:soigidi:hi complains of the misconduct of Tsu:si and Tsu:ni.</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Resignation of Judge Wa:huhu and payment to other officials.</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Roster of singing class at Echota Methodist Mission.</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>References cited.</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"Very little information is available for the Eastern Cherokee from 1848 until the outbreak of the Civil War," write Fogelson and Kutsche (1961, p. 103). A considerable amount of information has actually existed, but it has not been available to scholarship owing to its having remained in the Cherokee language, in the Sequoyah syllabary, in which it was written by the Cherokees themselves.

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

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

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

In the course of further inquiries in regard to the whereabouts of other manuscripts . . . we heard a great deal about Inall, or "Black Fox," who had died a few years before at an advanced age, and who was universally admitted to have
been one of their most able men and the most prominent literary character among them, for from what has been said it must be sufficiently evident that the Cherokees have their native literature and literary men. . . . [He] . . . was a full-blood Cherokee, speaking no English, and in the course of a long lifetime he had filled almost every position of honor among his people, including those of councilor, keeper of the townhouse records, Sunday-school leader, conjurer, officer in the Confederate service, and Methodist preacher, at last dying, as he was born, in the ancient faith of his forefathers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE AUTHOR OF THE DOCUMENTS

There was a Chief Inali, or Black Fox, who signed the Washington Treaty of 1806. The name "Ino:li," although rare, is not unknown in Oklahoma. It appears, for example, on a roll of a meeting of the Gidu:hwa Society held at Honey Springs, A: mó: hi District, Cherokee Nation, on September 5, 1874 (Cherokee Nation Papers, MS.,
1874). Several living individuals in Sequoyah County are named Ino:li. We have never encountered an Oklahoma Cherokee, however, to whom this name was meaningful. The black fox is said to be but a mutation of the common red fox. Apparently it is so rarely seen in the Oklahoma Ozarks that it has no special designation. If at one time the black fox was called ino:li by all the Cherokees, those in the West have forgotten the fact. Be that as it may, the Ino:li of "The Inoli Letters" was known to the Whites as "Black Fox."

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

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

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

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

Among his papers we find documents that record some of Ino:li's activities as a Methodist preacher and as a noncommissioned officer (he appears to have been a sergeant) in the Confederate service. He was also a medicine man, but the documents that pertain to this facet
of his personality were extracted by Mooney from the bulk of his papers and filed separately. The father-figure of the minister-medicine man is a familiar one to the Cherokee who have long been disposed to institutionalize that individual who heals the soul through Holy Writ, the body through appropriate conjurations.

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

TRANSLATION NOTE

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

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

Some of the spellings in The Inoli Letters place one in the difficult position of having to decide whether one is dealing with errors or with faithful representations of pronunciations current at the period under investigation. And, in obedience to some law that decrees that those individuals not overly skilled in the craft of writing must
bolster their failings with self-conscious mannerisms, The Inoli Letters abound in clumsy pomposities that conceal what they attempt to reveal.

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

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

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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

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

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

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

THE WOLFTOWN CHRONICLES

The nugget in the sands of The Inoli Letters and the other aforementioned collections is to be found in those documents falling within the first of the categories subsumed above (documents pertaining to the civic affairs and cultural climate of Wolftown), for these contain the data that do much toward enriching our knowledge of Eastern Cherokee society in that ethnographically impoverished era, 1848–61, referred to by Fogelson and Kutsche (1961, p. 103).
It is true that they do not tell us all that we would like to know; in certain respects they raise more queries than they answer. We wish we knew, for instance, what the titles and exact duties of the Wolftown officials were. How were these officials selected and for what length of time did they remain in office? We do not learn of the precise relationship of the Gadu:gi to the Township Council; and although they tell us of crime, they are silent upon the subject of punishment.

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

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

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

NO. 1.—NOTICE CONCERNING ILLEGAL CUTTING OF TIMBER

(on recto, in English)

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

Oct 2d "1850

W H Thomas agt

per G. T. Mason
FREE TRANSLATION

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

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

There is a numeral (?) upon the verso: "721/c," the significance of which is not apparent.

Mooney did not caption this document.

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

(FIRST NOTATION)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a?nv:yi</th>
<th>i:ga</th>
<th>dago:we:la:ni</th>
<th>ade:lv [?]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>March</th>
<th>7 day</th>
<th>I will write</th>
<th>103 money</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ani:se:n(i)si [!]</th>
<th>a?sdé:hl(v)di</th>
<th>niga:hl(i)sda</th>
<th>aye:hl [?]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cents</td>
<td>to help one, it</td>
<td>it just became</td>
<td>central</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Neither capital letters nor punctuation marks are ordinarily used in Cherokee manuscripts.
2 Also employed for 'letter' or 'book.'
3 This word aboriginally was for 'bead(s).’ It has no plural form. In the published literature it is written ade:la, and in some dialects so pronounced.
4 In Cherokee there are relatively few loanwords from European languages. This word is chiefly confined to North Carolina.
5 The meaning here is 'central authority' of any sort—civic, tribal, State, national, etc.
I write this on March 7th. $103.03 was on hand in the Township [Gadu:g(i)] Aid Fund for 1852. Tsa:li is the township [Gadu:g(i)] treasurer. If one wishes to borrow money, he must bring a letter to the township [Gadu:g(i)] keeper of the money. Wa:sida?ni has become Inspector of Letters.

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

COMMENTARY

There is nothing here that permits us to be certain of the money-lending organization in reference. So far as we know, the Eastern Band of Cherokee had no formal tribal organization prior to 1870; but there is some evidence to indicate that some of the townships, and perhaps all of them, possessed township governmental machinery.
Certainly Wolftown did. But it also had a Gadu:g(i),[12] distinct from but interlocking with the township organization. Whether this document pertains to the town council or the Gadu:g(i) is an open question. It is in the handwriting of Sdhi:wi who served as Wolftown Clerk for a period within which the date of this document falls, but he may have been clerk of the Gadu:g(i) concurrently.

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

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

Mooney’s caption, “Working Company—Record WW,” may be accurate.

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

(FIRST NOTATION)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>month</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>year</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

hi?a?sgini ade:lv a:n(a)?se?ga aye:hlı this, in particular money they just counted it central

uni: hv wahhyó:[hi] ga:du: hv 90

they have (hard) wolf-place town 90

adc:lv tso:ga?li 3 ani:se:n(i)si niga:gi money [see Commentary below] 3 cents then it just totaled

aye:hlı 60 ani:se:n(i)si a: hv central 60 cents it (hard) there

tsa:li: gwa [19] agh(a)dh:ya ghiló:hno: udu:li:sgé: sdi he watches it someone, and he will be wanting

Tsa:li: gwa udho:hl(i)sge: sdi hi?a? to borrow, he he will be borrowing this

tsa:li: gwa uhnó:hsdi [18] hi?gesé: sdi da:n(a) da: dho:hl(a)sdisgyv:hno: to bring it (flex.), he this it will be they are lending them, and

---

12 Defined by Fogelson and Kutsche (p. 87) as “...a group of men who join together to form a company with rules and officers, for continued economic and social reciprocity.”
13 ‘Big Charley.’
14 The unvoiced vowel is ǝ in some forms of the verb, ǝ in others.
15 The third syllable is erroneously written ǝ. 747-014—66——2
They counted the money in the Wolftown Council treasury, $90.03 in all. If someone wants to borrow $0.60 for 4 months, let us say, from Tsa:lié:gwá, the treasurer, he is to bring a written request. He will be permitted to borrow it, and he will repay $1.00. The councilmen said that for 12 months the interest is to be $0.10.

June 22, 1852

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

18 The first syllable of this numeral is either sa or so, depending upon the dialect of the speaker or writer. It is sa in the printed literature.
17 In this form, a condition is implied.
16 The conventional spelling, dhal(a)du:, is almost invariably pronounced as we have taken the liberty to write it.
15 One would expect this abbreviation to be Hi:ne. The ni:se here may be an error.
14 Variant of ude:dhiiy:sv:di:so. There is a connotation that the year is in progress.
13 One rather frequently encounters this fashion of writing numerals above one hundred in 19th-century Cherokee manuscripts.
12 This word is garbled in the manuscript.
They counted the interest from March 4.

**COMMENTARY**

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dehalu: yi</th>
<th>22</th>
<th>i: ga</th>
<th>1852</th>
<th>ude: dhlyv: sadi: sV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>1852</td>
<td>year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:n(a)qe’ga</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>adc: lv</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they just counted it</td>
<td>$124</td>
<td>money</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>cents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in all</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to help him, it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: The table above shows the Cherokee script and its English translation.*
The councilmen have counted $124.03 in all. What the councilmen counted is to help one.

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

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

---

19 There are several verbs in Cherokee that roughly equate the English 'to say.' The qualities in which they subtly differ from each other defy practical translation.
20 Idiomatically to 'add' to or 'to enlarge.'
21 Interjection: 'Attention!' One would expect this form to be hitsvyel: se: ha, but what is written may have been regionally current in 1852.
22 Although the third syllable is written e, it may have been pronounced as, as is generally the case today.
23 An acceptable variant, as is iyan', da.
Take it. [?]

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

Mooney's caption reads: "Gülûsuthihi wants borrow 500 from Council—WW."

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>now</td>
<td>this, in particular</td>
<td>money</td>
<td>thirty</td>
<td>to put them down (hard), he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tshune:la</td>
<td>ade:lv</td>
<td>tso?asgo:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sight</td>
<td>gho:hi?sgini</td>
<td>ulvn:isdi:gov</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:ga?:[20]</td>
<td>now, in particular</td>
<td>ready, he</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in all</td>
<td>tsa:li</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aye:hi</td>
<td>tsa:li</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>central</td>
<td>tsuwe: dha?ni [31]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>a?nu:yi</td>
<td>1853</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>1853</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FREE TRANSLATION

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

---

[22] 'He-Has-Poles-Sticking-in-the-Ground.'
I, Ghanohi:yadv, just wrote this March 28, 1853.

COMMENTARY

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

The 'they lost them' is probably in reference to Tsäl:li's household. The Mooney annotation reads: "Charley Tsuwetúni lost $8.30."

NO. 6.—EXPLANATION OF THE TREASURER

(ON RECTO)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>now</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>this I say to you (pl.)</td>
<td>you (pl.) meters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>much, just</td>
<td>which I did talk</td>
<td>but</td>
<td>not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yitsigá:dahcé:i</td>
<td>nu:hl(j)sdanidó:lv</td>
<td>ade:lv</td>
<td>tso?i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I knew not (w.p.k.)</td>
<td>then it happened</td>
<td>money</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná:dodagwá</td>
<td>dha’li</td>
<td>yell:da</td>
<td>uni:[há]gwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weeks</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>they have it (hard), just</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na:gwu [35]</td>
<td>nv'ghi</td>
<td>di:gwada:n(v)dhv</td>
<td>gho:hi [56]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>now</td>
<td>four</td>
<td>my thoughts</td>
<td>now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na:sgini</td>
<td>tsgi</td>
<td>iga:hi:yu</td>
<td>higi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that, in particular</td>
<td>it is</td>
<td>clear, quite</td>
<td>this it is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi?ge:lia</td>
<td>agwo:hiy(u)di:sgi</td>
<td>u:nanugó:tsv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this I think</td>
<td>my witnese</td>
<td>he appeared</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na:sgihye:hno</td>
<td>nu:sgi</td>
<td>ghilo</td>
<td>yá:gh(a)dahá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that, for</td>
<td>the way</td>
<td>someone</td>
<td>if he knows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go:hu:sgi</td>
<td>a:shi</td>
<td>gahl(i)tesi:de</td>
<td>hi:sgi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>something</td>
<td>here</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h Heidi</td>
<td>uni:yo:hu:sv:gi</td>
<td>agayv:ligé:i</td>
<td>gane:lv [37]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>money</td>
<td>have been lost, they</td>
<td>old woman</td>
<td>her home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v:sla</td>
<td>yigadhv:dasdisgé:i</td>
<td>duryu:gh(o)dýhno:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not</td>
<td>I was not listening to her (w.p.k.)</td>
<td>true, and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gesé:i</td>
<td>goli:gy</td>
<td>adin:ná</td>
<td>a:se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it was (w.p.k.)</td>
<td>I understood</td>
<td>but</td>
<td>good, just</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then they will make it</td>
<td>I believe</td>
<td>much, just</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

33 'At this time.'
34 This form is now almost universally the accepted one for the Western dialects, although there exists some evidence to support the postulate that ñ:tes was once standard in some of them. The latter form was, and is, dominant in North Carolina.
35 Alternate with na:gwo and ña:gwo in both the East and the West.
36 Upon this occasion.
37 The manuscript has gahne:ge, which we assume to be an error.
CHRONICLES OF WOLFTOWN—KILPATRICK

agildá:dsísgé:i ayy
I was mistaken (w.p.k.) I
gha? now
na:sgigwo that, just
all I just wrote it I Tsa:li Wa:hu hu
tsagolí:ye:dí to read it, you

(on verso)

this, in particular letter Tsa:li his

FREE TRANSLATION

(on recto)

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

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

This is Tsa:li’s letter.

COMMENTARY

Although it is undated, this letter must surely have been written within weeks of the preceding document since it conveys Tsa:li’s somewhat muddled explanation of his loss of council funds. Speck and Schaeffer (1945, p. 175) mention a chief and a body of 12 men (councilmen) who administered the affairs of a Cherokee township. That there was also a judge, an individual who fulfilled a function distinct from that of the chief, is evidenced by the consistent manner in which the two terms digu:gh(0)di:sgi (‘the one who decides them’) and u:gwίiyu:hi (‘the principal one’) are employed. This letter was addressed to Wa:hu hu (‘Screech-owl’), whom we know from other documents to have been the Wolftown judge at the approximate date of Tsa:li’s communication.

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

Mooney’s identification is: “Letter from Tsali for Wa hu hú.”

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

November 18th day 1853 year

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

COMMENTARY

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

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

23 The second syllable is erroneously written ne.
24 The second syllable is erroneously written tsa.
25 The second syllable is erroneously written na.
CHRONICLES OF WOLFTOWN—KILPATRICK

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hi’a?asgini</th>
<th>dagowé:la:ní</th>
<th>guyé:gwo:ní</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this, in particular</td>
<td>I will write</td>
<td>July</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>it belongs</td>
<td>now, in particular</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>agvw:n’v:ga</th>
<th>ayv</th>
<th>sdhi:wi</th>
<th>nú:lagwó</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I am in a hurry</td>
<td></td>
<td>hurry, you (imp.), just</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>give it (long) to me, you (imp.)</td>
<td>I, for</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a:hní</th>
<th>tásdi:sdí</th>
<th>gesó:sdí</th>
<th>ale</th>
<th>nú:lagwó</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>here</td>
<td>to leave it (long), you</td>
<td>it will be</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>hurry, you (imp.), just</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>agvw:n’:v: ga</th>
<th>na:sgi</th>
<th>á:ghw(a) do:di</th>
<th>agh(a)sdany:nani:da:sdí</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I am in a hurry that</td>
<td>to use it, I</td>
<td>to scribble, I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>it is now</td>
<td>that, just</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>I just wrote it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>sdhi:wi</td>
<td>Ino:li</td>
<td>to read it, you</td>
<td>it will be</td>
<td>someone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>profident, one</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td>it will be</td>
<td>let him read it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>na: gwo</th>
<th>ino:li</th>
<th>wiganv:di</th>
<th>gesó:sdí</th>
<th>ale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>now</td>
<td>Inol</td>
<td>over there to send it (flex.) one</td>
<td>it will be</td>
<td>and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fishingshaw-place, just</td>
<td>when you come (cond.)</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>to read, you</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gesó:sdí</th>
<th>na:sgigwo</th>
<th>ghilo</th>
<th>atshú:tsagwó</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>it will be</td>
<td>that, just</td>
<td>someone</td>
<td>boy, just</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>over there to send it (flex.), he</td>
<td>this letter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ino:li</td>
<td>to read, he</td>
<td>when I turn back (cond.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aginhv:sdí</th>
<th>gesó:sdí</th>
<th>na:sgi</th>
<th>i:ga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to carry it (flex.), I</td>
<td>this day</td>
<td>you (pl.) talk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wahhyá</th>
<th>ga: dú:v</th>
<th>gí:i</th>
<th>wahhyó:hi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wolf</td>
<td>town</td>
<td>I belong</td>
<td>wolf-place</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I believe</td>
<td>I was thinking</td>
<td>to go I, in particular, surely</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The second syllable is erroneously written we.*

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

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

*The first syllable is erroneously written át.*

'*The-one-who-writes-them.*

*The penultimate syllable is erroneously written de.*
I will write this on July 8th.

I, Sdhi: wi, am in a hurry for the pencil that belongs to the township. Hurry and give it to me to scribble with. Leave it here—and hurry: I am in a hurry to use it to scribble with.
Now! That is all that I, Sdhi:wi, just wrote for you, Ino:li, to read. Let someone proficient in letters read it. Now, Ino:li, it will be sent over there to Fishinghawk Place, and when you come, you will read it. Some boy will take this letter over there for Ino:li to read, and when I come back, I will bring it, that day when all of you talk in Wolftown where I belong and am the clerk. In my mind I believe that I will go over there.

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

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

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

COMMENTARY

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

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

1. There was an option as to the clerk being appointed or elected, or what is far more probable, Sdhi:wi was appointed to fill an unexpired term: "... for the leaders [i.e., members of the Council] chose me. . . ."

2. The terms of some, perhaps all, of the officials expired simultaneously: "... and if the leaders finish, I will also finish. . . ."

