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

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INTRODUCTION

THE INOLI LETTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

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

An imposing corpus of these data is contained in a file of manuscripts in the archives of the Bureau of American Ethnology known as "The Inoli Letters," No. 2241-a. Many of these documents are undated, but those that bear dates establish a time range of from 1849 to 1884. The bulk of this material falls within four broad categories: (1) documents pertaining to the civic affairs and cultural climate of Wolfstown, 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 Inâli, 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 Inâll'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 man uscript 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 his⁵lost record ledger, at⁷one^atime 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.

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

THE WOLFTOWN CHRONICLES

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

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

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

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

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

NO. 1.—NOTICE CONCERNING ILLEGAL CUTTING OF TIMBER

(ON RECTO, IN ENGLISH)

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

Oct 2d "1850

W H Thomas agt
per G. T. Mason

(ON VERSO)

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

FREE TRANSLATION

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

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

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

Mooney did not caption this document.

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

(FIRST NOTATION)

a ² nv: yi	7	i: ga	dago: we: la: ni	103	ade: lv [3]	3
March	7	day	I will write it	103	money	3
ani: se: n(i)si [4]		a ² sdé: hl(v)di	niga: hl(i)sda		aye: hli [5]	
cents		to help one, it	it just became		central	

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

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

³ This word aboriginally was for 'bead(s).' It has no plural form. In the published literature it is 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.

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

(SECOND NOTATION)

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

(ON VERSO)

wa:sidaʔna [11]

FREE TRANSLATION

(FIRST NOTATION)

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

(SECOND NOTATION)

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

(ON VERSO)

Wa:sidaʔna

COMMENTARY

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

⁶ The form *a:ʔhv:i* has a wider distribution than that encountered here

⁷ The final syllable is incorrectly written *a*.

⁸ More commonly *unolv:dhani*.

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

¹⁰ Indecipherable.

¹¹ This written variant possibly represents a spoken variant.

Certainly Wolfstown 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 Wolfstown 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)

a?nv:yi March	gha?lv month	9 9	i:ga day	1852 1852	unde:dhiy? :sadi:s?v year
hi?a?sgini this, in particular		ade:lv money		a:n(a)?se?ga they just counted it	aye:hli central
uni:hv they have (hard)		wahhy6:[hi] wolf-place		ga:du:hv town	90 90
ade:lv money	tso:ga?li [see Commentary below]	3 3		ani:se:n(i)si cents	niga:gi then it just totaled
aye:hli central		60 60		ani:se:n(i)si cents	a:hv it (hard) there
tsa:li6:gwa [13] Tsa:li6:gwa	agh(a)dh? :ya he watches it		ghil6:hno: someone, and		udu:li:sg6:sdi he will be wanting
udho:hl(i)sdi [14] to borrow, he			udho:hl(i)sge:sdi he will be borrowing		hi?a? this
uhn6:hisdi [15] to bring it (flex.), he		hi?ges6:sdi this it will be		da:n(a)da:dho:hl(a)sdisg? :hno: they are lending them, and	

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

¹³ 'Big Charley.'

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

¹⁵ The third syllable is erroneously written *he*.

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

(SECOND NOTATION)

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

(THIRD NOTATION)

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

FREE TRANSLATION

(FIRST NOTATION)

March 9, 1852

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

(SECOND NOTATION)

June 22, 1852

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

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

¹⁷ In this form, a condition is implied.

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

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

²⁰ Variant of *ude:dhiy'v:sadi:s'v*. There is a connotation that the year is in progress.

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

²² This word is garbled in the manuscript.

(THIRD NOTATION)

January 4, 1853

They counted the interest from March 4.

COMMENTARY

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

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

Clerk *Sdhi:wi* underlines the word *tso:ga²li* 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 exprión [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 *ga²li* ('in it,' flex.). *Ga²li* (*ga²la* in *Itso:di* and some other dialects) signifies that the tobacco leaves repose in some container such as a pouch. Conceivably this archaism relates to the use of tobacco as a medium of exchange, the 'tobacco is in it' in counting equating with 'all there,' or 'true value.'