3. There were formal contests for office: "... he could accidentally beat me," and "... I won't run against anyone."

4. Officials could succeed themselves.

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

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

Mooney's caption is a problem, but it may be: "Meth. mission Stiwi wants return of Lead Pencil—WW." If this reading be correct, the reference to Echota Methodist Mission is obscure.
NO. 9.—LETTER FROM SDHI:WI TO INO:LI CONCERNING SCHOOL
AND FODDER-PULLING

(ON RECTO)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>September 13th</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>1854</td>
<td>this year</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gha?</td>
<td>hi?a?</td>
<td>sgin</td>
<td>ino:li</td>
<td>gvyowela:si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>now</td>
<td>this, in particular</td>
<td>Ino:li</td>
<td>I just wrote you</td>
<td>now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>he did say</td>
<td>chief</td>
<td>to teach them, one</td>
<td>which it became</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sdhi: wi</td>
<td>dila: sge: sgi</td>
<td>dighuyi: sghno:</td>
<td>na: sgi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sdhi: wi</td>
<td>Dila: sge: sgi</td>
<td>Dighuyi: sgi</td>
<td>and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>udo: hiyú: hi</td>
<td></td>
<td>hi: tsihné: tehe</td>
<td>ginú: d(v) di</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>truly</td>
<td>this you (pl.) spoke (w.p.k.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>one-fourth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they prized them</td>
<td>U: gwaniyé: dv, for</td>
<td>to teach you (pl.), be</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he did state</td>
<td>if (you pl.) spoke</td>
<td>this, and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us: gwaniyé: dv</td>
<td>wa: sde: l(v) di</td>
<td>se: lu: gwo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U: gwaniyé: dv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>digal(a) sduhuwó: hedí</td>
<td>hi?: gesé: sdi</td>
<td>a: nadv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to pull off the leaves for him, one</td>
<td>this it will be</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>udv: hngvi</td>
<td>ghila</td>
<td>ho: wa: gwo</td>
<td>agwadv: hnvgi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he did state</td>
<td>then</td>
<td>all right, just</td>
<td>I did state</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na: sngi gwo</td>
<td>gesé: sdi</td>
<td>agwadv: hngvi</td>
<td>gha?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that, just</td>
<td>it will be</td>
<td>I did state</td>
<td>gho: hiho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>this I hear</td>
<td>now, and</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>nsiq</td>
<td>hi? a?</td>
<td>nu: sdi</td>
<td>gha?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsígi</td>
<td>hi? a?</td>
<td>nu: sdi</td>
<td>gha?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that, just</td>
<td>it will be</td>
<td>I did state</td>
<td>gho: hiho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tso</td>
<td>hi?</td>
<td>tso: di: sgy</td>
<td>hígi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to pull fodder for him, one</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>what he was talking about</td>
<td>this it is</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this one</td>
<td>he did say</td>
<td>small ones, just, for</td>
<td>fields, we have (plane)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un(a) dv: hnv</td>
<td>un(a) dv: hngvi</td>
<td>tsiqo: hno</td>
<td>nigá: e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they stated</td>
<td>they did state</td>
<td>I wonder</td>
<td>that much</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haglidí: sduhanó?</td>
<td>tsíno: gišé: lvi</td>
<td>hi? a?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this I mistook (w.p.k.)</td>
<td>I told him</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nàiwe: ha</td>
<td>v: dhlá</td>
<td>digó: dhv: sdi</td>
<td>yígi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>now they say</td>
<td>not</td>
<td>to burn them, one</td>
<td>if it is</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiga: l(a) sduhuwó: v</td>
<td>an(a) di: sgoi</td>
<td>gha?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>if one pulls off the leaves</td>
<td>they say (háb.)</td>
<td>now</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all right, just</td>
<td>right, just</td>
<td>you (pl.) will kill it, mine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a: se</td>
<td>na: sgi</td>
<td>nvda: sgyá: dhv [gá]: ne: lì</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I suppose</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>then you (pl.) will hear about it from me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>if, and</td>
<td>over there when you (pl.) begin</td>
<td>this, and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dî: gwo: hwe: la: nvi: hi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>central</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my writings</td>
<td>you (pl.) will speak of it</td>
<td></td>
<td>all</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

—— BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY ———

[Bull. 196]

13 There is a superfluous f after the second syllable, probably a device to prolong the vowel ln i.

24 The last syllable is erroneously written ge.

The spelling of this word, du:ge: lojí, appears to be garbled.

The first syllable is written ha. This is acceptable, but he is standard.

The second syllable is written he. Also.

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

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

dagwade: hyo?nvi:
don’t make it (Imp.)

gha?
now

na:sgigwo
that, just
gesé: sdi
it will be

sginé: tshe:lv
you (pl.) asked me

tsa: hlí: ye?li:
this week

there I taught
there I wrote, and

gho: wivo
gro: higwo
you must send it to me

na:sgié: dsdv: n(e)di
na: gwó: hyehnó

tsad:n(e)di
to do, you

udó: dagwadv
all day

this you (pl.) stopped

gesé: sdi
that, just

na: gwo:

now, and

usv: hiyé: gwo

late afternoon,

na: sgdí: wí

mountains, your

na: sgdí: gá

govi: né?di
to give you (hard), I

I

Sdhi: wí

I just wrote it

(on verso, first notation)

gha?

this, in particular

gohwe: li

It

hi? a?sgini
tisg: sganí: da
this

na: sgdí: da

nigá:v [41]
all

(on verso, second notation)

hi?a? ino: li

this

higoliyé: v: há

this you must read

gho: hl(i)tsv:
understood, it

getsó: hli: sdi

to understand it (cond.), you

gesé: sdi
it will be

free translation

(on recto)

September 13, 1854

now! ino: li, I wrote you this letter.

now! This is what the chief said: “It has become time for him to teach them. Sdhi: wí, Dila: sge: sgi, and Dí: ghuyi: sgi, it is true that you have set the fee at $0.25. U: sgwániyé: do is to teach all of you, if all of you say so,” he stated. “This U: sgwániyé: do will have to be helped with his corn fodder-pulling,” they say he stated.

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

This is what he said: “‘We have just small fields,’ they have said that they said.”

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

[44] The second syllable is erroneously written go.

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

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

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

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

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

(on verso, first notation)

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

(on verso, second notation)

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

**Commentary**

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

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

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

The literature gives us no information as to what sort of school was maintained on Qualla Boundary in 1854, and we add very little knowledge from The Inoli Letters. We may be sure that it did not measure up to the standards of the Western Cherokees. Since it is quite unlikely that many of the children knew much English, the
principal instructional materials may have been such portions of the Bible that had been printed and the “Cherokee Primer,” available in Park Hill editions of 1839, 1840, 1845, 1846, and 1854 (Hargrett, 1951, p. 59).

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

Mooney’s identification reads: “Steve to Black Fox School Should Begin after Fooder Pulling.”

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**NO. 10.—TAX ROLL AND RECORD OF LOANS**

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this all</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>in number, they</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>hi?a?</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>they were paying</td>
<td></td>
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<td>hi?i:ga:</td>
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<td>$0.45</td>
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<tr>
<td>still</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tsuma:sdala</td>
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<td>$0.45</td>
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<td>Ul(i)seqog:gi:dv</td>
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<td>Ul(i)seqog:gi:dv</td>
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<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ul(i)seqog:gi:dv</td>
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<td>D:nlí</td>
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<td>$0.45</td>
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<tr>
<td>D:nlí</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>D:nlí</td>
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<td>Dalon:ngé</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dalon:ngé</td>
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<td>Dihye:idó:hi</td>
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<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dihye:idó:hi</td>
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<td>Tsumi</td>
<td></td>
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<td>[?]5</td>
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<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ne:wadv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D:gwadi:hi</td>
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<td>D:gwadi:hi</td>
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<td>Da:gwadi:hi</td>
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<td>hi?a?hno:</td>
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<td>u:l(i)sgwalv:di</td>
<td>aghuyv:hv</td>
<td>paid, it</td>
<td>this</td>
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<td>hi?a?</td>
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<td>ude:dhiyv:sadi:sv</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>nani:hv</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>goho:gi</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>aui:se:n(l)si</td>
<td>put down by them, it (hard)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>this, and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>usual amount</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>cents</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>the time</td>
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<td>i:ga:</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hi?a?</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>D:gwadi:hi</td>
<td>a:si</td>
<td>ulu:la</td>
<td>55</td>
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<td>D:gwadi:hi</td>
<td>still</td>
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<td>a:ghuyv [53]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>he just paid</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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[53] The last syllable is erroneously written γv.
[54] A superfluous wi follows the proper final syllable.
[56] This form of the “recent past” tense is consistently spelled with a final γv instead of γa, as one would expect. It must have been so pronounced.
2

De:nili

$0.2[?] 80

Tsa:li

Tsa:li $0.80

hi'a? ade:lv udho:1(a)sv duli:si? [66] lne i:ga 1858

this money he borrowed September 11th day 1858

u:wa:wosidi [67]

U:wa:wosidi $0.95

tsv:datsi udho:1(a)sv

Tsv:datsi $0.85

du:nawi adho:la ade:lv

Du:nawi he just borrowed money $0.35

dihye:lid̤6:hi [88]

Dihye:lid̤6:hi $0.45

a:ghuyv a:?ghali:?

he just paid in full

gu:la:tsi

Gu:la:tsi $0.86

a:ghuyv a:?ghali:?

he just paid in full $0.85

ga:gama

Ga:gama $0.05

u:dan(i)du:da

U:dan(i)du:da $0.45

a:ghuyv a:?ghali:?

he just paid in full

gano:hiya:dv

Gano:hiya:dv $0.90

dayun6:hyv:li

Dayun6:hyv:li $0.95

wi:l(i)si ni sga:tsi

Wi:l(i)si Sga:tsi $1.00

wa:gu(1)li

Wa:gu(1)li $0.05

tso:tsaga adho:la ade:lv

Tso:tsaga he just borrowed money $0.30

u:wa?nv a:ghuyv udho:1(a)sv hi?ade:lv

U:wa?nv he just borrowed, it this money $1.00

a?hw(i)daya:[i] adho:la ade:lv guwo:ni

A?hw(i)daya: he just borrowed money April 24th

i:ga 1857 100 $1.00

day 1857 24th

wahhyan6:da adho:la ade:lv guwo:ni

Wahhyan6:da he just borrowed money April 24th

i:ga 1857 100 $1.00

day 1857 24th

—

66 There is a superfluous i following the second syllable.
67 There is a superfluous ha following the third syllable.
88 This name is crossed out.
89 The significance of these numerals is conjectural.
90 This entry is crossed out.
CHRONICLES OF WOLFTOWN—KILPATRICK

29

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

he just borrowed

money

June

2ne i:ga 1857 100 30 yi [71]
2d day 1857 $1.30

u?hnegwo:tsv hi?a?

It increased

this

[illegible] adho:la ade:lv de[ha]lu:yi [70a]
[illegible] he just borrowed money June

[i illegible]

i:ga 1857 [72]
day 1857

tsv:datst a:si ulu:la
Tsv:datst still he does not finish

I just had this left over

dehalu:yi
June 21

21st

now this Wl:l(i)sinl he just borrowed money central

a:?hv [73] $[?].15 duni:n(o)dhi 6ne i:ga 1858
it (hard) there $[?].15 October 6th day 1858

a:ghuyv wi:l(i)siní a:ghuyv a:?ghali?:
he just paid Wl:l(i)sinl he just paid

in full

a:si hi:sgiani:se:n(i)si [74] ga?lohni gha?lv
still five cents August month

24ne i:ga
24th day

$0.05

hi?a? gha:tsi adhol:la ade:lv 2
this Gha:tsi he just borrowed money

$2.00

nv:dáde:gwá
November 10th day 1858

ghi:a? sa:ladi ade:lv adho:la 96
now this Sa:ladi money she just borrowed 96

ani:se:n(i)si nv:dáde:gwá gha?lv 20ne
cents November month 20th

i:ga ayv ino:li go:we:la:ga
day 1 I Ino:li I just wrote it

gha? hi:adhol:la ade:lv 250
now this he just borrowed money $2.50

u:1(a)sdü:hi

vsghiy:yi 16ne i:ga 1858 a?nv:yi gha?lv
December 16th day 1858 March month

to pay, he u:ghuy(v)di 20ne i:ga 1859 ayv ino:li
29th day 1859 $ I Ino:li

go:we:la:ga [75]
I just wrote it

747—014—66——3

70a This entry is crossed out.
71 The meaning of this abbreviation is not known to us.
72 This entry is crossed out.
73 Variant of a:?he:i and a?:tei.
74 This word and the preceding one are crossed out.
75 This entry is crossed out.
76 All of this entry except the first two words is crossed out.
In the year 1855, this was the amount paid by the taxpayers: $0.45. This is the amount that they all were paying.

Yo:nwvo:hlá (still not finished paying) ........ $0.45
Tsuna:sdala ....................................... $0.45
U(l)segogo:dv ...................................... $0.45
De:nili .............................................. $0.30
Dalo:n̕ı́ye ........................................... $0.45
Dihye:lidó:hi ....................................... $0.15
Tsumi ................................................ $0.45
Ne:wadv ............................................. $0.35
Da:gwadi:hi ......................................... $0.45

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

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

He just paid in full.

De:nili .............................................. $0.2[
Tsali ................................................ $0.2[

This money he borrowed September 11, 1858.

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

He just paid in full.

Gu:la:tsi ............................................ $0.86

He just paid in full. $0.85 $0.95
Ga:gama .............................................. $0.05
U:dan(i)du:da ....................................... $0.45

He just paid in full.

Gano:hiy:dv ........................................ $0.90
Dayunó:kyé:l̃i ....................................... $0.95
Wi:l(i)sini Sga:tsi ................................ $1.00
Wa:gu:li ............................................ $0.05
Tso:tsaga. He just borrowed money .............. $0.30
U:wa:nv. He just paid. He borrowed this money ........................................ $1.00
Aphw(i)daya:i. He just borrowed money, April
24, 1857 ............................................. $1.00
Wahhyaní:da. He just borrowed money, April
24, 1857 ............................................. $1.00
Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi. He just borrowed money, June 2, 1857. With the interest it was this—$1.30 [illegible]. He just borrowed money, June [illegible], 1857

Tsvo:datsi (still not finished paying)
I had this left over, June 21st—$[?].21

Now! Wi:l(i)siní has just borrowed money, from township funds—$[?].15
On October 6th Wi:l(i)siní just paid in full.
Wi:l(i)siní has just paid in full the $0.05 he still owed, August 29th.

Gha:tsi just borrowed money November 10, 1858—$2.00
Now! Sa:ladì just borrowed money November 20th—$0.96
I, Ino:li, just wrote this.

Now! U:l(a)sdu:hi just borrowed this money
December 16, 1858—$2.50
He is to repay it March 20, 1859.
I, Ino:li, just wrote this.

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

NO. 11.—NOTE CONCERNING SOME PIGS

hiʔa?
this
12
12
i:ga
duni:n(o)dhí
ghaʔlv
si:ghwa
pig

ghanó:heʔdi
to discuss, one
gv:hnage
ayó:hli
small

a:di:ha
he says

a:di:ha
he says

udedhiyv:dvgwo
year-old, just

só:hihnó:
another, and

iuyódedhiyv:yv
days old

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

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

FREE TRANSLATION

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

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

COMMENTARY

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

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

Mooney's annotation is wrong: "Unsigned Note to Wagiku-Gahunis [Gahuni's] Br. [Brother] to Come WW."
NO. 12.—ROLL OF ECHOTA METHODIST MISSION

1856

ani:tsa  digh(a)dhf:ya  da:hyvho
Ani:tsa  he watches them  he hunts them (hab.)

uniyv:sdì:yi  u:naligó:hi
to enter, they—place  joined together, they

tsa:ni de:hw(i)si [8]
Tsa:ni De:hw(i)si

ani:tsa
Ani:tsa

da:yy:ha
Da:yy:ha

wa:di
Wa:di

ne:ni
Ne:ni

do:yani:da
Do:yani:da

gelayi:ni
Gelayi:ni

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

gho:latsusdi:ga [9]
Gho:latsusdi:ga

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

amatsv:na
Amatsv:na

hv:gi
Hv:gi

ghola:ha
Gholha:ha

ne:tsili
Ne:tsili

adi:se
Adi:se

gadola:ha
Gadola:ha

v:wo:diyó:hi
V:wo:diyó:hi

da:li
Da:li

me:li
Me:li

ali:sa 21
Ali:sa 21

---

18 Marks of several patterns (the dash, the cross), probably attendance tallies, we have omitted.
19 The last syllable is erroneously written a.
20 The purpose of these numerals is unknown. Some appear to be cumulative totals, others do not.
tse:gi tsi
Tse:gi [?]
i:yátsagá tsi
i:yátsagá [?]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ne:si</th>
<th>u:yohon:sv</th>
<th>guwo:ni</th>
<th>5ne</th>
<th>i:ga</th>
<th>1558</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ne:si</td>
<td>she died</td>
<td>April</td>
<td>5th</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>1558</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

diganvé:wédii:sgi tsi
Diganvé:wédii:sgi [?]

tsi:gh(i)sv tsi a:yohon:hi de[halu:yi 25ne i:ga 1558
Tsi:gh(i)sv [? he just died June 25th day 1558

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sa:li</td>
<td>Ali:tsa [?] tsi</td>
<td>they joined together with them August</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>11 i:ga</th>
<th>1856</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11 day</td>
<td>1856</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gado:yoie tsi 25</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gado:yoie [?] 25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ulv:hnawoda da u:yohon:sv</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ulv:hnawoda da he died</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\text{tsuniyo:hu:sv: } 3 \\
\text{which died, they } 3
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>16 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
56 [33] \\
56 \\
29 \\
29
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>raven-place</td>
<td>in number, they joined together, they (hab.)</td>
<td>45 [45]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>45 [45]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 [46]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ani:wahhyó:hi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wolf-place, they</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>33</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ani:wo:di</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paint, they</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>55</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ani:tse? [37]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>new ones</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>26</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ani:tse?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>new ones</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tsuniyo:[hu:]sv:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>which died, they</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

---

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

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

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

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

[85] Probably the total number of adult members from Gho:lanv:yi.

[86] Probably the total number of child members from Gho:lanv:yi.