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

(ON RECTO)

dehalu:yi	22	i:ga	1852	ude:dhiy'v:sadi:sv
June	22	day	1852	year
a:n(a) ² se ² ga	100 24	ade:lv	3	ani:se:n(i)si
they just counted it	\$124	money	3	cents
i:gá:i	u:wa[s]déd:hl(i)di	niga:ga		ani:sgaye:gv'sda
in all	to help him, it	then it totals		leaders

a : n(a) ?se?ga they just counted it	ayv I	nv : tsiwi [23] I just then said	100 \$1.00	u : wasdé : [hl(i)]digwó [24] to help him, it, just
ye : li can	gv : dhó : hl(i)sdi can borrow it, one		nige : sv : na not	gesé : sdi it will be

(ON VERSO)

dehalu : yi June	22 22	i : ga day	1852 1852	ude : dhiy'v : sadi : sv year
gha? [25] now	hi?a?sgini this, in particular		a : se must	hitsvyal'v : sv : há [26] this I think about you (pl.)
ade : lv money	aye : hli central	hitsi : v : ga [27] this you (pl.) have put (hard)	\$5 \$5.00	ade : lv money
ayv I	ga : l(u)sadi : hi Ga : l(u)sadi : hi	iyú : hno if, and		ge : sgiyadhó : hl(a)sdo?d' to lend me, you (pl.)
gesé : sdi it will be	ghilagwo : now, just	iy'v : dv right	50 50	ani : se : n(i)si cents
á : gwaghuy(v)dí to pay it, I	gesé : sdi it will be	na : sgihno : that, and		sgi : yadhó : l(a)sdan'v you(pl.) having lent me
iyaná : dv [28] month	ge : sv it is		6 6	ade : l'v : hi dollars
dí : gh(i)di to put them down (hard), I			gesé : sdi it will be	

(ON LEFT-HAND BOTTOM CORNER OF PAGE)

dhi : gi
you get them (hard) (imp.)

dige [word not finished]
[?]

FREE TRANSLATION

(ON RECTO)

June 22, 1852

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

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

(ON VERSO)

June 22, 1852

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

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

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

²⁵ Interjection: 'Attention!'

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

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

²⁸ An acceptable variant, as is *iyav' : da*.

(ON LEFT-HAND BOTTOM CORNER OF PAGE)

Take it. [?]

COMMENTARY

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

The name of the importuner presents a fascinating etymological puzzle. Tribal designations (Chickasaw, Tascigi, 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: "Gúlúsutihi wants borrow 5⁰⁰ from Council—WW."

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

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

FREE TRANSLATION

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

²⁸ 'Thoughts,' dominant in Oklahoma.

³⁰ Alternate with *i:gá:i*.

³¹ 'He-Has-Poles-Sticking-In-the-Ground.'

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

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

COMMENTARY

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

The 'they lost them' is probably in reference to *Tsa:li's* household. The Mooney annotation reads: "Charley Tsuwětûñi lost \$8.30."

NO. 6.—EXPLANATION OF THE TREASURER

(ON RECTO)

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

³³ 'At this time.'

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

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

³⁶ Upon this occasion.

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

agilidá:sdisgé:i I was mistaken (w.p.k.)	ayv I	gha? now	na:sgigwo that, just
igá:i all	go:wé:lv:gá I just wrote it	ayv I	tsa:li Tsa:li
tsagolí:ye:dí to read it, you			wa:huhu Wa:huhu

(ON VERSO)

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

(ON RECTO)

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

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

(ON VERSO)

This is *Tsa:li's* letter.

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

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

nv:dáde:gwá November	18ne 18th	i:ga day	1853 1853	ude:dhiy'v:sadi:s'v ^[38] year
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³⁸ The first syllable is erroneously written *t*.

gha? now	hi?a?sgini this, in particular	tsa:li Tsa:li	udho:hl(a)sv he borrowed it	ale and
gvwayohu:sé:lv been lost by him, they	uni:tsadhv ^[39] many	uni:hne?gwo:tsv they increased	tsú?di to put them down (hard), he	
iyánv:do month	ido:hi:dv let you (pl.) and me extend it			
gesv:i it is	\$17 20 \$17.20	ani:se:n(i)si cents	niga:ga then it totals	uni:hne?gwo:tsv they increased
igv:yí:yi first	\$13 \$13	ade:lv money	gesv:gi it was	na:sgihno: that, and
iyánv:do months	ga:ghahnv:hi set, it		niga:hl(i)sda it just became	nigá:dv all
datse:[hi]sdí:sgv ^[40] being renewed by him, they		uni:hne?gwo:tsv:hi the increased, they		unihné:tsvdí ^[41] to tell him, they
\$18 15 \$18.15		ani:se:n(i)si cents	wige:s[di:]lv:di to put them (flex.) in over there, you (dual)	

FREE TRANSLATION

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

COMMENTARY

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

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

³⁹ The second syllable is erroneously written *ne*.

⁴⁰ The second syllable is erroneously written *tsa*.

⁴¹ The second syllable is erroneously written *na*.

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

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

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

hi?a?sgini this, in particular	dagowé:la:ní I will write	guyé:gwo:ní July	8 8	i:ga day
hi?a? this	asdanv:naní:da:sdí to scribble, one	aye:hli central	é:hi it belongs	na:gwó:sginí now, in particular
agwv:nv:ga [42] I am in a hurry	ayv I	sdhi:wi Sdhi:wi	nú:lagwó hurry, you (Imp.), just	
sgíde:lv:há give it (long) to me, you (Imp.)	a:yvhye:hnó I, for		agh(a)sdanv:naní:da:sdí to scribble, I	
a:hni here	tsádi:sdí to leave it (long), you	gesé:sdi it will be	ale nú:lagwó and hurry, you (Imp.), just	
agwv:nv:ga [42] I am in a hurry	na:sgi that	á:ghw(a)do?dí [42] to use it, I	agh(a)sdanv:naní:da:sdí to scribble, I	
ge:sv:i it is	gha? now	na:sgigwo that, just	i:gá:i all	go:wé:lv:gá I just wrote it
ayv I	sdhi:wi Sdhi:wi	ino:li Ino:li	tsago:lí:ye:dí to read it, you	gesé:sdi it will be
				ghilo someone
dí:si:ná:sdv [43] proficient, one		gohwe:li letter	gesé:sdi it will be	ago:li:yé:?v let him read it
na:gwo now	ino:li Ino:li	wiganv:di over there to send it (flex.) one	gesé:sdi it will be	ale and
ghanitsu:hwá:yagwó [44] fishinghawk-place, just		hi?lu?tsv when you come (cond.)	na:sgi that	tsago:lí:ye:dí to read, you
gesé:sdi it will be	na:sgigwo that, just		ghilo someone	atshú:tsagwó boy, just
wunv:di over there to send it (flex.), he	gesé:sdi it will be		hi?a? this	gohwe:li letter
ino:li Ino:li	ugo:lí:ye:dí to read, he		na:sgihno: that, and	i:gátsv:sv [45] when I turn back (cond.)
agihnv:sdi to carry it (flex.), I	gesé:sdi it will be	na:sgi that	i:ga day	í:tsiwó:niá you (pl.) talk
wahhya wolf	ga:dú:v town	gé:i I belong	wahhyó:hi wolf-place	digo:we:lí:sgí [46] clerk, I
agiye:lv:ha I believe		gada:nv:dhe:sgv:i I was thinking		gége:sdisgini:di:ná [47] to go I, in particular, surely

⁴² The second syllable is erroneously written *wo*.

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

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

⁴⁵ The first syllable is erroneously written *hi*.

⁴⁶ "The-one-who-writes-them."

⁴⁷ The penultimate syllable is erroneously written *de*.

gha? now	uní:tsadhí many	gvgilv':ghw(o)dhanv' they loved me	geniyv:wi [48] our people
ani:sgayegv':sdasginfhye:hnó leaders, in particular, for		gvghiné:tshe:l'v' they chose me	nasgwó:di:ná also, surely
v':dhla not	nigá:dv all	yige:sé:i if it were (w.p.k.)	nv:w(a)sdv:gi then it did appear
nigá:dv all	yigi if it is	iyu:sgini if, in particular	ani:sgayegv':sda leaders
a:yvle [49] I, and	na:sgwo also	hi'tsi:sgwádi:hlv' [50] this, when I finish (cond.)	ani:sgwádi:hlv' when they finish (cond.)
anino:hna they tell	niga:hl(i)sdi:sgv happening, it	nu:dale different	dego:hwe:lí:sgí writing them, I
iyú:hl(i)sdo?dí to become, it	hi'gesé:sdi this it will be	adi:na not	o:gin(a)dagó:nadhv:n(e)dí to race, he and I
gesé:sdi it will be	alé:no:hnv' and, furthermore		a'se:ga:tsv: by accident
hi'agigo:na:dh(v)dhanv' [51] this, he outran me		na:sgísgíni that, in particular	idi:gadv':n(e)di to do, we
hi'gesé:sdi this it will be	wahhyó:[hi] wolf-place	ga:dú:v town	alé and
duyu:gh(d)dv right		yino:gádv:hné if he does to us (cond.)	v':dhla not
na:sgigwo that, just	hi'ya:gwadv':[n(e)]di this, if to do, I	hi'gesé:sdi this it will be	aneli:sv when they think (cond.)
a:se perhaps	ghilo someone	o:gin(a)dagó:nadhv:n(e)dí to race, we	adí:na not
a:y'vhye:hnó I, for	tsíga:dhahna:[í] informed, I	yigi if it is	ase:gwó:gwo in vain
ghv':nisgini unless	uní:tsadhí many	gv[gi]go:hwa:dhv:di [52] to see me, they	gesé:sdi it will be
gesé:sdi it will be	udo:hiyu truly	ye:li quite a bit	nogadv':hnisi he just did for us
ná:yo:gó then	o:si good	agiyó:hl(v)di to feel, I	aneli:sv when they think (cond.)
gha? now	na:sgigwo that, just	i:gá:i all	gesé:sdi it will be
ayv I	sdhi:wi Sdhi:wi	ino:li Ino:li	v:gádv I said
gohwe:li letter	guyé:gwo:nf July	tsiwó:ni:hí I just talked	tsago:lí:ye:dí to read, you
sdhi:wi Sdhi:wi		8 8	gesé:sdi it will be
		i:ga day	go:wé:lv:gá I just wrote it
			ayv I

FREE TRANSLATION

I will write this on July 8th.