[87] Here, and in the line immediately below, the final syllable is erroneously written tsa.
CHRONICLES OF WOLFTOWN—KILPATRICK

21 10
21 10

u: hli
U: hli
ali: sa
All: sa

hi? a?
this
uniyv: sdí: yi
they joined together with them
tsa: n(i)siní
lu: yi
digh(a)dhi: ya
Lu: yi
he watches them
Tsa: n(i)siní
se: li
Se: li
72
72
e: ni
E: ni

wi: l(i)siní
Wi: l(i)siní
sa: dayi
Sa: dayi
wa: guli
Wa: guli
gyu: tsé
Gyu: tsé
a: yohu: hi
she just died
August
27
27
1858
1858

ila: gwi
Ila: gwi
ni: gutse: gi
Ni: gutse: gi
10
10
sa: li
Sa: li
di: gini
Di: gini
sina: sdv
Sina: sdv
ne: li
Ne: li
sa: ladi[8]
Sa: ladi
wini
Whi
u: yohu: sv
she died
tsini
Tsini
sa: li
Sa: li

8 The sibilant is erroneously written s.
9 Sa: ladi, Sa: lada, and Sa: lada are variant spellings, found in The Ineli Letters, of the same name; the Cherokee form of Charlotte.
wa:huhu 60
Wa:huhu 60
a:yigi
A:yigi
e:ligi 20
E:ligi 20
u:yohu:la u:yohu:sv
U:yohu:la he died
tsiwe:li:si 4 40 20
Tsiwe:il:si 4 40 20
o:hni
O:hni
de:gi
De:gi
a:hyvi:ní u:yohu:sv
A:hyvi:ní he died
u:l(i)sdu:hi
U::l(i)sdu:hl
so:?gini
So:?gini
ne:n(i)si u:yohu:sv
Nem(i)si she died
u:dan(i)du:da
U:dan(i)du:da
du:na:yi u:yohu:sa
Du:na:yi dead, he
li:si u:yohu:sa
Li:si dead, she
e:wi u:yohu:sa
E:wi dead, she
u:lu:tse
U:lu:tse
ne:n(i)si u:yohu:sv
Nem(i)si she died
tsi:na?de:i u:yohu:sv
Tsi:na?de:i he [she?] died
tseni:si u:yohu:sv
Tseni:si she died
go:hisdi:sgi
Go:hisdi:sgi
tsi:nayi
Tsi:nayi
du:na:yi 30
Du:na:yi 30
tsi:lawi:se
Tsi:lawi:se
tsu:we:lu:ga
Tsu:we:lu:ga
da:gi
Da:gi
ge:hida
Ge:hida
This name is crossed out. This member may have been expelled from the church.
ali:sa
Ali:sa
gudagi:sgi  59  30  
Gudagi:sgi  59  30
lu:si  duli:sgi [91]  23ne  i:ga  18[??]
Lu:si  September  23rd  day  18[??]
ge:hyahi [92]
Ge:hyahi
e:lini
E:lini
tsi:guwi
Ts:guwi
gv:sgali:sgi
Gv:sgali:sgi
tsini  6
Tsini  6
Tsini  gho:higi [93]
Tsini  now, this it is  si:olf:go:hnv
wahhyó:hi unali:go:hnv
wolf-place they joined together with them  a:ne:hnv
living, they
tsu:na[ne][o]di [94]
Christians, they
ino:li ahli:tsidó:hnv:sgi
Ino:li one who preaches
tsa:li  digh(a)dhí:ya  20
Tsa:li he watches them  20
gawo:hi:lo:sgi  digh(a)dhí:ya
Gawo:hi:lo:sgi he watches them
tso:tsaga
Ts:tsaga
a:tsi
A:tsi
ne:ni
Ne:ni
vyanu:la [u:]yohu:sv
Vyanu:la he [she?] died
o:hní
O:hní
hv:gi [95]
Hv:gi
tse:gi  u:yohu:sa
Tse:gi  dead, he
e:gi
E:gi
c:gi [u:]yohu:sv
E:gi  she died
du:ní  10
Du:ní  10

[91] There is a superfluous i following the second syllable.
[92] The second syllable is erroneously written hyo.
[94] No truly satisfying translation of this word for ‘Christians’ is possible.
[95] The final syllable is erroneously written di.
de:nili
De:nili
saya
Saya
si:gawi
Sigaawi
ali:sa
All:sa
tsini u:yohu:sv
Tsini she died
usi:e:dv u:yohu:sv 20
Usi:e:dv he [she?] died 20
goyi:ne?
Goyi:ne?
galv:da?yi
Galv:da?yi
anúwe:gi
Anúwe:gi
a:yéle:i
A:yéle:i
a:ni
A:ni
dvd:sdi [n]
Dvd:sdi 20
idg:v:n(e)di
Idg:v:n(e)di
si:li
S:li
dayunó:hyv:li
Dayunó:hyv:li
danv:n(i)galv:hi
Danv:n(i)galv:hi
a:li da:dayi
A:li Da:dayi
nigavi
Nigavi
o:1(u)tségi [v]
O:1(u)tségi
[s]dhi:wi u:yohu:sv
Sdhi:wi he died
which died, they 6 18 28
uli:go:hnv
uli:go:hnv
gha:ga?li
gha?li
gha?lv
1855
he [or she] joined
February
month
1855
tsu: dasi
Tsu: dasi
Gwe:dh(i)si
Gwe:dh(i)si
30
30
4u:wo:ni 12
4u:wo:ni
12
anali:go:hnv:ga
they just joined
1857
1857

16 We assume this name to be a variant of Dhdidi:si.
17 The second syllable is erroneously written li.
We just met June 27th day 1858
Da:sgigidi:hi he just joined

do:tsi:la:wi:gi  de[hal]lu:yi  27ne  i:ga  1858
doa:sgigidi:hi  alfi:go:hv:ga

e:li(si)  E:li(si)
do:tsu:le?hnv
Do:tsu:le?hnv

wa:dv [9*]  36  ino:li [9*]
wa:dv  35  Ino:li

a:ghuya  10
A:ghuya  10
sa:mi  30
Sa:mi  30
tsul6:gilá
Tsul6:gilá

ne:n(i)si  40
Ne:n(i)si  40
tsá:n(i)la:tsi
Tsá:n(i)la:tsi
duli:sci [1]  23  i:ga  1858
September  23rd  day  1858

wini
Winl
aligi:ni
Ali:gi:ni
e:ni
E:ni

ne:tsili
Ne:tsili
ga:su:dhé:sgi
Ga:su:dhé:sgi
tsá:ts(i)
Tsá:ts(i)

gho:lanv:yi  u:naligó:hi  6
raven-place  joined together, they  6
tsu:na(sdi)  12
small ones  12

[ani:wo:di:hi ?]  7
[paint-place, they ?]  7

[tsu:na(sdi) ?]  10
[small ones ?]  10

6 This is a variant spelling of Wa:di, a feminine name that in conversation would be pronounced with the final vowel unvoiced.
9 We do not know why Ino:li wrote his name here. Perhaps he was in charge of the meeting on June 27
1 There is a superfluous i following the second syllable.
Chronicles of Wolftown—Kilpatrick

12 83
12 83
100 3
100 3
10 10

tsuniyo: hu: sv:

10 903
which died, they
10 93

adi: na

iyv: digegawo: v: hi

not

been baptised, they
31 02
31 02
43 43

1111111111
tsun: n(a) sdi

small ones
11 7 23
11 7 23

6 6

Free Translation

1856

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

Tsa: ni De: hw(i) si
Ani: tsu
Da: yv: ha
Wa: di
Ne: ni
Do: yani: da
Gelayi: ni
Tsinilv: gi
Gho: latsusdi: ga
Ada: sude: gi
10
Amatsv: na
Hv: gi
Ghola: ha
Ne: tsili
Adi: se
Gadola: ha
V: wo: diyó: hi
Da: li
Me: li
Ali: sa
Tse: gi
I:yátsagá
Ne:si—she died April 5, 1858
Digany: wedi:sgi
Tsi:gh(i)sv—he just died June 25, 1858
They joined the Church August 11, 1856
Sa:li Ali:tsa
Gado:yoe
Ul:hnawo:da—he died

Those who died—3
16 100 56
29

This is the number of members from Raven:

From Wolftown:

From Painttown:

New members:

Those who died 2
21 10 3
4 5

U:hli
Ali:sa
These are the members of the Sunday School:
Lu:yi—Deacon
Tsa:n(i)sini
Se:li
72
E:ni
Wi:t(i)sini
Sa:dayi
Wa:guli
Guyu:tse—she just died August 27, 1858
Ila:gwi
Ni:gutse:gi
10
Sa:li
Di:gini
Sina:sdv
Ne:li
Sa:ladi
Wini—she died
Tsinì
Sa:li
Wa:hu:hu 60
A:yigi
E:ligi 20
U:yoku:la—he died
Tswe:li:si 4 40 20
O:knì
De:gi
A:hyöi:nì—he died
U:l(i)sdu:hi
So:?gini
Ne:n(i)si—she died
U:dan(i)du:da
Du:na:yi—dead
Li:si—dead
E:wi—dead
U:lu:tse
Ne:n(i)si—she died
Tsi:na?de:i—he [she ?] died
Tseni:si—she died
Go:hisdi:sgi
Tsi:nayì
Du:na:yi
Tsi:lawi:se
Tsu:we:lu:ga
Da:gi
Ge:hida
We:gi
La:yi:si
Sa:ladu
Wa:lenì:da
Ayò:adhu:ga 40
A:li
Wa:ligini
De:wi—he died
Lu:ványì:sì
Sa:dayì
Ge:hyádho:gi—he died
Ne:tsini
A:li Wi:l(i)sinì
E:tsini
Tse:gwádi:hi
Wahhyani:da
Tsa:li
Sga:hli:lo:sgi
Yi:si
Tse:si
E:ligi:saní:da
Lu:vdyi:sá
Lusin(i)di
Gwahyú:dad
Da:hw(i)si:ni
Ali:sa
Gudagi:sgi
Lu:si
Ge:hyahi
E:lini
Tsi:guwi
Ge:sgali:sgi
Tsini

Tsini is still a member

Christian members who live in Wolftown:
Ino:li—Local Preacher
Tsa:li—Deacon
Gawo:hló:sgi—Deacon
Tso:tsaga
A:tsi
Ne:ni
Vyanu:la—he [she ?] died
O:hi:ni
Hv:gi
Tse:gi—dead
E:gi
E:gi—she died
Du:ni
De:nili
Saya
Si:gawi
Ali:sa
Tsini—she died
Usae:do—he [she ?] died
Goyi:ne:
Galv:da[yi
Anúwe:gi
A:yde:i
A:ní
Dvi:dí:sdí
Idíg:v:n(e)dí
Si:li
Dayunó:kip:li
Danó:n(i)ga:v:hi
A:li Da:dayi
Nigawi
O:l(u)lsegí
Sdhí:vi—he died
Those who died—6
He [or she] joined February, 1855

Tsu:dasi
Gwe:dh(t)si

They just joined April 12, 1857

No:tsi
Saligi:ni
Lo:si

We just met June 27, 1858

Da:sgigidi:hi—he just joined
E:l(i)si
Do:tsu:léhunv

Wa:dv 36  Ino:hi
A:ghuya 10
Sa:mi 30
Tsuló:gilá
Ne:n(i)si 40
Tsá:n(i)la:tsi

September 23, 1858

Wini
Aligi:ni
E:ní
Ne:tsili
Ga:su:dhé:sgi
Tsa:ts(i)

Members from Raven:

| Adults | 6 |
| Children | 12 |

Members from Painttown:

| Adults | 7 |
| Children | 10 |

12 83
100 3
10
Those who died—10 93
Those not baptised—21 31 02 43
Children—11 7 23 6 35

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

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

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

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

“List of Church Members” is Mooney’s caption.

NO. 13.—REPORT OF A MEETING FOR THE PURPOSE OF CONSIDERING TAX PROBLEMS
Now! This group of six deliberated at *Tsu:hla’s* house. They discussed money, and they decided that they were not defeated and that the tax of Wolftown and Painttown could be divided into two parts.

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

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

**COMMENTARY**

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

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

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


**NO. 14.—GADU:G(I)’s REGULATIONS**

(ON RECTO)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ga?lohi</th>
<th>27</th>
<th>i:ga</th>
<th>1857</th>
<th>hi?a?sgini</th>
<th>i:tsadv:n(e)di</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>this, in particular</td>
<td>to do it, you (pl.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>it will be</td>
<td>Do:tsu:lé?hnv</td>
<td>the one who collects, you</td>
<td>it is</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>way</td>
<td>someone</td>
<td>owed, he</td>
<td>paper</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† ‘He Arose.’

‡ Forms of the verb ‘to extend credit’ we have usually translated ‘to owe.’ For example, what we have rendered ‘he owes me’ is literally ‘I extend credit to him.’
This is what all of you will do: Do:tsu:lê?hnv, you are the collector. Let it be this way: When someone is owed, he is to give you a paper. He is not to collect for 30 days. You [the debtor] will pay him yourself and you must give him a paper. This is the right thing to do.

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

Now! When someone has to have a trial, 2, 3, or 4 dollars fine it will be, and the collector, who has worked uncompensated, will get $0.40 of each dollar. The leaders will get $0.40 and $0.20 will go to the treasury.
There is no internal evidence that would categorize this document as either a set of regulations for the Gadu:g(i) or as an edict of the Wolftown Council, yet it is certainly one or the other, and most likely the former.

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

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

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

NO. 15.— TSO:TSAGA\(^{11}\) SELLS HIS HOUSEHOLD FURNISHINGS

\(^{11}\) 'The-Three-Which-He-Ate.'

\(^{12}\) Idiomatic for 'where I was living.'
to move, I  it became  without  my household furnishings
she asked me for it  Ge:di  I did pay you
she did state  he says  this, and  I just hurried
left me, it  Tso:tsaga  quietly  I was thinking
now  I just said  this amount  worth
$5.37  below, toward  which written  she paid
ge:di  $1.55  e:la?di  tsigo:hv:la  ayv  tso:tsaga
Ge:di  $1.55  below  which written  I
agware:li:ga  $3.47  tso:tsaga
mine  $3.47

FREE TRANSLATION

It just became necessary for me to write this November 3, 1857. Now! Now it just became possible for me to write that Tso:tsaga came here to me, the Wolftown clerk.

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

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

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

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

COMMENTARY

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

13 The writer employs хе as a last syllable. Cherokee spelling frequently attempts to represent the glottal stop by a succeeding syllable beginning with h.
14 It—the household furnishings collectively.
15 "Kity."
16 The unvoiced vowel is erroneously written i, here and subsequently.
17 See footnote 12, p. 50.
18 This is a contraction of e:la?di and di:tsv (di:lla in the Oklahoma dialects). Е:la?di ('below') and e:ldi ('earth') are frequently confused.
19 The (any consonant) v: + he in speech often becomes (any consonant) v:he(e). In writing this combination, the writer frequently omits the final syllable altogether, as he does here.
Mooney's identification: "Money Belonging to Various Persons WW" is faulty.

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

(ON RECTO)

gha? now  a:hi:ni clerk, I
hi?a? this here digo:we:li:sgi

igv:yi in front anilu:gi o:1(u)tsegi [20]

da:gin(a)di:ne:lv he sold mine du:na:yi [21]

a:ni:hnö:lv:li they just told it Duna:yi


a:di:ha he says a:sano:gi he approached and gave them (flex.) to me

he says

adä:tsó:sdil tsigü 100 1

gi:gage red belted 1 1


gesv:gi dress 2 sö?ihnö: u:hnv:tsadv blue

it was $1.00 12 sö?ihnö: spotted, it

u:sgo:lv:tsv: faded, it gesv:gi 3 50 sö?ihnö: another, and

u:na:lo:li:dyv checked, it gi:gage gev:hnage udh(a)sö:yi black

checked, it

gesv:gi 100 red 4 one who steals over there he did give them (flex.) to me

it was $1.00 4 ganosgö:sgö daginö:ne:lv:gi a?sv:tsi bridge

na:sgi that lyv:dv over there

dv:gwàle:hnö I stood ayv I

I stood

(ON VERSO)


O:l(l)tsëgi her paper

FREE TRANSLATION

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

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

20 While we cannot translate this name, it appears to be feminine and possibly derived from English.
21 This may be an archaic form of du:na:yi ('they have them (long).'). There is a Te-nigh-yeh (No. 392) and also a Too-nigh-eh (No. 449, sic for 439) on the Terrell Roll.
22 An alternate spelling, l(l) for l(u). The final syllable is erroneously written gu.
Du:na:yi says this: “When I was standing over there by the bridge, he [the thief] approached and gave them to me.”

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

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

COMMENTARY

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

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

Mooney’s notation is exceedingly difficult to read, but it appears to be: “Altsegu Purchase of various Calicos—Du:nayi WW.”