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

⁴⁸ This is an interesting archaism.

⁴⁹ An elision of *ayv* and *alé*.

⁵⁰ The penultimate syllable is erroneously written *da*.

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

⁵² The last syllable is erroneously written *da*.

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

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

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

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

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(ON RECTO)

duli:sdi [53] September	13ne 13th	i:ga day	1854 1854	hude:dhiy'v:sadi:sv' this year	
gha? now	hi?a'sgini this, in particular	ino:li Ino:li	gvyowela:si I just wrote you	gha? now	
hi?a? this	nuwe:sv:gi he did say	u:gwiyu:hi chief	digé:hyo'dí to teach them, one	tsinu:hl(i)sdanv which it became	
sdhi:wi Sdhi:wi	dila:sge:sgi Dila:sge:sgi		dighuyí:sgihno: Dighuyí:sgi, and	na:sgi that	
udo:hiyú:hi truly		hi:tsihné:tshe this you (pl.) spoke (w.p.k.)		ginú:d(v)di one-fourth	
da:ngv:wahl(o)da they priced them		u:sgwaniyé:[dv]hyehnó: U:sgwaniyé:dv, for		ditsé:hyo'dí to teach you (pl.), he	
udv:hvngi he did state		yitsihné:ga [54] if you (pl.) spoke		hi?a'hno: this, and	
u:sgwaniyé:dv U:sgwaniyé:dv		wa:sdé:l(v)di over there to help him, one		se:lu:gwo corn, just	
digal(a)sdhuwó:hedí to pull off the leaves for him, one		hi'gesé:sdi this it will be		a:nadv they said	
udv:hvngi he did state	ghila then	ho:wa:gwo all right, just		agwadv:hvngi I did state	
na:sgigwo that, just	gesé:sdi it will be	agwadv:hvngi I did state	gha? now	gho:hihno: now, and	
tsigi it is	hi?a? this	nu:sdi the way	hi'gá:dhv:gihá this I hear	u:sdi small	galogé:sv field
gasdhadhú:e'dí to pull fodder for him, one		hi?a? this	tsa:di:sgv what he was talking about	higi this it is	
hi'ade: this one	nuwe:sv:gi he did say	tsusdí:gwohyehnó: small ones, just, for		do:gi:lo:gi [55] fields, we have (plane)	
un(a)dv:hv they stated	un(a)dv:hvngi they did state	tsigo:hno I wonder		nigá:e? that much	
hagilidá:sdhané? this I mistook (w.p.k.)		tsino:gisé:lv I told him		hi?a'hno: this, and	
naniwe:ha now they say	v':dhla not	digó:dhv:sdí to burn them, one		yigi if it is	
yiga:l(a)sdhuwó:v if one pulls off the leaves		an(a)di:sgoi they say (hab.)		gha? now	
ho:wagwo [56] all right, just		duyu:gh(o)dv gwo right, just		da:sgihí'se:li you (pl.) will kill it, mine	
a:se I suppose	na:sgi that	nvda:sgiyá:dhv[gá:]ne:li then you (pl.) will hear about it from me			
iyú:hno if, and	wi:tsalé:nv:hnv' over there when you (pl.) begin	hi'a'hno: this, and		aye:hli central	
di:gwo:hwe:la:nv:hi my writings		dvtsinó:ts(v)dhanf [57] you (pl.) will speak of it		nigá:dv [58] all	

⁵³ There is a superfluous *t* after the second syllable, probably a device to prolong the vowel *li*.

⁵⁴ The last syllable is erroneously written *ge*.

⁵⁵ The spelling of this word, *du:ge:logi*, appears to be garbled.

⁵⁶ The first syllable is written *ha*. This is acceptable, but *ho* is standard.

⁵⁷ The second syllable is erroneously written *tsa*.

⁵⁸ Of a quantity.

nitsv:ne:hahnv then you (pl.) make it (imp.)		na:sgigwo that, just		gesé:sdi it will be
hi?tsa:n(e)tsvdhé:sdigwó:h'yehno this to remember you (pl.), just, for				sginé:tshe:l'v you (pl.) asked me
dagwade:hyo'n'v:i there I taught	da:gwo:hwe:la:n'v:hno there I wrote, and		gha? now	ino:li Ino:li
gohwe:li letter	d'fsginv:ne:lv:há you must send it to me	gho:higwo now, just		t'sa:hlí:ye?lí:[⁵⁹] this week
na:sgi that	tsadv:n(e)di to do, you	gesé:sdi it will be	na:gwóh'yehno now, for	u:sgwalv:hv the time
ga:l(a)sdhuwosd'f:yi to pull off the leaves, one		hitsiyó:isdan'v this you (pl.) stopped		udó:dagwad'v [⁶⁰] all day
na:gwohno: now, and	usv:hiyé:gwo late afternoon,	detso:dvlv mountains, your		na:sgigwo that, just
gesé:sdi it will be	gha? now	ino:li Ino:li	tsagolí:ye:dí to read, you	hi?a? this
ayv I	sdhi:wi Sdhi:wi	go:wé:lv:gá I just wrote it		gohwe:li letter

(ON VERSO, FIRST NOTATION)

gha? now	hi?a?sgini this, in particular	tsi:sgwaní:da Tsi:sgwanf:da	nigá:v [⁶¹] all
gohú:sdi something	gv:né?dí to give you (hard), I		

(ON VERSO, SECOND NOTATION)

hi?a? this	ino:li Ino:li	higoliyé:v:há this you must read	go:hl(i)tsv: understood, it
iyú:hno: if, and		getsó:hli:sdí to understand it (cond.), you	gesé:sdi it will be

FREE TRANSLATION

(ON RECTO)

September 13, 1854

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

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

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

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

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

⁶⁰ The second syllable is erroneously written *go*.

⁶¹ Of several quantities of intrinsically different natures.

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

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

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

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

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

(ON VERSO, FIRST NOTATION)

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

(ON VERSO, SECOND NOTATION)

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

COMMENTARY

Sdhi:wi's gossip 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*, *Díla:sge:sgi* ('One-Who-Tramps'), and *Di:ghuyí:sgi* ('One-Who-Pays')—may be the personnel of a school board of sorts. If the teacher, *U:sgwaníyé:dv* ('He-Observed-It-With-Amazement'), could not begin his tutorial duties until he had his farm work done, it is not clear why it became the duty of *Sdhi:wi* (and probably the other two aforementioned) to assist him. That there was such an obligation is attested to by: "All of you [councilmen] made it that way."

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

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

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

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

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

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

NO. 10.—TAX ROLL AND RECORD OF LOANS

ude:dhivý:sadi:sv́	hi?a?	aghuyv:hv	anaghuyi:sgi [62]	
year	this	paid, it	those who pay	
naní:hv́	1855	nusdv́:gi [63]	naní:hv	
in number, they	1855	the way it was	in number, they	
hi?i:ga:?	anaghuyi:sgv́:gi			45
this all	they were paying			\$0.45
yo:núwo:hlá	a:si	u:ni:lú:la [64]	45	
Yo:núwo:hlá	still	they do not finish	\$0.45	
tsuna:sdala				45
Tsuna:sdala				\$0.45
ul(i)se?go:gi:dv				45
Ul(i)se?go:gi:dv				\$0.45
de:nili				30
De:nili				\$0.30
dalo:nfge				45
Dalo:nfge				\$0.45
dihye:lidó:hi				15
Dihye:lidó:hi				\$0.15
tsumi				[?]5
Tsumi				\$0.[?]5
ne:wadv				35
Ne:wadv				\$0.35
da:gwadi:hi				45
Da:gwadi:hi				\$0.45
hi?a?hno:	u:l(i)sgwalv́:di	aghuyv:hv	hi?a?	
this, and	the time	paid, it	this	
ude:dhivý:sadi:sv́	1856	naní:hv́	a:nihv:sgv	
year	1856	in number, they	put down by them, it (hard)	
hi?a?	i:ga:?	gcho:gi	80	ai:se:n(i)si
this	all	usual amount	80	cents
da:gwadi:hi	a:si	ulu:la	55	
Da:gwadi:hi	still	he does not finish	\$0.55	
	a:ghuyv [65]	a:?ghali:?		
	he just paid	in full		

⁶² The last syllable is erroneously written *gv*.

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

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

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

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

⁶⁶ There is a superfluous *i* following the second syllable.

⁶⁷ There is a superfluous *ha* following the third syllable.

⁶⁸ This name is crossed out.

⁶⁹ The significance of these numerals is conjectural.