NO. 17.—CONCERNING A DEBT OF WAHHYÀNI: DA TO TSÀ:N(I)LA: TSÌ

**Anthrop. Pap.**

CHRONICLES OF WOLFTOWN—KILPATRICK

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

1. A red-checked, belted dress ....................... $1.00
2. Another dress, blue-checked ....................... $1.00
3. And another one, spotted and faded ............. $0.50
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NO. 17.—CONCERNING A DEBT OF WAHHYÀNI: DA TO TSÀ:N(I)LA: TSÌ

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>17th</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>we met</td>
<td>wolf-place</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tsa:li</td>
<td>Ga:hwí:li</td>
<td>I just asked him</td>
<td>he just told me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tsa:n(i)</th>
<th>la:tsi</th>
<th>hi?a?</th>
<th>nitsi:we:se:lv:gi</th>
<th>ha:hní</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tsa:n(i)</td>
<td>La:tsi</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>then I just did tell him</td>
<td>this here</td>
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</tbody>
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<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wolf-place</td>
<td>there</td>
<td>there I will go by</td>
<td>which he says</td>
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</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>wahhyani:da</th>
<th>tsiyá:dlho:hi(a)sdí</th>
<th>ade:lv</th>
<th>sa:go</th>
<th>ade:lv</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wahhyani:da</td>
<td>I lent him (hab.)</td>
<td>money</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>money</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>you must bring them by</td>
<td>if to have it, he</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I told him, just</td>
<td>it was</td>
<td>he says</td>
<td>Tsa:li</td>
<td>Ga:hwí:li</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not, for</td>
<td>clerk, he</td>
<td>he gave (flex.), me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not I gave him (w.p.k.)</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td>that, and</td>
<td>Wahhyani:da</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>when you see him (cond.)</td>
<td>must tell him, you</td>
<td>I said</td>
<td>he says</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ino:li</td>
<td>clerk, I</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>to watch, I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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21 This man was known as Charley Hornbuckle by the White people. Ga:hwí:li we cannot translate.
22 Known to the Whites as John Large. Usually written Tsá:n(i)la:tsí.
23 The first syllable is erroneously written ga.
24 “To have it, he’ would be pronounced with a short first syllable: u:hi:sdi. Both forms are written with the same symbols, but the context here predicates u:hi:sdi.
On February 17 we met in Wolftown. I asked Tsa:li Ga:hwi:li, and he told me: "This I told Tsd:n(i)la:tsi, that I was going to be passing by Wolftown, and he said, 'I lent Wahhyani:da some money—one dollar. You must bring it by if he has it.' I told him," said Tsa:li Ga:hwi:li. "I did not give him the paper that the clerk gave me. When you see Wahhyani:da, tell him what I said," he said.

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

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

1858

COMMENTARY

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

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

NO. 18.—THE CLERK WARNS DEBTORS

(First Notation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>guwo:ni</th>
<th>3ne</th>
<th>i:ga</th>
<th>1858</th>
<th>ude:dhiyv:sadi:sv</th>
<th>go:we:la:ga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>year</td>
<td>I just wrote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Gha:tsi</td>
<td>clerk, I</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>Ne:gi</td>
<td>she just came to me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a:ghine:tsi
she just gave me permission to write, I

he:ts(a)duhu:gyi
this owing, you

three money now

tsá:ghuy(v)df niga:hl(i)sd
 to pay, you

tsá:ghuy(v)df
to pay, you

[27] In the manuscript there is a superfluous final h.
[28] The meaning of this proper name is unknown. It is possibly a transfer into Cherokee of a White name.
[29] ‘Maggie.’
[30] The meaning of this proper name is unknown. See footnote 21, p. 52.
guwo:ni 3ne i:ga go:wé:la:gá ayv gha:tsi
April 3rd day I just wrote it I Gha:tsi

clerk, I I just wrote this owing, you Sa:li
$s$:gwo ade:lV:hi tso:i gi:nú:d(v)dhi di:sdé:l(y)di
one dollar three-fourths to help them, on
$i$:gá:i no:gwo tsá:ghuy(v)di niga:hl(i)sda gho:higwo
in all now to pay, you it just became now, just
$i$:ga tsá:ghuy(v)di tsine:gi ayv ne:gi
in all to pay, you it just said I Ne:gi

guwo:ni 3ne i:ga 1858 ude:dhiyv:sadi:sv
April 3rd day 1858 year

I just wrote it this owing, you U:ni:lo:sv
$S$:gh(a)sgo:hi hi:sgigha:li?: ani:se:n(i) [si]
fifty-five full cents
$nu$:hl(i)sdv tsine:gi ayv ne:gi ayv gha:tsi
it became I just said I gha:tsi

gwó:la:ga digo:we:li:sgí
I just wrote it clerk, I

(THIRD NOTATION)

now this she just came to me clerk, I

agwo:hlv
I am sitting igv:yi:tsv a:gilu?tsí

Do:tsu:lé?hnuv Ne:gi the Deer Clan she belongs to

is owed them, she $5.30 now this she has just come to me

digo:we:li:sgí agwo:hlv igv:yi:tsv
clerk, I I am sitting in front of

she has just come to me Do:tsu:lé?hnuv Ne:gi the Deer Clan

de:hi she belongs is owed them, she she just brought them (flex.)
gohwe:li
papers

$5.30 $5.30 ani:se:n(i)si
cents

---

12 'Sally,' 'They-Passed-By.'
13 'Maggie-He-Arose.' Cherokee married women are usually called: Name of woman+Name of husband; unmarried women are usually called: Name of woman+Name of father (sometimes mother). In this case the order is reversed, as might have been the custom in North Carolina in 1838. We have no way of ascertaining whether Do:tsu:lé?hnuv was her husband or father.
14 The Deer is one of the seven Cherokee clans. The names of some of the other clans are mistranslated in the published literature.
On April 3, 1858, I, Gha:tsi the clerk, just wrote this. Ne:gi just came to me and gave me permission to write that you, Du:na:yi, owe $3.00.

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

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

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

On April 3, 1858, I just wrote this.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mooney does not identify this document.

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

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

**COMMENTARY**

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

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

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

**NO. 20.—REGULATIONS CONCERNING MARRIAGE**

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<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a:nihné:gi</td>
<td>ale</td>
<td>danu:gh(o)da</td>
<td>a:nisdá:yi:dá</td>
<td>they just pushed it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they just spoke</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>they just decided</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859 a?n(a)sv:ghi</td>
<td>gha?:lv: [42]</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>da:niá:wi:gi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859 May</td>
<td>month</td>
<td>20th</td>
<td>they just met</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsu:n(a)del(o)gwasdí:yi</td>
<td>nahná:ni [44]</td>
<td>gvi:ghiné:tsi</td>
<td>which to learn, they-place</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dido:we:li:sgi</td>
<td>ghilo</td>
<td>ude:svvdsí:hi</td>
<td>gohwe:li</td>
<td>they spoke to me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clerk, I</td>
<td>someone</td>
<td>to get married, he</td>
<td>paper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u:nagí:sgi</td>
<td>a:sgaya</td>
<td>gá?luge:sgi</td>
<td>ganagí:sgi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to go (flex.), it</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>must come, he</td>
<td>will be getting it (flex.), he</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi:nú:v(d)di</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>a:ghyuif:[sg]e:sgi</td>
<td>ghila</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one-fourth</td>
<td>$0.25</td>
<td>to be paying, he</td>
<td>then</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:suyé:sgi</td>
<td>gesé:sgi</td>
<td>di:da:tsv:sgi</td>
<td>one who marries them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>will be choosing it, he</td>
<td>it will be</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi?a?</td>
<td>eli:sgi</td>
<td>a:hi(l)tsidó:hi:sgi</td>
<td>ale</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>to be thinking, he</td>
<td>one who preaches</td>
<td>and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

42 Variant of *gha?li*.
44 One would expect this to be nahná:di, but in *Inolii's* period and locale it may have been pronounced as written.
digó: hwe: li: sgí
clerk, he

tsu: tsé:v só:dí

to marry, he

tsu: natí: sú: di

to marry, they

tsu: natí: sú: di

to marry, they

dí: galé:n (v) do? dí

to separate them, one

ví: tsá

gohwé: li
ganvé: ne? dí

ganágí: sú: di
gán? ge: sú: di

gá: lo: di

gó: hvé: lo: di

dí: natí: she

hi? a?
man

hi? a?
man

ghohvé: li
paper

na: gwó hno:
gó: hvé: lo: dí

na: gwó hno:
and, to write, one

dí: natí: she

joined, they

ú: hagedó: hi

thick-place

gé: sv

it is

ú: ni: hv

having it (solid), they

na: sgí

that

na: sgí

that

ani: gh (a) dhahe: sú: di

will know, they

ú: ni: hv

having it (solid), they

na: sgí

that

na: sgí

that

ani: gh (a) dhahe: sú: di

FREE TRANSLATION

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

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

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

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

**COMMENTARY**

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

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

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

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

(ON RECTO)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gha? na:gowo</th>
<th>go:wélv:ga</th>
<th>ayv</th>
<th>o:si</th>
<th>a:n(a)sgv:dhi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>now</td>
<td>now</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:sgwadi:sgv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finishing, it</td>
<td>ghwałv:yi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nvdayú:we:ny:dv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Qualla-place</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>she came from over there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wini[4]</td>
<td>tsudó:idv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a:n(a)sgv:dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>which named, she</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>which it was</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gha?lav</td>
<td>2Sne</td>
<td>i:ga</td>
<td>u:hl(i)sgwadi:si</td>
<td>a:hní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>month</td>
<td>28th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>that, and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>buried, she</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to wear them, she</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>expensive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>then it did become</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

41 'Sudatory.'
47 Mooney (1990, p. 836) says that Qualla (*Oche:la*) is the Cherokee form of 'Polly,' and that a woman so named formerly lived in the vicinity of Qualla post office and trading post. A manuscript in our possession, a key to esoteric terms employed in conjuring, states that it is a ritualism for any Edenic abode.
46 'Winny.'
48 *Tsige:sv* and *tsige:sv:gi* have the specific meaning of the 'late.'
49 The etymology of this word is discussed in Kilpatrick (1962 b, p. 41).
51 This word also can mean 'cost, 'value, 'price.'
do:tsaghuyv [62] we paid for them na:sgihno: that, and ghane:sagi box
uni: sido?di to push it, they dunlív: sda: sí they just worked yywine:gv person, White
na:sgwo also tsuí:gv:wahl(o)dí $2 ade:lv:hi
also cost
over there I just told you (pl.)
tsdá:n(v)dhe:hi:sa?n’v that, and
you (pl.) must think it over uhli: sdi nvdigá:hi (i) sdo:di
quickly then over there to become, it
ú:tsadh(v) much digalv:hw(i)sda:n(e)di uyo: sdo:dá: nely:í
moy: it was ruined
tsu:gv:wahl(o)dí: na:hna iyv:dv
cost which he wants na: hna here far
tvdatsí:[n(a)]di gesé: sdi tsu:gv:wahl(o)dí cost
to be sent (hard), it tsu:gv:wahl(o)dí
gwá:vi:yi it will be
Qualla-place this, you (pl.) live o:sd(v)
Witsv:ne:tsí good itsv:hnadé:gi you (pl.) caretakers
over there to just asked you (pl.)
ayv nvdá:tsaghuy:v(v)dí over there to pay you (pl.)
O:si: tsu:nhu:wo: sdi
I to wear them, she

do:tsaghuyv we paid for them
na:sgihno: that, and
Tennessee
du:da:duh:ga ghvníge:sv
she is owed
ne:gi 1 ade:lv
gagí:nu:se:li:v:gi then she made it
de:hw(i)sí now
about to finish, she
U: sawí
it is
duhno:hi:se:li:v:gi 1 money
she did tell them
ne:gi she owes me
digu:dhline:sgi 20 ade: lv:tsidhu:ga
Digu:dhline:sgi he owes me
my uncle
ada: na?nv hv:gh(i)dhú:gví gowhe:li i:gin(i)yv: dhanv
store this been owed by me
ghane: sagn box
the amount yøgá: n(v)dha one we know
she did state, and but not
i: gá:i ge:sv: i hi: a?sgini
if you (pl.) find it
á:ghuy(v) do?di: uhlí: sdi yitsí: hwadív
to pay with, one quickly
if you (pl.) will turn them over to her
this, just good, just
Nv: tsi Tsí: no: hi they just went
Qualla-place

12 The author of this letter has achieved do by the sum of du + o. For the discussion of such a practice, see Chafe and Kilpatrick (1965, pp. 62-63).
13 Probably derived from Esau or Isaiah, although the standardized spelling of the one is Tsí: no (Worcester and Foreman, 1886, p. 78), and the other 1s: a: yv (Worcester and Foreman, 1849, p 1).
14 Possibly the Cherokee form of 'Davis.'
15 'One-Who-Uncovers-Them.'
16 We cannot translate this fairly common feminine name.
17 This might be a shortened form of Ati: nicehi ('Cedar-Tree-Place').

747-014--06--5
na:sgigwo
that, just

gha? na:sgigwo
now that, just

unihyó:hisdi
to bring it (hard), they

igá:i
go:wé:lvi:ga
all I just wrote it

a?n(a)sgv:dhi
May

iy:'^dv
gho:hi
this now

tsago:li:ye:di
to read, you

1859
finishing, it
day
tsigi
this it is

Da:tsv:dha
Qv:tsi:da:tsv:dha [58]

Da:tsv:dha
Da:tsv:dha

u:tse:li:ga
his

hi?a?
this

gohwe:li
letter

FREE TRANSLATION

ON Recto

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

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

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

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

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

(ON Verso)

This is Da:tsv:dha's letter.

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

NO. 22.—ANNOUNCEMENT OF AUCTION AT HOME OF
WAHYAGADO:GA

dehalu:yí
gha?lv
June
ude:[dhi]lv:sadi:sv
year
un(a)do:dágwo:hníst
Monday
nvdaq:hi(l)idaní
then it will happen
Gwí:da u:tsë:li:ga
his formerly
wahhyagado:ga:ga[66]
Wahhyagado:ga
Gana:gilv:place
dhadi[(a)du]:[66]
twelve
iyuwá:hnílyí
gha:nane:sgi[69]
when it strikes (cond.)
(by)
unf:n(o)do?di
to sell, they
go:hu:sdí
something
i:nu:sdí:go:hi
small, just
so:gwo
to cost
diga:saí:dv
one
idf:lasu:ló:gi
def:handkerchiefs
dha?li
that, just
so:gwé:hi
na:sgigwo
one
ge:sdí
a:yv
will be
hi?a?sgini
dhalí:ne
this, in particular
ghano:[hi]do?:di:
to make known with, one
u:sdí:go:hi
left, it
i:yu:hi(l)idaní:hi
here
a?hni
a:sa:lo:gi
pair of pants
so:gwo
healed, they
so:gwo
one
ahhuwó:gi[66]
shirt
so:gwé:hi
i:ga:li
all
u:sdí:sgif:nho
little, in particular, and
ge:sdí
ghi:lagwo
right
á:gíghuy(v)dv
pay, I
hili:sdí
to bring them (hard), they
someone
ghi:lo:í
hi?a?hno:
someone
a:tsí:du:ge:sdí[67]
that, must
a?hni
ú:lu?hi:sdí
someone
to be owing, one
here
to come, he
ge:sdí
agh(i)du:ga
I
heli:sgo:sdí
I owe him
be thinking, you

[66] 'Father.'
[67] 'The-Wolf-Stands.'
[69] This word, which we cannot translate, appears to be a part of the name of Wahhyagado:ga. If it were a
geographical designation, it would be Gana:gilv:hi. Gana:gilv:hi would be 'at the home of Gana:gilv.'
[67] Although there is a conventional spelling, dhah(a)du: for this word (as is seen in the manuscript), it is
usually pronounced as we have written it.
[69] 'Spider'—from a fancied resemblance in appearance" (Mooney, 1900, p. 524). The term in Oklahoma,
for both 'clock' and 'watch', is the loanword wá:tsé(e).
[61] Properly this should be dípa:saí:ne ('coste').
[65] 'Shirt' is probably intended. The word indicates that it is a garment worn upon the upper part of the
body.
[66] The difference between 'one shall owe' and 'if one shall owe' lies in the "high" tone of the syllable ge
in the latter.
Announcing that this second Monday it will take place: at 12 m., at the home of Wahhyagado:ga Gana:gilb, they will begin to sell a small number of effects left there by the late Gwi:da:

Two coats;
A pair of pants;
A vest;
A pair of heeled shoes;
Two handkerchiefs;
A white shirt;

And that is all.

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

The auction will be July 5th.

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

COMMENTARY

Auction sales of the personal effects of the deceased constitute a facet of Cherokee society that, to our knowledge, has not been intensively investigated. Up until 30 or so years ago such sales were still...
conducted in Oklahoma. Those documents in The Inoli Letters that pertain to such sales are rich in ethnographic minutiae. This one, for example, casts light upon the technique employed in spurring lagging payments into the estate. There is some evidence to point toward these sales being of two species: those initiated by families or friends of the deceased, and hence the affairs of private citizens; and those held under the auspices of township authority which presumably retained for the township treasury some fixed portion of the receipts in return for its services in arranging the sales, financing prospective buyers, and collecting debts to the estates.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>June</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gha?lv</td>
<td>27ne:sine</td>
<td>i:ga</td>
<td>go:vé:la:ga</td>
<td>hi'a?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Month</td>
<td>27th</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>I just wrote it</td>
<td>this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunilv: hw(i)[da:si]</td>
<td>Utsale: sdi</td>
<td>Ani:tsaga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They just worked</td>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do:yanida</td>
<td>Bis</td>
<td>Three, full</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Bisgí:ne ['te'] | A?ghanv:sadhi | Gawo:hilo:sfg [79]
| Fifth | Not quite full | 
| U:tsel:li:ga | Utsale: sdi | So:gwo |
| Wheat | One | Bushel |
| Gu: dagi:sig | Bis | Wheat |
| Three, full | Fourth | Not quite full |
| Dino?dv[i]l'hí [77] | Nani:hv | Tsv:gv:wahl(o)df |
| They just bundled them (flex.) | In number | Cost |
| Ivy:wasdi:hagwó [78] | 50 | Ts(i)sigli [79] |
| Wages per man | $0.50 | Tsi(s)giil |
| A?ghalí:? | A:tsiló:adi | U:wa?nv [90] |
| Full | Bushel-bucket | U:wa?nv |

12 'Young Beavers.'
13 Seemingly an error, 'fourth' being the intention.
14 'One-Who-Climbs-Over-It.'
15 A loanword not in usage in Oklahoma.
16 This word is obscure; it appears to be obsolete.
17 This word is patently from the verb 'to buy,' but the form is unfamiliar and probably obsolete.
18 This is probably the Ts(i)sigli:ga who was Chief of Wolfstown. His working with the Gadu:g(i) would in no way be jarring to Cherokee concepts of authority.
19 'Feather.'
20 U:tseli and u:tsel:li:ga are in many instances freely interchangeable. However, the ga is dropped here to avoid the juxtaposition of a and a (ga a).
I just wrote this June 27, 1859. They worked, cutting wheat.

_Do:yanî:da's wheat_______ 3 full ones, the fourth not quite full.

_Gawo:hiilo:sgi's wheat________ 1 bushel.

_Gu:dagi:sgi's wheat_______ 3 full ones, the fourth not quite full.

Those who bundled them were paid $0.50 per man.

_Ts(i)sgilë's wheat__________ 1 full bushel-bucket.

_U:wa?nv's wheat___________ 1 full one, the second not quite full.

_Do:tsu:lê?hnv's wheat_______ 1 full one, the second not quite full.

---

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

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

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

The last syllable is erroneously written a?.

The third syllable is erroneously written a?.
Ga:gama's wheat-------- 1 full one, the second not quite full.

Di:ghahl(u)gwade:gi's wheat. 1 full one.

Di:ghuyi:sgi's wheat-------- 1 full one, the second not quite full.

I owe Do:yanida for 3 full bushel-buckets, and also Gu:daqqi:sgi for a total of 3 full ones; Ts(i)sgili for 1; Di:ghahl(u)gwade:gi for 1; Ga:gama for 1½; Do:tsu:lé:hno for 1½; U:wa:nvo for 1½; Di:ghuyi:sgi 1½; Gawo:hilo:sgi for 2.

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

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

NO. 24.—E:NI IS ACCUSED OF THEFT

this, and Wh1 here where she did walk she did come to me

she did say E:ni she just stole from me money

udv:hnv:gi ha:gh(a)sasda tsiyose:lv:gi gho:hi:hno:
she did state watch, you (imp.) I did tell her now, and

ghvhnige:sv' niga:hl(i)sdì:ha da:gwadi:[hi] [10]
apparent it becomes Da:gwadil:hi

du:go:lv dha?li ade:lv sgo: ani:se:n(i)si
he saw them two money ten cents

it was (w.p.k.) next day Yellow Hill there

she walks E:n1 kerchief, just she did have them (hard) wrapped up

agi'tsi detsi:ydaho:(a)sdv
my mother I had loaned them to her

[8] Idiom for 'where she did come.'
[9] 'Annie.'
[10] 'Catawba-killer.'
[11] Literally 'Earth-paint.' One of the townships on Qualla Boundary where the Agency was later located.
[12] Idiom for 'she is there.'
When Winí was here, she came to me and said: "E:ni stole money from me," she stated.

"Watch her," I told her.

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

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

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

I, Ino:li

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

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

---

95 The 4 is not plainly made and therefore questionable.
94 The significance of this numeral is not evident.
96 Da:gwadi:hi was a conjuror. Some of his formulas are found in Mooney (MS., No. 1888, passim), and his photograph is seen in Mooney (1900, p. 256). He may have been engaged professionally to divine the location of the missing money.
NO. 25.—COUNTING OF WINI’S LIVESTOCK AND DEBT OF TSINI

(FIRST NOTATION)

gha?  
now

hi?a?sgini  
this, in particular

tsidunilá:witsv:gi  
when they met

guyé:gwo:ní  
gha?lv  
9  
i:ga  
1859  
ale:nv:dv  
9  
1859  
it began

July  
month

digyal:hw(i)sda:ne:lv  
hígí  
nigá:dv  
á:?se:sdí  
things accomplished  
this it is  
to count, one  
all

tsu:gv:wahl(o)di  
winí  
útse:li:ga  
h?a?hno:  
property  
hers  
this, and

si:ghwa  
agi:si  
gv:hnage  
aní:da  
tso?i  
pigs  
female  
black  
young ones  
three

na:ní:lv  
agi:si  
so?ayó:hli  
ga:ná?libno:  
in number, they  
female  
another small one  
gelding, and

ulagó:hw:sdá  
dha?li  
iyú:dedhiyí:v:dv  
gesé:[s]di  
fall  
two  
years-old  
it will be  
filled

go:hisí:yi:nho:  
gali:sdagi:sv  
a?ghalf:dv  
to recognize it, one, and  
cropped ear  
(right side)

(go:hisí:yi  

a:gh(a)dhi:sgi

to recognize it, one

(SECOND NOTATION)

hi?a?hno:  
tsini[66]  
ade:lv  
igv:yi  
10  
hi?a?hno:  
this, and

ths, and  
Tsiní  
money  
first  
$.10  
this, and

na:gwo  
u:lo:so?nv  
ahhnuwo:gi  
100  
gado:hno  
now  
passed by, it  
clothes  
$.10  
ground, and

u:n(is)di:yi[67]  
20  
ghahl(is)se:tsíhno:  
50  
to lie down, one-place  
$.20  
sugar, and  
$.50

FREE TRANSLATION

(FIRST NOTATION)

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

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

(SECOND NOTATION)

This Tsiní has already paid------------------ $0.10
And now the time has passed for paying the remainder on:

Clothes--------------------- $1.00
A pallet in the yard------------ $0.20
Sugar------------------------ $0.50

[66] 'Jenny,'
[67] The implication here is that this was a pallet for use in the yard, not the house.
COMMENTARY

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>to depend upon it, she</td>
<td>my mother</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>she says</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wini</td>
<td>tsídhú:ga</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>a:di:ha</td>
<td>ayv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wini</td>
<td>she owes me</td>
<td>$0.50</td>
<td>she says</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I just wrote it</td>
<td>July</td>
<td>month</td>
<td>I:ga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>ayv</td>
<td>Ino:li</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ino:li</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FREE TRANSLATION

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

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

I, Ino:li.

COMMENTARY

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

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

---

98] Usually e:tsí in the Oklahoma dialects.
Anthropol. Pap. No. 75)

CHRONICLES OF WOLFTOWN—KILPATRICK 71

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

guyé: gwo:ní 29 1859
July 29 1859

A hw((l)daya:i) he just outbid pot this she just took it (hard), just

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

Do:yun:si he just outbid dress Tso:tsaga

udu: dalv: ne
he became responsible (w.p.k.)

75 a:sa:no tso:tsaga
he paid it $0.75

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

udu: dalv: ne
he became responsible (w.p.k.) $1.50

150 a:sa:no
$1.50

1606 $16.06
11 $0.11
25 $0.25
7 [4] $0.07
17

550 [2]
$5.50

99 $0.07
1506 $15.06
12 $0.12

99 $0.07

15
$0.15

18 $0.18

"One which has legs," a large kettle used for boiling over an open fire. The word also means 'alligator.'

The first syllable is erroneously written hv.

This numeral is crossed out.

These numerals are obviously totals of some sort.

This numeral is illegible.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$0.12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>$0.13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$0.10</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>$8.55</td>
<td>14.09 [?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>$14.09</td>
<td>15 [?] 4 [?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$24.15</td>
<td></td>
<td>$15.47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

36.15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$36.15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Bed

degé:tsidhu:v:ga
dhadi(a)du:
iyanv:do
tsú:naghu:y(ν)di
they just owe
twelve
months
which to pay, they

gesé:sdí
uwo:su:lo:tsv
it will be
he survived

100
$837
$3.37
13.62
$13.62
200
$2.00
$2.00

2.50
$50
22.62
$22.62

100
20
100

$1.00
$0.20
$1.00

60
212

$0.60
$2.12

50
75
$0.50
$0.75

350

$3.50

55
$0.55

(Second Page)

hi?awini
this
u:tse:[li]
her

wini
his

u:tse:li

niga:hl(l)sdá
it just became

idìg(y)n(o)di

Idìg(y)n(o)di

sa:gwo
one

ade:lv
money

tsú:gv:wa[h]l(o)di
in value

a:tsi:dhu:v:ga [?]
he just owed

aghuyv:aho?sf [?]
he just paid all of it

100 [10]

ayv
he just owes me
tsidhu:v:ga

ino:li
he just owed

dhadi(a)du:
twelve

iyanv:do
months

ú:ghuy(ν)di
to pay, ho

gó:wé:la:ga
I just wrote it

ga?lohi
August

15ne
i:ga
day

to pay, he

guyé:gwo:ní
July

gha?lv
month

29
i:ga
1860
ayv
digo:we:li:sgi
clerk, I

1 This numeral is crossed out.
2 This word implies that the bed was constructed in the White fashion, some part of it being placed across parallel horizontal sides.
3 The penultimate syllable is erroneously written hó.
4 The penultimate syllable of this word, obviously inserted later than the text surrounding, is erroneously written hó.
5 This numeral is crossed out.
ANTHROP. Pap. No. 75

CHRONICLES OF WOLFTOWN—KILPATRICK

73

ino:li
Ino:li

A?hw(i)daya: i
A?hw(i)daya: i

a: hv
it (hard) was here

tsula: sgi
pot

a: gi
she just took it (hard)

li: di
ade: lv: gwo
money, just

tsugi: so
which she got it (hard) (cond.)

na: sgi: ya
ayv
alike

ino:li
Ino:li

o: siyu
good, very

month

ga? lohni
August

21 ne
21st

i: ga
1860
a: ghuyv
a: ?ghali: ?

day
1860
he just paid it
in full

i: gya
July
month
30
day

I: ga
July
month
30
day

tsa: tsaga
udu: dalv: nelv
ayv
u: do: hiyu

Tsa: tsaga
he has become responsible
I
true

+ [11]
Tsa: tsaga

+ diga: hi(i) li: gi
agoguyv: a[ho]? si
75
450

Diga: hi(i) li: gi
he just paid all of it
$0.75
$4.50

Uwo: ha: se: hi
udu: dalv: nelv
o: sdv
nluy: ga

Uwo: ha: se: hi
he has become responsible
good
he just made it

75
a: si
ani: se: n(i) si
$0.75
100
cents

a: hyv: ni
ud: ghuyv: hv
a: hyv: ni
245

A: hyv: ni
he just owed
he paid it
A: hyv: ni
$2.45

a: ghuyv
a: yel: hi(i) [14]
ga: lohni
August

2 ne
2d

day

g: hyahi
ago: la: da
ga: lohni
[?][18]

$0.90
he just lessened it
August
[?]

da: dhlvda
udu: dalv: nelv
ayv
u: do: hiyu

da: dhlvda
he has become responsible
I
true

+ da: dhlvda
+ Da: dhlvda

ge: hyahi
a: tsi: dhu: v: ga [18]
a: ghuyv
a: ?ghali: ?

Ge: hyahi
she just owed
she just paid
in full

Guye: gwo: ni
gha? lv
30 ne
i: ga
1860
225

July
month
30th
day
1860
$2.25

tse: gh(i) sini
udu: dalv: nelv
ayv
u: do: hiyu

Tse: gh(i) sini
he has become responsible
I
true

+ Tse: gh(i) sini
+ tse: gh(i) sini

A: li
a: tsi: dhu: v: ga [18]
u: ghuyv (v) di
niga: hl(i) sda

A: li
she just owed
to pay, she
it just became

$3.37
A: li
550

$3.37
A: li
$5.50

[12] We assume that this cross has the force of an official stamp, or seal.
[13] The penultimate syllable is erroneously written he.
[14] There is a superfluous final li.
[15] This date is illegible.
[16] The penultimate syllable is erroneously written he.
74 BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY [BULL. 196

ino:li udu:daλv:nev ayv u:do:hiyu
Ino:li he has become responsible I truly

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

here wolf-place township it is survivor
gain(o)dhanv du:n(a)dó:v tsidu:nohvé:la
he put it up for sale name, they which written by them
guyé:gro:ní 29 1859 dhadl(a)du:
July 29th 1859 twelve

iyanvé:do guyé:gro:ní 29 1860 wahyó:hi
months 22th 1860 wolf-place

ayv digo:we:li:sgi
i clerk, I

go:hwé:lo:dí niga:hi(l)isda u:ghuy(v)di:yi sa:gwo
to write, one it just became to pay, she one

ade:lv ú:ghuy(v)di 100 [12] a:ghali:
money to pay, she $1.00 in full

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

idígv:n(0)dí deg:v:wu:gh(o)da:sí sa:du ade:lv
Idígv:n(0)dí they just decided for him eleven money

both of them Wini he owed three months

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

dhalíné:chno: su:dalí iyanvé:do hi:sgi ade:lv
second, and six months five money

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

Tse:gh(l)isni a:ghuyv
Tse:gh(l)isni

(THIRD PAGE)

1859

1859

Tse:gh(l)isni a:ghuyv tse:gh(l)isni
he just became responsible I truly

(12) This numeral is crossed out.
(13) The heirs.
(14) The first syllable is erroneously written u.

this, and idigv:n(e)dí u:ghuyv: hv a:sgo:

he has paid it ten


money [?] truly I did receive it (hard) I


now this, and tsu:ld:í:v:gi

Ino:li now this, and yet which he did not finish

a:ghuyv a:?ghali:? idigv:n(e)dí ga?lohi

he just paid it In full Idigv:n(e)dí

gha?lv 2ne i:ga August

month 2á day 1860 1860


this A?hw(i)daya:i not, he paid, just pot


she just put it (hard) down Li:di one counted it money

nani:gv the amount


this, and Gu:la:tsí half to pay, he he just took it (hard)

sa:ghwo ade:lv 100

one money $1.00

diga:hl(l)ld:gi u:ghuyv: hv tso?gi:nú:d(v)dí 75

Diga:hl(l)ld:gi he has paid it three-fourths $0.75


Do:yun:st he has paid it $0.75

a:hyýmí:í u:ghuyv: hohnv 260

A:hyýmí:í he has paid it in full $2.60


this, in particular I just counted it all $38.80

nu:hl(i)sadaidó:lv winí u:tse:li ga:n(a)dí:dhvnv[24]

It happened Winí hers It is put up for sale $38.80

$35.50


this, and sent away, them money he extended credit to several places

nigá:dv gá:[l(a)]tsug:so?hný[25]

all already he received all of them (hard) $24.10

hi?igá:v [26] this, in amount $24.10


yet, and they owe this amount $9.05

(at bottom of page)


this Dega she was owed Winí ower, she now

---

[2] The final syllable is erroneously written u.
[3] This word is garbled.
[4] The penultimate syllable is erroneously written o.
[5] The final syllable is erroneously written de.
[6] The penultimate syllable is erroneously written sa.
[7] The final syllable is erroneously written ha.
Now! Tsi: sgwa became responsible for the sale of the possessions of the late Wini by her surviving spouse.

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

Do: yuni: si was the highest bidder for a dress. Tso: tsaga became surety for the debt.  

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

A: hyvi: ni was the highest bidder for a dress. Da: dhlveda became surety for the debt.  

Ge: kyahi was the highest bidder for a dress. Tse: gh(i)sini became surety for the debt.  

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

A: hyvi: ni was the highest bidder for some pins.  

$1.00  $14.09
$24.15  $15. [?]4
$36.15

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

$1.00  $8.37
$1.00  $13.62
$2.00
$2.50  $0.50  $22.62
$1.00  $0.20  $1.00
$0.60  $0.12  
$0.50  $0.75  
$3.50  $0.55  

(SECOND PAGE)

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

I, the clerk, Ino:li.

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

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

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

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


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

I, the Wolftown clerk, Ino:li.

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

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

(THIRD PAGE)

1859

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

747-014—66——6
Now! *Idįgų:* (e)di has paid $10.00 that I, *Ino:li,* actually received. Now! This that he owed, *Idįgų:* n(e)di paid in full, August 2, 1860.

At $24.10 the amount of money was counted.

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

*Digá:hl(i)bá:gi* paid $0.75.

*Do:yuni:si* paid $0.75.

*A:hyvi:ni* has paid in full—$2.60.

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

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

They still owe this amount—$9.95.