⁷⁰ This entry is crossed out.

di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi		adho:la he just borrowed		ade:lv money		de[ha]lu:yi ^[70a] June
2ne 2d	i:ga day	1857 1857	100 30 yi ^[71] \$1.30		u [?] hnegwo:tsv it increased	hi [?] a [?] this
[illegible] [illegible]		adho:la he just borrowed		ade:lv money		de[ha]lu:yi June
			i:ga day		1857 ^[72] 1857	[illegible] [illegible]
tsv:datsi Tsv:datsi	a:si still		ulu:la he does not finish			agwali:hehnó:hiya:si I just had this left over
dehalu:yi June						21 21st
gha [?] now	hi [?] a [?] this	wi:l(i)sini Wi:l(i)sini	adho:la he just borrowed	ade:lv money		aye:hli central
a: [?] hv ^[73] it (hard) there		\$[?].15 \$[?].15	duni:n(o)dhi October	6ne 6th	i:ga day	1858 1858
a:ghuyv he just paid		wi:l(i)sini Wi:l(i)sini		a:ghuyv he just paid		a: [?] ghali: [?] in full
a:si still		hi:sgiani:se:n(i)si ^[74] five cents		ga [?] lohni August		gha [?] lv month
24ne 24th	i:ga day					5 \$0.05
hi [?] a [?] this	gha:tsi Gha:tsi		adhlo:la he just borrowed	ade:lv money		2 \$2.00
nv:dáde:gwá November		10ne 10th		i:ga day		1858 ^[75] 1858
gha [?] now	hi [?] a [?] this	sa:ladi Sa:ladi		ade:lv money	adho:la she just borrowed	96 96
ani:se:n(i)si cents		nv:dáde:gwá November			gha [?] lv month	20ne 20th
i:ga day		ayv I		ino:li Ino:li		go:wé:la:gá I just wrote it
gha [?] now	hi [?] adho:la this he just borrowed		ade:lv money	250 \$2.50		u:l(a)sdu:hi U:l(a)sdu:hi
vsghi:yi December	16ne 16th	i:ga day	1858 1858		a [?] nv:yi March	gha [?] lv month
u:ghuy(v)di to pay, he	20ne 20th	i:ga day	1859 1859		ayv I	ino:li Ino:li
go:wé:la:gá ^[76] I just wrote it						

^{70a} This entry is crossed out.

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

⁷² This entry is crossed out

⁷³ Variant of a:[?]hv:i and a:[?]v:i.

⁷⁴ This word and the preceding one are crossed out.

⁷⁵ This entry is crossed out.

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

FREE TRANSLATION

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

<i>Yo:núwo:hlá</i> (still not finished paying)-----	\$0. 45
<i>Tsuna:sdala</i> -----	\$0. 45
<i>Ul(i)se^ogo:gi: dv</i> -----	\$0. 45
<i>De:nili</i> -----	\$0. 30
<i>Dalo:níge</i> -----	\$0. 45
<i>Dihye:lidó:hi</i> -----	\$0. 15
<i>Tsumi</i> -----	\$0.[?]5
<i>Ne:wadv</i> -----	\$0. 35
<i>Da:gwadi:hi</i> -----	\$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.

<i>De:nili</i> -----	\$0. 2[?]
<i>Tsa:li</i> -----	\$0. [?]

This money he borrowed September 11, 1858.

<i>U:wa:wo:sidi</i> -----	\$0. 95
<i>Tsv:datsi</i> . He borrowed-----	\$0. 85
<i>Du:nawi</i> . He just borrowed money-----	\$0. 35
<i>Dihye:lidó:hi</i> -----	\$0. 45

He just paid in full.

Gu:la:tsi----- \$0. 86

He just paid in full. \$0.85 \$0.95

<i>Ga:gama</i> -----	\$0. 05
<i>U:dan(i)du:da</i> -----	\$0. 45

He just paid in full.

Gano:hiyá:dv----- \$0. 90

Dayunó:hyp:li----- \$0. 95

Wi:l(i)sini Sga:tsi----- \$1. 00

Wa:guli----- \$0. 05

Tso:tsaga. He just borrowed money----- \$0. 30

U:wa^onv. He just paid. He borrowed this
money----- \$1. 00

A^ohw(i)daya:i. He just borrowed money, April
24, 1857----- \$1. 00

Wahhyani:da. He just borrowed money, April
24, 1857----- \$1. 00

Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi. He just borrowed money,
June 2, 1857. With the interest it was this___ \$1. 30
[illegible]. He just borrowed money, June
[illegible], 1857

Tsv:datsi (still not finished paying)

I had this left over, June 21st_____ \$[?]. 21

Now! *Wi:l(i)sini* has just borrowed money
from township funds_____ \$[?]. 15

On October 6th *Wi:l(i)sini* just paid in full.

Wi:l(i)sini has just paid in full the \$0.05 he
still owed, August 29th.