(AT BOTTOM OF PAGE)

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

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

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

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

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

Mooney’s caption is: “Sale of Personal Effects of Wini.”
NO. 28.—PETITION TO JAMES W. TERRELL AND TAX RECORD

(First Notation)

now  this  year  tax  to pay it, one

it became time  this, and  way  we just thought

this here  wolf-place  we reside  we lack it, just  money

that, and  why  we just came to you  Dalala

g:tslv:v:ghw(o)di [?]  itsv:hné:tshe:lv  uhne?gwo:tsv:
your beloved ones  we asked you  the increased

you donor  plain, just  our names  they will be written

ayv  o:sigwo  tsi:yel:v:na  agiyv:wiyuhi  tsi(isg)li
I  good, just  I just approved  I, chief  Ts(isg)li

be stated  1, and  Da:dhivda  good, just  I just approved

ayv  ino:i  aye:hìi  tsi:gh(a)dhf:ya  gha?
I  Ino:i  tax  I watch it  now  this, and in amount

we asked for it  one  money  to turn it over to us, you

it will be  many of us  our names  we wrote them

here  wolf-place  township  it is  July

29ne  i:ga  1859
20th  day  1859

ts(isg)li:gwà
Ts(isg)li:gwà  $0.50

da:dhivda  100 [?]  Da:dhivda  $1.00

dihye:lidò:hi
Dihye:lidò:hi

ino:li
Ino:li

ga:gama  50
Ga:gama  $0.50

tá:n(i)la:tsì
Tá:n(i)la:tsì  100  $1.00

- [?] gu:dagi:si
- Gu:dagi:si  45  $0.45

di:ghuyì:si
Di:ghuyì:si  5  $0.05

wahhyanì:da  20
Wahhyanì:da  $0.20

[79 Another meaning of this protean word.
[80 There is a superfluous syllable s following gr.
[81 The last syllable is erroneously written nav.
[82 As usual, Ino:li's use of the dollar sign is erratic.
[83 We do not know the significance of this mark.
u::dlvna::da
U::dlvna::da
wa::ida?na
Wa::ida?na
idigv::ne::hi
Idigv::ne::hi
lla::gwi
lla::gwi
a?hw(1)daya::i
A?hw(1)daya::i
do::yuf::si
Do::yuf::si
tsuló::gilá
Tsuló::gilá
ts::a::ll
Ts::a::ll
a?hw(0)gado::ga
A?hw(0)gado::ga
tsi::sghwa
Tsi::sghwa
- tso::tsaga
- Ts::o::tsaga
amasu::yi
Amasu::yi
- sgwa::gini
- Sgwa::gini
- da::sghidi::hi
- Da::sghidi::hi
- gu::la::tsi
- Gu::la::tsi

(SECOND PAGE)

25 [3]
salo::lan::da
25
Salo::lan::da
100
$1.00
26
tsá::nilo::sf
26
Tsá::nilo::sf
$100
$1.00
27
tsuso::ladha
27
Tsuso::ladha
28
gawo::hllo::sgf [4]
28
Gawo::hllo::sgf
65
$0.65
29
wi::l(i)sini
29
Wii(l)isi
$100
$1.00
30
wa::wole::sidi [2]
30
Wa::wole::sidi
31
dalo::nége
31
Daló::nége
50
$0.50
32
i::sadi::hi
32
Isadi::hi
25
Wa::gigu
33
Wa::gigu
$0.25

[2] The first syllable is erroneously written ga.
[1] The third syllable is erroneously written la.
34  dhlv:datsi
34  Dhlv:datsi
35  da:gwadi:hi
35  Da:gwadi:hi  $100
36  dhlvdli:ghi
36  Dhlvdli:ghi  $1.00
37  ule:yoe
37  Ule:yoe  100
38  sa:mi
38  Sa:mi  $1.00
39  a:tsi
39  A:tsi  25
40  de:nili
40  De:nili  50
41  ulá:sda?á
41  Ulá:sda?á  $0.50
42  tsuna:sdala
42  Tsuna:sdala
43  do:tsu:l6?hnv
43  Do:tsu:l6?hnv  50
44  du:nawi
44  Du:nawi  $0.25

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clerk, I</td>
<td>Wolf-place</td>
<td>Township</td>
<td>It is</td>
<td>There</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I belong</td>
<td>I just wrote it</td>
<td>August</td>
<td>July</td>
<td>Month</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 29ne | In:ga | 1859 | Ayv | Ino:li |
| 29th | Day   | 1859 | I    | Ino:li |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dalo:ngé</th>
<th>Le:si</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dalo:ngé</td>
<td>Le:si</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tso:tsaga</th>
<th>Yo:núwo:hlá</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tso:tsaga</td>
<td>Yo:núwo:hlá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Ghanohi:Yadv | Ghanohi:Yadv |

1859 1860 1861 1111 1862 [38]

(Second Notation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hi?a?</th>
<th>Wí:l()sini</th>
<th>Tsiyadho:hl(a)sda</th>
<th>Ade:lyv</th>
<th>$50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>This</td>
<td>Wí:l()sini</td>
<td>I just lent him</td>
<td>Money</td>
<td>$0.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nv:dáde:gwá</th>
<th>7ne</th>
<th>I:ga</th>
<th>U:ghuy(v)dyi:yi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>7th</td>
<td>Day</td>
<td>To pay it, he</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

[37] This numeral is crossed out.
[38] Ino:li appears to have forgotten to cross out August, written in error.
[39] We do not know the significance of these dates.
Aye:hilli 50 ay:ghuyv 24ne i:ga 25 [40] day $0.25
doe:tsu:le?huv
a:ghuyv [4]
a:ghali? 24ne 25
a:ghuyv [4]
U:wa?nv he just paid it in full November 24th
U:nv he just paid it November 24th
d:meni he just paid it a:ghali:tsa
D:meni he just paid it he just made it full
hi?gh(a)lgo:hi a:ghuyv 50
a:ghuyv fifty $0.50
fifty $0.50
Ts:in(i)la:tsi
Ts:in(i)la:tsi

(THIRD NOTATION, BOTTOM OF PAGE, UPSIDE DOWN)
this La:hw(i)sinj he just put it (hard) down money $0.75
vasghi:yi ghulv 17ne i:ga go:lad [4]
December month 17th day he just reduced it
ayv digo:we:li:sgi a:le ade:lv sigh(a)di:ya ino:li
l clerk, I and money, I watch it ino:li
1860
1860
hi?a? idig:ne:hi a:hv:ga ade:lv 100
this Idig:ne:hi he just put it (hard) down money $1.00
vasghi:yi ghulv 25ne i:ga 1860
December month 25th day 1860

(FOURTH NOTATION, BOTTOM OF PAGE, UPSIDE DOWN)
hi?a? a:ghuyv ule:yoe si:gbwa ga:n(o)dhany
this he just paid it Ule:yoe pig a:sgo
been owed by him $1.10 one money ten
ani:se:n(i)si vasghi:[yi] 25ne i:ga 1860
cents December 25th day 1860

FREE TRANSLATION

(FIRST NOTATION)

Now! It became time to pay this year’s tax, and this is what we thought here in Wolftown where we live: we lack money, and that

---

[4] This name is crossed out.
[4] This numeral is crossed out.
[4] The second syllable is erroneously written e.
is why we come to you, beloved Dalada. We asked you to donate the increased amount. Our names will be written plainly.

"I, Chief Ts(i)sgili, believed it was the right thing," he stated. "And I, Da:dhlvda, believed it was the right thing."

"Also I, Ino:li, the tax collector."

Now! This is the amount we asked you to turn over to us—$1.00. This many of us wrote our names here in Wolftown, July 29, 1859.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ts(i)sgili:gwá</td>
<td>$0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Da:dhlvda</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Dihye:lidó:hi</td>
<td>$0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ino:li</td>
<td>$0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ga:gama</td>
<td>$0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Tsá:n(i)la:tsí</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Gu:da:gi:sgi</td>
<td>$0.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Di:ghuyi:sgi</td>
<td>$0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Wahhyani:da</td>
<td>$0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. U:dhlvna:da</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Wa:sida?na U:wa?no</td>
<td>$0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Idigu:ne:hi</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Ila:gwi</td>
<td>$0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. A?hw(i)daya:i</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Do:yuni:si</td>
<td>$0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Tsaló:gilá</td>
<td>$0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Tsá:li</td>
<td>$0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. A?hw(i)gado:ga</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Tsi:sghwa</td>
<td>$0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Tso:tsaga</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Amasu:yi</td>
<td>$0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Sgwa:gini</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Da:sgigidi:hi</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Gu:la:tsi</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Salo:laní:da</td>
<td>$0.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Tsá:nílo:si</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Tsutsö:ladha</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Gawo:hló:sgi</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Wi:l(i)simi</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Wa:wole:sidi</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Dalo:níge</td>
<td>$0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. I:sadi:hi</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Wa:gigu</td>
<td>$0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Dhlv:datí</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Da:gwadi:hi</td>
<td>$0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Dhlvdi:si</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
37. Ule:yoe $1.00
38. Sa:mi $1.00
39. A:tsi $0.25
40. De:nili $0.50
41. Ulá:sdápá
42. Tsuna:sdala
43. Do:tsu:lé:hnv $0.50
44. Du:nawi he paid in full $0.25

I, Ino:li, the clerk of Wolftown Township where I live, just wrote this July 29, 1859.

Dalo:nige
Le:si
Tso:tsaga
Yo:núwo:hlá
Ghanohi:yado

47

(Second notation)

On November 7th I just lent Wi:l(i)sini $0.50, to be repaid on November 28th. He has not yet finished paying. He paid his tax $0.50, on November 24th.
U:wa?nv paid in full, $0.25, November 24th.
Do:tsu:lé:hnv paid $0.50.
U:dhlna:da paid $0.25.
De:nili paid. De:nili paid it in full, $0.50.
Tsd:n(i)la:tsi $0.10

(Third notation, bottom of page, upside down)

La:hw(i)sini just reduced his debt. He put down $0.75 December 17th.
I, Ino:li, clerk and treasurer.

1860

Idigv:ne:hi just put down $1.00, December 25, 1860.

(Fourth notation, bottom of page, upside down)

Ule:yoe paid with a pig that he put up for sale. He owned $1.10. December 25, 1860.

Commentary

We infer that taxes had been raised on the Thomas lands on Qualla Boundary and that the Cherokee were hard pressed to pay them—
hence the appeal to James W. Terrell, Thomas' factor at the Qualla trading post.

The Cherokee held Terrell in almost as much affection and respect as they did Thomas himself. Thomas lived close to the site of the former Cherokee town of Sdiqho:yi, near what is now Whittier. He left Terrell in complete charge at Qualla. His honorable relations with the Cherokee (at one period he was their official agent) and his personal loyalty to Thomas cast a bright light upon his character (Russell, MS., 1956, passim). He was not only a gentleman but something of a scholar; his "The Demon of Consumption" (Terrell, 1892), for example, is known to all students of Cherokee folklore.

Terrell served as the captain of a Cherokee company under Thomas during the War Between the States. Since the Indians called him Dala:la (‘Redheaded Woodpecker’) one wonders about the color of his hair.

In the document above Ts(i)sgili: on states that he was chief of Wolftown. Presumably Da:dhlvda was also a Wolftown official.

One doubts that Terrell was able to be of much financial assistance to his Cherokee friends. At this time of his life (he was 20 years old) he was quite poor himself.

Mooney's note reads: "Signers Ask Capt. Terrell to Help Pay their Taxes.”

NO. 29.—THE CLERK PAYS WOLFTOWN OFFICIALS

(First Notation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ã:ghuy(v)di</th>
<th>tsiniga:hl(i)sda</th>
<th>digu:gh(o)di:sgi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to pay, one</td>
<td>which it just became</td>
<td>judge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to pay him, one</td>
<td>Wa:hu hu</td>
<td>clerk, he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to pay him, one</td>
<td>it was</td>
<td>also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:ghuyv:e?di</td>
<td>niga:hl(i)sda</td>
<td>$1.805 $46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to pay him, one</td>
<td>it just became</td>
<td>$18.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ayv da:dhlvda $47 | a:ghali: ? | niv:ga | duni:n(od)hi |
| I Da:dhlvda | in full | I just made it | October |
| gha?lv 7ne i:ga 1859 | digo:we:li:sgi |
| month 7th day 1859 | clerk, I | go:we:la:ga |
| I just wrote it |

(Second Notation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ts(i)sgili</th>
<th>u:sdf:ga $8</th>
<th>tsiyadbo:lagasda</th>
<th>ade:lv</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ts(i)sgili</td>
<td>U:sdf:ga</td>
<td>I just lent him</td>
<td>money</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

45 'Danvel.'
46 Ino:llv's decimal point is misplaced.
47 'He-Just-Put-Them-(Long)-Down.'
48 'Little Screen-owl.'
$100  du[ni:ln(o)di]  gha?lv  7ne  i:ga  a:ghuyv
$1.00  October  month  7th  day  he paid it
u?hnegwo:tsv:  110
It increased  $1.10

FREE TRANSLATION

(First Notation)

It has become necessary to pay. The judge, Wa:huhu, is to be paid by the clerk. De:nili is also to be paid. Wa:huhu's recompense was $18.05. I paid it. I just paid Da:dhlvda in full.

On October 7, 1859 I just wrote this.

I, Ino:li

(Second Notation)

I just lent Ts(i)sgili U:sdii:ga $1.00, October 7th. He paid the interest, $0.10.

COMMENTARY

De:nili and Da:dhlvda appear to have been township officials, but their titles are not given.

Cherokee, orally one of the most precise of languages, when impregnated with that rectitude that peculiarly derives from conscientious petty officialdom, tends to become remarkably diffuse when written. It would appear, however, that the borrower mentioned in the second notation paid his interest in advance.

There is no Mooney caption for this document.

NO. 30.—COLLECTIONS AND DISBURSEMENTS: ESTATE OF WINI

now  this, in particular  she died  Win  owed by them, she

Thus: n(a)ghuyv:dhanv  a:sgwanigo:do?di
what they paid with  to keep it, I

Thus: n(a)ghuyv:dhanv  gy:gi
what they paid with  he just took it (hard)

nv:dáde:gwá  28ne  1859  widan:la:wiby
November  28th  1859  over there they met

they just decided  all of them  agwadana(v)dhelida:sdí

ayv  ino:li
I  Ino:li

a:gwagh(a)sado?di  niga:hl(i)nda
to examine it, I  it just become  hi?a?

idgyv:n(e)di  u:ghuyv:hv  ade:lv
which he owed  he paid it

[8] 'To-Make-Them, One.'
Now! He [the principal heir] just took what I was keeping, paid by those who owed the estate of the dead Wini. At the meeting on November 28, 1859, they all decided that I, Ino:li, was to take charge, bring everything to light and make it right.

Idigv:n(e)di paid what he owed—$10.00
The clothing for which Ne:gi owed has been paid for—$1.00
The white cloth for which De:gi, Go:lada’s child, owed has been paid for.
E:ni paid with a sackful of onions—$0.10
The colored [cloth] which I had to buy, valued at—$3.05

You need to repay the township what was borrowed for the coffin. This was to be paid on August 5th.

This is the amount I collected and you received—$2.50
The money I gave him to buy salt $0.50
I bought sugar $0.50

December 12, 1859

COMMENTARY

Evidently it was not the official duty of any member of the township to take care of the complete disposition of the estates of the deceased. Someone was appointed to serve each specific phase of this task.

Collections and disbursements in this itemization are not clearly differentiated. The colored cloth may have been purchased from estate funds for the funeral: "The coffin ... is sometimes covered with black cloth, nailed down by tacks" (Mooney and Olbrechts, 1932, p. 136). In Oklahoma up until a generation ago the coffin was almost invariably so draped. A bill of sale in the possession of the authors, dated April 7, 1893, lists items purchased for the funeral of a male Cherokee (Cox, MS., 1893):

To 13 yds Blk Calico 7-½ $0.95
To 13 Blk Domestic 95
To 1 pr Gloves 25
To 1 pr Stocking[s] 10
To 1 pr [sic] White-Hdkerchief 10
To 2# nails @ 5 10
To 1 paper Tacks 5
To 1 pr Slipper shoes Prince Albert 1.50

Total 4.00

The salt, too, may have been a funeral expense, the money for which was given to the chief heir out of sale proceeds, or advanced to him. It was once the custom in North Carolina to place a vessel of salt upon the breast of the corpse (Mooney and Olbrechts, 1932, p. 134). If this practice existed in Oklahoma, it has not been reported.

The entry concerning sugar is obscure. Perhaps it records the disposition of an item left over from the sale of July 29th.

Mooney's designation "Company Debts—WW" is in error: the Gadu:q(?) was in no way involved.

NO. 31.—EXPENSE ACCOUNT: RECOVERING A HORSE
CHRONICLES OF WOLFTOWN—KILPATRICK

Now! It has become necessary to examine the matter of this horse that I lost and that I hunted in the month of August here on the mountain.

Now about a month ago, I found out about it. I went to town at the end of November. I had to pay $4.00

I had to pay Tsa:li Ca:hwi:li, the interpreter $5.00

I owe I:yadi:hwisgi, the witness $5.00

I made a trip of 6 days and stayed over 5½ nights.

Tsu:lo:gilá lent a horse to me $0.75

Tse:gwádi:hi interpreted $0.25

This I just wrote December 8, 1859, I, the clerk of Jackson County and Wolftown Township,

Ino:li
COMMENTARY

Although there is much in the foregoing that is not clear, the inordinate expense involved, speaking in terms of the buying power of the 1859 dollar, is quite evident. The horse in question may have been taken up by some White man, hence the necessity for the services of interpreters; and the $4.00 possibly represents the expense of a trip to and sojourn in some town such as Waynesville or Webster in the vicinity of Qualla. The witness and principal interpreter would have accompanied Ino:li, hence their requirement of $5.00 each. One can see that Ino:li could have been obliged to hire a horse for the trip due to the loss of his only saddle horse.

The Wolftown Council may have had a policy of defraying, or helping to defray, expenses incurred by a Wolftown citizen in a litigation with a White man, hence this expense account.

Mooney’s caption reads: “Inali—Cost of recovering Horse.”

NO. 32.—TOWNSHIP COLLECTIONS, LOANS, AND EXPENDITURES

U:la:sa:dihi  I just lent him  A:lv:tsi  he died
u:te:s:lg:ga  duni:n(o) dhe  gha?lv  20ne  i:ga
bls  $4.80  October  month  20th  day
gha?lv  hi?ga'nsi  lidi  a:gi
now  this, in particular  Lidi  she just took it (hard)
ade:lv  50  dejahlu:yi  gha?lv  19ne  i:ga
money  $0.50  June  month  19th  day
Wabnhhu  I just lent him  money  he just paid it  in full
$100 [e]  duni:n(o) dhe  gha?lv  2ne  i:ga  1860
$1.00  October  month  2d  day  1860
gu:la:tsi  a:gi  ade:lv  $200  a:gh(a)gsi:di
Gu:la:tsi  he just took it (hard)  money  May
gha?lv  7ne  i:ga  1861
month  7th  day  1861
wini  a:tsi:dhu:gy  a:ghuyv:dv  niga:hi(0)sda
Wini  she owed  paid, it  it just became
ge:hyahi  a:gh(a)ghuyv:i  ge:hyahI  u:te:li:ga
Ge:hyahi  it has been paid  Ge:hyahI  hers
niga:hi(0)sda  a:go:lo:hi  75  25
it just became  it just lessened  $0.75  $0.25
Do:tsu:le?hnv  it has been paid  Do:tsu:le?hnv
u:dhu:gy  a:hy:na
he owed  he just removed it  $2.50
Li:di  she owed  paid, it  it just became  $2.12

[e] Crossed out.
tse:gh(i)sinin a:gh(a)ghuyv:i
Tse:gh(i)sla
It has been paid
a:ghuyv a:li $3
ejust paid it
she paid $3.00
$3.00

Wini she died to push it, they box
paid for it (hard)
made for her, it

a:ghuyv:sv
250
paid for, it $2.50

wa:huhu tsiyadho:1(a)nda ade:lv $200 vsghi:yi
Wa:huhu I just lent him money $2.00
December

gha?lv 25ne i:ga 1860 a:ghuyv ga?logni
month 25th day 1860 he just paid it August

gha?lv 5ne i:ga 1861
month 5th day 1861

li:di a:gi ade:lv 1861
tsina:ni she just took it (hard)
tsnand dead

hers now two money she took them (hard)

li:di $200
L:di $2.00

gu:la:tsi [?] [?] sa:gwo ade:lv $100 unolv:dhan
Ou:la:tsi [?] one money $1.00 January

gha?lv go:wé:la:ga 7ne 1861
month I just wrote it 7th 1861

di:ghal(u)ghwade:gi [?] tsiyadho:hl(a)nda ade:lv 100
Di:ghal(u)ghwade:gi I just lent him money $1.00

gha:ga?li 23ne i:ga 1861
gha?lv month 23rd day 1861

Tsini she died that, and clothing paid for, it

10

10

ground, and those who dig two, they others, they

$0.10

igv:yi tsu:hwa:sv ghahl(i)so:tsi 10
Igv:yi he bought sugar

$0.10

Wini when she was walking E:ni Gilohi:yi

Go:lada

u:tse:li aye:hl(a)sdi u:di:nv:sô
her knife she threw it away (w.p.k)

u:di:nv:sô
de:gi

a:nulwe:gi
A:nulwe:gi

ghanu:gada:hv
Ghanu:gada:hp

---

61 The word here is garbled.
62 The final syllable is erroneously written ghu.
FREE TRANSLATION

I just lent U:li(a)sd: hi $4.80 from the estate of the dead A:lv:tsi, October 20th.
Now! Li:di just took $0.50, June 19th.
I just lent Wa:hu: $1.00. He paid it in full October 2, 1860.
Gu:tsi just took $2.00, May 7, 1861.
What Wini owed has just been paid.
What Ge:hyahi owed has been paid and the property became hers—$0.75 $0.25.
What Do:tsu:hnv owed has been paid. Do:tsu:hnv removed the debt of $2.50.
What Li:di owed, $2.12, has just become paid. It was paid by Tse:ghisini.
A:li paid $3.00, and they just came for it.
The shipping of the coffin of the dead Wini has been paid for, $2.50.
I just lent Wa:hu: $2.00, December 25, 1860. He repaid it August 5, 1861.
Li:di took money from the estate of the dead Tsina:ni. She took it now, $2.00.
Gu:la:tsi [?] $1.00. I just wrote this January 7, 1861.
I just lent Di:gh:ghwa:gi $1.00, February 23, 1861.
The burial clothing of the dead Tsini was paid for, $1.00.
Two other gravediggers, $0.10 and $0.10.
Igv:yi bought sugar, $0.10.
When Wini was alive, E:ni Gilo:hi:y Go:lad lost her [Wini's] knife, worth $1.00, on her way. We have just made it right: E:ni replaced it with some long knives.

COMMENTARY

Several categories of activities by the township organization are recorded here by clerk Ino:li, some of which have not been reported in the literature on the North Carolina Cherokee: loans from the estates of the deceased; collection of debts incurred at the sale of the effects of one deceased; restitution to the heirs, through township authority, for property of the deceased lost prior to demise; payment by the township of funeral expenses (although we do not learn whether the outlay was from township funds or deducted from the estate of the deceased); and routine loans from and repayment to the township funds.
The import of the three names subjoined to the document is problematical. If they are witnesses, the fact that at least two of the three names are feminine is of interest.

Mooney's note is simply: "Borrowd [sic] Money."

NO. 33.—RECEIPT FOR PAYMENT OF A BILL AT QUALLA STORE

(ON RECTO)

Received of Quatteh sixty five cents in full of her store account to date April 4th 1860

Jas M Terrell
For W. W. Thomas

(ON VERSO)

\[
\begin{array}{|l|l|}
\hline
a:gidi:na & dala:la \\
he just took it (hard), certainly & Dala:la \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{|l|l|}
\hline
yagh(i)du:ga & na:gow \\
I just finished paying & now \\
not & not I owe \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

639

65

5.74

FREE TRANSLATION

Dala:la actually took the money. I just finished paying. Now I do not owe anything.

COMMENTARY

This receipt is written upon a small slip of paper. Quatteh may be the same person as No. 317 on the Terrell Roll (1860, p. 11), the Quaitsey who was the mother of Ino:li. The one name is the Cherokee form of 'Betty,' the other of 'Betsy.' Ino:li's mother was a widow and possibly lived with her son. The mathematical calculation, the significance of which is not evident, is in Terrell's handwriting.

Mooney summarized the meaning of the Cherokee: "I have paid all I owe Talala.'"
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>day</td>
<td>Gu:dagi:sgi</td>
<td>his</td>
<td>left over, it</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>something</td>
<td>not</td>
<td>a great deal</td>
<td>something</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a?hwí ahnuwo:gi</th>
<th>une:gv</th>
<th>tsuna:sdala</th>
<th>a:da:go:pad(v)da</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>deer clothing</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>Tsuma:sdala</td>
<td>be just outbid</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>musical instrument</td>
<td>da:sgididi:hi</td>
<td>he just outbid</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>$2.26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ditsu:di</th>
<th>a?hw(ì)gado:ga</th>
<th>a:da:go:pad(v)da</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to boil them, one</td>
<td>A?hw(ì)gado:ga</td>
<td>he just outbid</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>$0.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gasale:na</th>
<th>tsutsu:ladha</th>
<th>a:da:go:pad(v)da</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>coat</td>
<td>Tutsu:ladha</td>
<td>he just outbid</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>$0.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aye:hl(a)di</th>
<th>tsuna:sdala</th>
<th>a:da:go:pad(v)da</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>knife</td>
<td>Tsuma:sdala</td>
<td>he just outbid</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>$0.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cotton, and</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>pounds</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>$0.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>si:ghwa</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>galo:go:di</th>
<th>v:tsa</th>
<th>yitsigá:dhahá</th>
<th>yi:si</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hoes</td>
<td>not</td>
<td>not I know</td>
<td>still</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tsunina:sanagi:di</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to carry them upon their backs, they</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$0.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>also hoes</td>
<td>his, they</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>galo:go:pad(v)di</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>25</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grubbing hoes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>$0.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a:tsi</th>
<th>a:da:go:pad(v)da</th>
<th>galo:go:pad(v)di</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>64</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A:tsi be just outbid</td>
<td></td>
<td>grubbing hoes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>$0.64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>de:nili</th>
<th>a:yv</th>
<th>tsidhu:ga</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Denili</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>he owes me</td>
<td>$0.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>di:ghah(u)ghwade:gi</th>
<th>tsidhu:ga</th>
<th>a:di:ha</th>
<th>25</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Di:ghah(u)ghwade:gi</td>
<td>he owes me</td>
<td>he says</td>
<td>$0.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>agh(ì)dhu:ga</th>
<th>a:yv</th>
<th>di:ghah(u)ghwade:gi</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I owe him</td>
<td></td>
<td>Di:ghah(u)ghwade:gi</td>
<td>$0.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a:yv</th>
<th>la:hw(ì)siní</th>
<th>agh(ì)dhu:ga</th>
<th>25</th>
<th>25</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>La:hw(ì)siní</td>
<td>I owe</td>
<td>$0.25</td>
<td>$0.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a:yv</th>
<th>ino:li</th>
<th>tsiyadho:hl(a)sdí</th>
<th>ade:lv</th>
<th>25</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I, and</td>
<td>Ino:li</td>
<td>I loan him</td>
<td>money</td>
<td>$0.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tsidhu:ga</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he owes me</td>
<td>$0.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Tsá:nilo:si</td>
<td>he owes it</td>
<td>three-fourths</td>
<td>in all</td>
<td>$0.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wi:1(ì)siní</th>
<th>sga:tsí</th>
<th>ayv</th>
<th>tsidhu:ga</th>
<th>30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wi:1(ì)siní</td>
<td>Sga:tsí</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>he owes me</td>
<td>$0.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[^4] 'To play them, it.' This could be any sort of a musical instrument, but we surmise that it is a violin.
[^6] 'To bell them, one'—probably a large kettle without legs.
[^7] The cotton may not have been sold, hence no buyer's name, but only an estimate of its value.
[^8] The pig may not have been sold.
[^9] 'To boe, one.'
[^10] This debt to a buyer may have to do with making change.
[^11] This tense expresses an action that began in the past and that still continues in the present.
ANTHROP. PAP.
No. 75]  
CHRONICLES OF WOLFTOWN—KILPATRICK  
95  

ino:li  ayv  tsiyadho:hl(a)sdi  $100  
ino:li  I  I loan him  $1.00  
gal:sgwalo:sgi  udhu:gv  $100.10  
Gal:sgwalo:sgi  be owed  $1.10  

(SECOND PAGE)  

1860  
1860  
guyé:gwo:ní  16ne  i:ga  ga?lohni  15  i:ga  
July  16th  day  August  15  day  

tsun:a:sdalagh:yv  [?]  ayé:hli  ade:lv  $50  
Tsun:a:sdala  just paid  half  money  $0.50  
Tsun:a:sdala  owed by him  Wa:shuhu  I  truly  + $1.26  
Tuts:so:ladha  owed by him  U:dhlva:da  I  truly  + $0.10  

Da:sgigidí:hi  owed by him  I  Do:tsu:lé?hnuv  truly  + $2.28  

[a:tsi  a:tsi:duh:ga  ts(i)sgili  ayv  u:do:hiyu  + 60  
A:tsi  owed by him  Ts(i)sgili  I  truly  + $0.60  

two lines crossed out]  

wa:sida?na  he just finished paying it one money 2 cents  
i:ga:i  15  i:ga  ga?lohni  1861  
in all  15  day  August  1861  

still  he just owed I  Dumnawi  + $0.75  

yi:sì  a:si  u:shlinohí:ya  65  
still  yet it remains  $0.65  
Tsä:n(i)la:tsi  he just owed I  Da:dhlvda  truly  + $0.20  

a:ghuyv  a:?ghali:?  20  
he paid  in full  $0.20  
Tsa:ni:lo:si  he just owed I  U:wa?nv  truly  + $3.85  
tsa:ni:lo:si  a:si  u:shlinohí:ya  3  
Tsa:ni:lo:si  yet it remains  $3.00  
tsun:a:sdala  1  20  55  20 [?]  
Tsun:a:sdala  1  20  55  20  

(AT BOTTOM OF PAGE)  
July  16th  day to pay, they year  
1861  

$5.42  
$5.42  
$4.80  
$4.80  
$10.22 [?]  

$10.22

1 An elision of Tsuna:sdalagh:yu:v.  
2 The significance of these numerals is unknown  
3 Ino:li's totals are frequently inexplicable.
In July he died. On July 16th, I, Ino:li the clerk, just wrote this.

Now! It just became necessary for me to expedite this sale disposing of the small estate of Gu:da:gi:sgi. He did not leave a great deal of anything.

1. Tsuna:sdala was the highest bidder for some white buckskin clothing $1.00
2. Da:sgigidi:hi was the highest bidder for a musical instrument $2.26
3. A?hw(i)gado:ga was the highest bidder for a large pot $0.18
4. Tsutso:ladha was the highest bidder for a coat $.08
5. Tsuna:sdala was the highest bidder for a knife $1.18
6. Two (2) pounds of cotton $12.12
7. A pig.

Hoes. I do not know how many. They still have to bring them $0.75
Also two (2) hoes of his, one a grubbing hoe $2.25
A:tsi was the highest bidder for grubbing hoes (2) $0.64
De:nili owes me $1.00
Di:ga(h(i)ghwade:gi says that he owes me $0.25
I owe Di:ga(h(i)ghwade:gi $1.00
I owe La:hw(i)simi $0.25
And I, Ino:li, lent him money $0.25
He owes me $1.00
Tsá:nílo:si owes me seventy-five cents in all $0.75
Wi:li(isini Sga:tsi owes me $0.30
I, Ino:li, lent him $1.00
Ga:sgwalo:sgi owed $1.10

(Second page)

1860

July 16th—August 15th.
Tsuna:sdala paid one half-dollar $0.50
Tsuna:sdala owes. Wa:hu hu became surety for the debt. I approved it $1.26
Tsutso:ladha owes. U:dhlna:da became surety for the debt. I approved it. $0.10
Da:sgigidi:hi owes. Do:tsu:lé?knv became surety for the debt. I approved it. $2.26
A:tsi owes. Ts(i)sgiti became surety for the debt. I approved it. $0.60
[Two lines crossed out] he paid in full. Wa:sida?na paid all of it, a total of $1.02, August 15, 1861.
Du:nawi owed. $0.75
Still remaining to be paid. $0.65
Tsá:n(i)la:tsi owed. Da:dhv:da became surety for the debt. I approved it. $0.20
He paid in full. $0.20
Tsá:ni(lo:si) owed. U:wa?nv became surety for the debt. I approved it. $3.85
There still remains for Tsá:ni(lo:si) to pay. $3.00
Tsuna:sdala 1 20 55 20

(At bottom of page)
They are to pay July 16, 186. $5.42
$4.80
$10.22

Commentary

The mention of the fact that the hoes had yet to be brought to the scene of the sale implies that the auction was not held at the home of the deceased, but perhaps at some central location. Amid such earthy items as buckskin clothes, a pot and a pig, the violin stands out startlingly; but up until approximately a quarter of a century ago the Oklahoma Cherokee, at least, cultivated square-dance fiddling assiduously, and we know that the art had been among them for generations.

Mooney labels this document: “Accounts & sale of Property of Gutagiski” and, in another place, “Property Distributn.”

No. 35.—Tsá:n(i)la:tsi offers to work for some corn

| hi?a?sgini | agwo:hwé:lo:di | niga:hl(i)sdá |
| this, in particular | to write, 1 | it just became |
| ino:li | ts(a)dhv:go:di | hi?a? se:lu |
| Ino:li | to hear, you | this corn |
| 1 | ade:lv | tsu:gy:vah(o)di | hi?a? |
| money | worth | this |

Mooney labels this document: “Accounts & sale of Property of Gutagiski” and, in another place, “Property Distributn.”

No. 35.—Tsá:n(i)la:tsi offers to work for some corn
FREE TRANSLATION

It became necessary for me to write, Ino:li, for you to read. I asked you for a dollar’s worth of corn. This is what I said: “I am willing to work if you are ready. If you are still ready to pull stumps, I will do it, and if you are ready now, I am willing to work.” Because I haven’t heard from you is the reason I am writing.

I, Tsá:n(i)la:tsí, August 7, 1860.

COMMENTSARY

Although in the Cherokee the tone of this note is somewhat stilted, there is nothing in the text to lend any weight to a supposition that the corn in question is the communal property of a clan or the township. The petitioner proposes a simple arrangement of help in clearing land in exchange for a quantity of corn.

“John Large wants Corn and will pay in work” is Mooney’s precise identification.

NO. 36.—ROSTER OF COLONY AT SANDTOWN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a:hani</th>
<th>no:yú:hi</th>
<th>nanf:hv</th>
<th>u:naligó:hi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>here</td>
<td>sand-place</td>
<td>in number, they</td>
<td>joiners together, they</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ane: hv</th>
<th>go:hve:lo:di</th>
<th>niga:hl(i)sda</th>
<th>duni:n(o)dhi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>living, they</td>
<td>to write, one</td>
<td>it just became</td>
<td>October</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yo:nvganvi:d(y)</th>
<th>a:hl(i)tsíd: hv:sgi</th>
<th>tsi:lawi:se</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one who preaches</td>
<td>Tsi:lawi:se</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tsu: da:so? di</th>
<th>Gwi:ni</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tsu: da:so?di</td>
<td>Gwi:ni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Footnotes:
74 'Work' is conceived of as being comprised of multiple motions, hence the plurality of this verb-form.
75 The prefix Ine: has the force of 'still' or 'yet.'
76 As written here, this word is either somewhat garbled or representative of a form that is obsolete. One would expect it to be today dipgana:sde: hl(i)dipu:.
77 More formal for hel.
78 The first syllable is erroneously written ni, the last, de.
79 The fifth syllable is erroneously written e.
It just became necessary to write down the names of those that live in the group at Sandtown. October 29th.

Yo:noganvi:d(e), the preacher
Ts’i:la’wi:se
Gs’i:n
Ts’adha:gan’ti:da
tse:yyo:si
Tsa:n
Ganv:dase:gi
de:vi
Me:li
Gvi:ni
E:li
Le:hai
Dina:le:hwisda
dina:le:hwisda
E:si:gi
Ne:li:si
Da:n
Gvyu:tse
28th
Dinale:hwisda
October 28, 1860

e:ni

COMMENTARY

Documents in The Inolí Letters, outside the range of this study, show that the main body of the Eastern Cherokee at Qualla Boundary was in sustained contact with smaller groups of their tribesmen who settled in Graham and Macon Counties after having avoided removal to the West. We know from other sources that they kept in touch with other kin in Cherokee County as well.

We do not learn why Ino:li prepared this census of the colony at Sandtown. We do know that at a later date considerable but
seemingly rather futile pressure was exerted by the Qualla people upon these enclaves to the south to persuade them to move to Qualla. Perhaps this roster was designed for some such purpose.

The Terrell Roll (1860, MS., p. 1), which informs us that the Sandtown group was living on Cautoogajayah Creek in Macon County upon the property of William Siler, lists only 14 names, including those of two individuals who had died. Largely because of the farfetched spelling on this roll, collation of any of the names with those on Ino:li's list is fraught with uncertainty. However, "Yonna-cunna-hect," aged 35, is Yo:nvanganvi:d(v); "Aley," his wife, aged 30, is E:li; "Nancy," aged 17, is Ne:n(i)si; and "Don," a woman aged 50, is Da:ni.

"List of Residents of Nâyâhî or Sandtown, Macon Co." is Mooney's identification of the document.