Gha:tsi just borrowed money November 10, 1858. \$2. 00

Now! *Sa:ladi* just borrowed money November
20th_____ \$0. 96

I, *Ino:li*, just wrote this.

Now! *U:l(a)sdu:hi* just borrowed this money

December 16, 1858_____ \$2. 50

He is to repay it March 20, 1859.

I, *Ino:li*, just wrote this.

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

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

NO. 11.—NOTE CONCERNING SOME PIGS

hi?a?	wa:gigu [7?]	we:tshahyanv	gho:hi	i:ga
this	Wa:gigu	over there he sent for you	now	day
12	i:ga	duni:n(o)dhi	gha?lv	si:ghwa
12	day	October	month	pig
ghanó:he?dǐ		tsughanv:sda?li	gv:hnaġe	ayó:hli
to discuss, one		boar	black	small
a:di:ha	wa:gigu	gó:hya?dhahí		a:di:ha
he says	Wa:gigu	wild		he says
udedhiyǐ:dvgwo		só:hihnó:		u:dv:hnv
year-old, just		another, and		he stated
tsughanv:sda?li		dha?li		iyúdedhiyǐ:dv
boar		two		years old
a:di:ha	wa:gigu	uhlv:n(i)dhv		na:yó:go
he says	Wa:gigu	he caught it		that one
na:sgi	gho:hi	ge:li?	ga:na?li	higi
that	now	I believe	gelding	this it is
na:sgi		a:di:ha		
that		he says		

FREE TRANSLATION

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

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

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

NO. 12.—ROLL OF ECHOTA METHODIST MISSION

1856

1856

ani: tsa Ani: tsa	digh(a) dhf: ya he watches them	da: hyvho he hunts them (hab.)
uniyv: sdi: yi to enter, they—place	u: naligó: hi joined together, they	
tsa: ni de: hw(i) si [78] Tsa: ni De: hw(i) si		
ani: tsa Ani: tsa		
da: yv: ha Da: yv: ha		
wa: di Wa: di		
ne: ni Ne: ni		
do: yanf: da Do: yanf: da		
gelayi: ni Gelayi: ni		
tsi[ni]lv: gi Tsi[ni]lv: gi		
gho: latsusdf: ga [79] Gho: latsusdf: ga		
ada: sude: gi 10 [80] Ada: sude: gi 10		
amatsv: na Amatsv: na		
hv: gi Hv: gi		
ghola: ha Ghola: ha		
ne: tsili Ne: tsili		
adi: se Adi: se		
gadola: ha Gadola: ha		
v: wo: diyó: hi V: wo: diyó: hi		
da: li Da: li		
me: li Me: li		
ali: sa 21 Ali: sa 21		

⁷⁸ Marks of several patterns (the dash, the cross), probably attendance tallies, we have omitted.

⁷⁹ The last syllable is erroneously written *a*.

⁸⁰ The purpose of these numerals is unknown. Some appear to be cumulative totals, others do not.

tse:gi tsi ^[81]					
Tse:gi [?]					
i:yátsagá tsi					
I:yátsagá [?]					
ne:si	u:yohu:sv	guwo:ni	5ne	i:ga	1858
Ne:si	she died	April	5th	day	1858
diganv:wedi:sgi tsi					
Diganv:wedi:sgi [?]					
tsi:gh(i)sv	tsi	a:yohu:hi	de[ha]lu:yi	25ne	i:ga
Tsi:gh(i)sv	[?]	he just died	June	25th	day
					1858
sa:li	ali:t ^[82]	tsi	unal:go:hv		ga?lohni
Sa:li	All:t ^[82]	[?]	they joined together with them		August
11	i:ga	1856			
11	day	1856			
gado:yoe tsi	25				
Gado:yoe [?]	25				
ulv:h ^[83] nawo:da	u:yohu:sv				
Ulv:h ^[83] nawo:da	he died				
		tsuniyo:hu:sv:	3		
		which died, they	3		
16	100	56 ^[83]			
16	100	56			
		29			
		29			
hi?a?	gho:lanv:yi ^[84]	na:ní:hv	unali:gó:hi		
this	raven-place	in number, they	joined together, they (hab.)		
					45 ^[85]
					45
					12 ^[86]
					12
		ani:wahhyó:hi			33
		wolf-place, they			33
					11
					11
		ani:wo:di			55
		paint, they			55
		ani:tse? ^[87]			26
		new ones			26
		ani:tse?			1
		new ones			1
		tsuniyo:[hu:]sv:			2
		which died, they			2

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

⁸² The "they" that predicated the form of the verb following were seemingly *Sa:li* and *Gado:yoe*. *Sa:h* *Ali:t^[82]* (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 *t^[87]*.