NO. 37.—WA:HÚHU IS GRANTED A LOAN FROM THE ESTATE OF ONE DECEASED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hi?a?</th>
<th>wa:huhu</th>
<th>tsiyadho:1(a)sda</th>
<th>ade:lv</th>
<th>200</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>Wa:huhu</td>
<td>I just lent him</td>
<td>money</td>
<td>$2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which the dead one</td>
<td>his</td>
<td>money</td>
<td>which to keep it, I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>clerk, I</td>
<td>I have it (flex.)</td>
<td>I, to think, I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe</td>
<td>to make loans, I (hab.)</td>
<td>daily [?]</td>
<td>now</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day</td>
<td>December</td>
<td>month</td>
<td>25th</td>
<td>day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayv</td>
<td>ino:li</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ino:li</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(IN BOTTOM LEFTHAND CORNER)

a:ghuyv | a:?ghali:? |
he just paid it | In full |

FREE TRANSLATION

I just lent Wa:huhu $2.00 of the money that I am keeping of one deceased. I, the clerk, have written authority to use my own judgment, I believe, to make such loans [daily ?].

I, Ino:li.

He just paid in full.

---

9 The inference is that the clerk has written authority.
10 Or, "to use my own judgment."
11 Perhaps sh:ga was intended: 'every day' or 'all day.'
COMMENTARY

I'nö:li's self-conscious statement as to his authority to make loans from the estates of persons deceased suggests that the practice was somewhat uncommon. What he may be trying to say is: "I believe that I have the authority to make a loan such as this every day, if I wished." One can but speculate upon what became of the interest from a loan of this type. Part of it may have gone to the council for its supervision over the money, and part of it to the estate in return for the use of the money.

Mooney's caption is difficult to decipher: "Wahuhu loans 2⁰ (?) f' [from] property of deceast [sic], [?] Wolftown Council WW."

NO. 38.—THE CLERK PAY THE JUDGE

I have just made this right: judge Wa:hu hu has been paid this amount, $2.00. He owed $0.75 to the estate of the dead person. It became necessary for him to pay the $0.75. I, I'nö:li, just said that one is to do right toward Wa:hu hu.

FREE TRANSLATION

Clerk I'nö:li does not specify how long a period of the judge's service this recompense represents. We see that a sum was deducted from the emolument for the purpose of repaying a loan from the estate of a deceased individual, but it is not clear whether the deduction came from the stipend as stated or from a gross pay that included the deduction. Although the document is not dated, we hypothesize that it was written in 1861.

"Payt [Payment] to Wahuhú—WW" is Mooney's comment.
NO. 39.—RECORD OF DROWNING OF TSA:LI GA:HWI:LI

now this, in particular to write, I it just became
a little it just became here paint, they town
the one who interprets he just died water-place he just fell into (liquid)
Ga:hwí:li who it was January
18th day night this year 1861
who it was February first day this, and here
new house to preach, he-place one
then he just preached second not not he came (w.p.k.)
third to preach, he-place three days less
now he just went to sleep water-place it has just hidden him
far away perhaps thirty miles 37

FREE TRANSLATION

Now! It became necessary for me to write a little. The Paint-town interpreter died here. He fell into the water, the late Ga:hwí:li, the night of January 18, 1861.

I just wrote this on February 1st. Here at the new church he preached only once. The second time he did not come. The third time, 3 days or less before he was to come to the church, he fell asleep in the water. It has hidden him far off, perhaps 30 miles away.

COMMENTARY

The new church must have been on the same site as the old, on Soco Creek. One gathers that Tsai:li Ga:hwí:li—"No. 44 Charley Cow-whee-la aged 24-1/2" on the Terrell Roll (1860, MS., p. 2)—preached in the new building but once, failed for some reason to keep his second appointment (2 months later ?), and was drowned a few days prior to the third.

[87] The manuscript has a superfluous final ni.
[88] A stream, creek, or river, is usually implied.
[89] This word, and also tsige:se, is used in reference to one deceased; 'the late.'
[90] Variant of ge:tsa, ge:thìa.
[91] This word in the printed literature is iyud:dhíli:nda. The spelling here is probably garbled, but one cannot be certain as to how it was pronounced in Tsai:li's era and locale.
[92] The significance of this numeral is not evident.
Charley Hornbuckle is described on the Terrell Roll as a brother of Johnson Hornbuckle, a halfbreed who was also a preacher. The exact clerical status of Charley is uncertain; he may have been an itinerant preacher, and therefore of a higher status than Ino:li.

The handwriting here is that of Ino:li. Mooney's unimpeachable identification reads: "Drowning of Charley Hornbuckle."

No. 40.—DA:SIGIDI:HI COMPLAINS OF THE MISCONDUCT OF TSE:SI AND TSA:NI

(On Recto)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>now</td>
<td>this, in particular</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>I just wrote it</td>
<td>February</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gha?lv</th>
<th>22 si:ne</th>
<th>i:ga</th>
<th>na:sgi</th>
<th>iyu:sdí</th>
<th>a:hni</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>month</td>
<td>22d</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>reason</td>
<td>here</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>named, it</td>
<td>clerk, I</td>
<td>I was sitting</td>
<td>they did come</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>that</td>
<td>Tsa:ni</td>
<td>Tse:si</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>they were saying</td>
<td>white oak-place</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tyv:dv</th>
<th>daglv:hw(i)sdn:e:lv:gi</th>
<th>tse:si</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>out there</td>
<td>I did work</td>
<td>Tse:si</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>his property</td>
<td>four</td>
<td>days</td>
<td>I did work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to say with him, he [?]</td>
<td>Tsa:ni</td>
<td>that, and</td>
<td>to pay me, he</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>they didn't evict me</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>money</td>
<td>to pay, he</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>u:dv:hnv:gi</th>
<th>ahhnuwo:igigwo</th>
<th>agin:v:n(e)di</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he did state</td>
<td>clothes, just</td>
<td>to give me (flex.), he</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he did state</td>
<td>that, and</td>
<td>not</td>
<td>you pay me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this, just</td>
<td>he says</td>
<td>he came (w.p.k.)</td>
<td>chief, he</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to pay with him, he [?]</td>
<td>he was saying</td>
<td>this it is</td>
<td>that, for</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to pay with them, he</td>
<td>they did evict me</td>
<td></td>
<td>which you did give me (alive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tse:si</th>
<th>gha?lv</th>
<th>so:gwil(i)</th>
<th>tsi:sgigh?:ne:lv:gi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>month</td>
<td>horés</td>
<td>pig</td>
<td>they gave me (alive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|      | in value | pig     | they gave me (alive) |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nine</td>
<td>in value</td>
<td>it was</td>
<td>that, and</td>
<td>one</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

83 'John.'
84 'Jesse.'
85 We cannot identify this place name, the "Tellowe" of the Whites.
86 The fifth syllable is erroneously written ye.
87 The first syllable is erroneously written gu.
88 The penultimate syllable is erroneously written ye.
89 Part of this word is illegible.
90 The first syllable is erroneously written gu.
91 The written attempts to provide the glottal stop by y.
go to us by land  that, and  his  
he did count it  he says  Tse:si  that, and  
tsinú:si di  tsin(i)gá:hi  tse:si  na:sgi  
which way  which in all  that the way it will be  
de:tsúgh(o)de:si  na:sgigwo  nu:lagwo  
you (pl.) will decide  that, just  hurry, you (imp.), just  
dhaghúyv: hvhá  u:lu? tse  ale  na:sgwo  ase: gwo  
over there pay, you (imp.)  he came (w.p.k.)  and  also  
this it will be  but  letter  to come, it  this it will be  
here  this far  Qualla-place  named, it  this  money  
asker for it  letter  I believe  your house, just  
u:lu? tse  sa: gwo  ade? lv  i? gá: i  a: yvyhehno:  
it came (w.p.k.)  one  money  in amount  I, for  
they did evict me  to pay, you  I  Tse: si  I  
tsa: ni  agigo: hw(a) dhv: di  ade: lv  na: sgi  i? gá: i  
Tsa: ni  to see it, 1  money  that  in amount  
I just wrote it  1  Da: sgigidi: hi  Qualla-place  
clerk, I  I just wrote it  1861  year  
iyv: dv  yhi: ga?li  22  
further on  February  22  

(ON verso)  

Gwe: dh(i) si  to read it, you  this  letter  

FREE TRANSLATION  
(ON RECTO)  

Now! I just wrote this on the 22d of February. The reason is  
that Tsa: ni and Tse: si came to me at Qualla, where I am the clerk. 
This is what they were saying: that I worked on Tse: si's property  
out there at White Oak Place for 4 days. Tsa: ni says that Tse: si  
should pay me $1.00 because he evicted me, he stated.  
He stated that he would just give me some clothes. That is not  
paying me. When the chief came, he said, "He has to pay." He said  
that he has to pay for evicting me.  

This month Tse: si got the horse that you gave me, worth $30.00,  
and the pig that they gave me, worth $9.00. There was $1.00 left  

---

[a] We cannot account for the gu; one would expect u.  
[b] The fourth syllable is erroneously written la.  
[c] The first syllable is erroneously written de.  
[d] 'Tsasgig-killer.'
over. \textit{Tse:si} says that \textit{Tsa:ni} counted his money, and that this is the way it totals.

"\textit{Tse:si}, if this is the way you all are going to decide, hurry up and pay me."

He came—and also the letter to come out here from Qualla will be in vain. I believe that the letter of request came to your house.

"I am the one that they evicted. You must pay me, \textit{Tse:si} and \textit{Tsa:ni}. I must see that amount of money."

I, \textit{Da:sgigidi:hi}, the clerk at Qualla, just wrote this. I just wrote it February 22, 1861.

\textbf{(on verso)}

This letter, \textit{Gwe:dh(i)si}, is for you to read.

\textbf{COMMENTARY}

Although \textit{Da:sgigidi:hi} states that he is the clerk "at Qualla" (Yellow Hill Township), his letter deals with a private matter—a family squabble, one suspects. He does not indicate where he was when he wrote to \textit{Ino:li}'s mother \textit{Gwe:dh(i)si}.

We ascertain from another document in The Inoli Letters that \textit{Da:sgigidi:hi} died on the June 23d following his penning of this heated and muddled missive. He succumbed to disease while on duty with the Confederate forces at Strawberry Plains, Tenn.

The Inoli Letters attest to the Cherokee belief that the lands upon which they lived were actually theirs, and that the title of Will Thomas to them was merely an expedient necessitated by North Carolina law. The basic concepts of land occupancy held by the Eastern Band of the present day seem to have been accepted in \textit{Ino:li}'s time: no individual ownership in fee simple, but only possessory rights derived from a legislative body; no right of sale, but the right of lease or trade (see Gulick, 1960, p. 9).

Mooney's caption is decidedly at variance with the contents of the document: "Taskigitihi to Inali—wants some money left on deposit."

\textbf{NO. 41.—RESIGNATION OF JUDGE WA:HUHU AND PAYMENT TO OTHER OFFICIALS}

\begin{footnotesize}
1861 [?]
\end{footnotesize}

\begin{tabular}{l l l l l l l l}
\textit{wa:hu} & \textit{a:sgwada} & \textit{digu:gh(o)di:sgi} & \textit{na:gwo} & \textit{a:se} [?]
\\[0.5ex]
\textit{Wa:hu} & \textit{he just finished} & \textit{judge} & \textit{now, I suppose}
\\[0.5ex]
\textit{a:sgwada} & \textit{ga?ohni} & \textit{gha?lv} & \textit{5ne} & \textit{i:ga}
\\[0.5ex]
\textit{he just finished} & \textit{August} & \textit{month} & \textit{5th} & \textit{day}
\\[0.5ex]
\textit{digu:gh(o)di:sgi} & \textit{aghuyv:e?di} & \textit{niga:hi(j)sla} & \textit{ayv}
\\[0.5ex]
\textit{judge} & \textit{to pay him, one} & \textit{it just become} & \textit{I}
\\[0.5ex]
\end{tabular}

\footnote{The 1860 written in the manuscript we assume to be an error}

\footnote{Na:quo + a:se.}
**FREE TRANSLATION**

1861

_Wa:hu hu, I assume, has now resigned as judge. He resigned as judge the 5th day of August. It has become necessary for him to be paid. They gave me, Ino:li, permission to pay Tsd:n(i)la:tsi and Ts(i)sgili:gwai. I paid them. I expended $2.00, doing the right thing, as all of you gave permission to do._

**COMMENTARY**

As seen elsewhere, _Ts(i)sgili:gwai_ was Chief of Wolftown, but we do not learn what official position _Tsd:n(i)la:tsi_ held. The “they” and “all of you” that gave Ino:li his authority were members of the Wolftown Council.

The _Ts(i)sgili:gwai_ was very likely the individual mentioned by Mooney (1900, p. 179): “... among those who died at this time [1896] being Big-witch (Tskil-6gwa), the oldest man of the band, who distinctly remembered the Creek war. ...” On p. 538 (ibid.) Mooney elaborates upon the derivation of this personal name: “Although translated Big-witch by the whites, the name is understood by the Indians to mean Big-owl ... , having been originally applied to a white man living on the same clearing, noted for his large staring eyes.”

Mooney and Olbrechts (1932, p. 29) state: “The meaning of tsikli is literally ‘hooting owl,’ but since this night bird is considered as a bird of ill omen, and because of the mysterious occult power ascribed to it, moreover because it indulges in its activities only during the night as the witches do, the word has been extended to mean ‘witch.’”

A sacred formula utilizing a term combining both connotations is found in Kilpatrick (1962 a, p. 5).

The Mooney caption for this document is: “Wáhuhu resigns as Judge—Inali Sec [Secretary] or Clerk Wolftown WW.”
NO. 42.—ROSTER OF SINGING CLASS AT ECHOTA METHODIST MISSION

(AT TOP OF DOCUMENT)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>1862</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>month</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u:nale: n(v)di</td>
<td>nvga: hl(i)sda</td>
<td>di: nihno gi: sgi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to begin, they</td>
<td>then it just became</td>
<td>those who sing them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsa: ts(i)</td>
<td>the one who teaches them</td>
<td>and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how to read them, they</td>
<td>this it is</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suniyé: l(v) n(v)di</td>
<td>hi? dighahnogi: sdi</td>
<td>tsalagi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how to divide them, they</td>
<td>this, to sing, them</td>
<td>Tsalagi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e: ligi: sadv + [1³]</td>
<td>lusi: n(i)di +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eligts: sadv +</td>
<td>Lusi: n(i)di +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li: yedi +</td>
<td>e: tsini +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li: yedi +</td>
<td>E: tsini +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wo: lada</td>
<td>a: li: si: ni +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wo: lada</td>
<td>A: i: si: ni +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dagv: ya</td>
<td>gelayi: ni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dagv: ya</td>
<td>Gelayi: ni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gv: sgali: sgí +</td>
<td>ne: tsini</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gv: sgali: sgí +</td>
<td>Ne: tsini</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>midi</td>
<td>Midi</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e: níli</td>
<td>E: níli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tsi: n(i) si +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tsi: n(i) si +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ne: tsíli +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ne: tsíli +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gado: yoe? +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gado: yoe? +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lo: si +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lo: si +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tsinílv: gi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tsinílv: gi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>seyo: lini</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seyo: lini</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(AT BOTTOM OF DOCUMENT, UPSIDE DOWN)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>year</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>April</td>
<td>month</td>
<td>19th</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ The fourth syllable is erroneously written x².
² There is a superfluous i between the second and third syllables.
³ 'George,' not otherwise identified.
⁴ The fourth syllable (c) would appear to be superfluous; but it may have been pronounced by Ino:li; therefore, it is retained.
⁵ The cross here, and elsewhere, may be an attendance tally mark pertaining to a subsequent meeting of the class.
Freeman L.M.:

Now! This September 21, 1862, it became time for the singers and their teacher. Tsa:ts(i), to begin anew, to divide, and to read, and to sing Cherokee songs.

E:ligi:sadv
Li:yedi
Wo:lada
Dagv:ya
Gv:sgali:sgi

E:ligi:sadi
Li:yedi
Wo:lada
Dagv:ya
Gv:sgali:sgi

Lusi:n(i)di
E:tsini
Gelayi:ni
Ne:tsini
Midi
E:nili
Tsi:n(i)si
Ne:tsili
Gado:yo2
Lo:si
Tsinilv:gi
Seyo:lini

On April 19, 1863 it became time for the undersigned singers to begin writing.
E:ligi:sadi
Me:li

14 An alternate spelling (di vice de) that may be indicative of an alternate pronunciation.
The "Cherokee Hymn Book" in Sequoyah syllabary was largely the work of the young Cherokee scholar Elias Boudinot (1802–39) and the missionary Samuel A. Worcester (1798–1859). It is still in use, in both North Carolina and Oklahoma, having gone through many editions and having been expanded from 33 hymns, as first issued at New Echota, Ga., in 1829, to 135 hymns plus some doxologies and temperance songs.

The Cherokee, surely one of the most musically gifted of all tribes, possess a unique if moribund Christian hymnology that stands deeply in need of scholarly investigation. Most of the texts and tunes are seemingly of White origin, but many of them do not appear to have survived anywhere else than in the Cherokee churches. All indications point to the adoption by the Cherokees, early in their contact with Christianity, of the practice of singing in four-part harmony.

The singing class reported in this document may have used the ninth edition of the "Cherokee Hymn Book," issued at the Mission Press at Park Hill in 1854 (Hargrett, 1951, pp. 58–59). This edition contained some additional translations by the Cherokee preacher Stephen Foreman (1807–81). The division into "two groups" may be in reference to the customary seating arrangement in Cherokee churches, the males on the right-hand side of the pulpit, the females on the left-hand side, or it may refer to singing in parts. The passage is obscure.

In the column on the document's left is a list of masculine names, in that on the right a list of feminine names. Probably most, if not all, of those listed are young folk. There may be some significance in the fact that in the second entry, dating some 7 months later than the first, more than half of the males had dropped out. One wonders if the Confederate forces were the gainer and a lack of males the reason for a corresponding dip in attendance on the left-hand side of Echota Methodist Mission.

The Mooney notation "Names of singing class" and the query "Army List?" need no comment.
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