	21	10			3
	21	10			3
					4
					4
			u:hli		5
			U:hl		5
			ali:sa		
			All:sa		
hi?a?			unalí:go:hv́		tsun(a)dehl(o)gwa:sdí
this			they joined together with them		which to learn, they
			uniyv:sdí:yi ^[88]		
			to enter they, place		
lu:yi			digh(a)dhí:ya		
Lu:yl			he watches them		
t̄sa:n(i)sini					
T̄sa:n(i)sini					
se:li		72			
Se:ll		72			
e:ni					
E:ni					
wi:l(i)sini					
Wi:l(i)sini					
sa:dayi					
Sa:dayi					
wa:guli					
Wa:guli					
gv̄yu:tse		a:yohu:hi	ga?lohni	27	1858
Gv̄yu:tse		she just died	August	27	1858
ila:gwi					
Ila:gwi					
ni:gutse:gi		10			
Ni:gutse:gi		10			
sa:li					
Sa:ll					
di:gini					
Dl:gini					
sina:sdv					
Sina:sdv					
ne:li					
Ne:li					
sa:ladi ^[89]					
Sa:ladi					
wini		u:yohu:sv			
Wini		she died			
ts̄sini					
T̄sini					
sa:li					
Sa:ll					

⁸⁸ The sibilant is erroneously written *sa*.

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

wa:huhu	60		
Wa:huhu	60		
a:yigi			
A:yigi			
e:ligi	20		
E:ligi	20		
u:yohu:la		u:yohu:sv	
U:yohu:la		he died	
tsiwe:li:si	4	40	20
Tsiwe:li:si	4	40	20
o:hni			
O:hni			
de:gi			
De:gi			
a:hy'vi:nf		u:yohu:sv	
A:hy'vi:nf		he died	
u:l(i)sdu:hi			
U:l(i)sdu:hi			
so:ʔgini			
So:ʔgini			
ne:n(i)si		u:yohu:sv	
Ne:n(i)si		she died	
u:dan(i)du:da			
U:dan(i)du:da			
du:na:yi		u:yohu:sa	
Du:na:yi		dead, he	
li:si		u:yohu:sa	
Li:si		dead, she	
e:wi		u:yohu:sa	
E:wi		dead, she	
u:lu:tse			
U:lu:tse			
ne:n(i)si		u:yohu:sv	
Ne:n(i)si		she died	
tsi:naʔde:i		u:yohu:sv	
Tsi:naʔde:i		he [she?] died	
tсени:si		u:yohu:sv	
Tсени:si		she died	
go:hisdi:sgi			
Go:hisdi:sgi			
tsi:nayi			
Tsi:nayi			
du:na:yi		30	
Du:na:yi		30	
tsi:lawi:se			
Tsi:lawi:se			
tsu:we:lu:ga			
Tsu:we:lu:ga			
da:gi			
Da:gi			
ge:hida			
Ge:hida			

we:gi					
We:gi					
la:yi:si					
La:yi:si					
sa:ladu					
Sa:ladu					
wa:lení:da ^[90]					
Wa:lenf:da					
ayv:adhu:gá					
Ayv:adhu:gá					
a:li	40				
A:li	40				
wa:ligini					
Wa:ligini					
de:wi	u:yohu:sv				
De:wi	he died				
lu:wáyí:sá					
Lu:wáyí:sá					
sa:dayi					
Sa:dayi					
ge:hyádho:gí	u:yohu:sv				
Ge:hyádho:gi	he died				
ne:tsini					
Ne:tsini					
a:li wi:l(i)sini					
A:li Wi:l(i)sini					
e:tsini					
E:tsini					
tse:gwádi:hí					
Tse:gwádi:hí					
wahhyaní:da					
Wahhyaní:da					
tsa:li					
Tsa:li					
sga:hlló:sgi	50				
Sga:hlló:sgi	50				
yi:si					
Yi:si					
tse:si	10				
Tse:si	10				
e:lígi:saní:da					
E:lígi:saní:da					
lu:wáyí:sá	10				
Lu:wáyí:sá	10				
lusi:n(i)di					
Lusi:n(i)di					
gwwahyú:daá	55	de[ha]lu:yi	27ne	i:ga	1858
Gwwahyú:daá	55	June	27th	day	1858
da:hw(i)sini					
Da:hw(i)sini					

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

ali:sa				
Ali:sa				
gudagi:sgi	59	30		
Gudagi:sgi	59	30		
lu:si	duli:sdi [⁹¹]	23ne	i:ga	18{??}
Lu:si	September	23rd	day	18{??}
ge:hyahi [⁹²]				
Ge:hyahl				
e:lini				
E:lini				
tsi:guwi				
Tsi:guwi				
gv:sgali:sgi				
Gv:sgali:sgi				
tsini	6			
Tsini	6			
tsini		gho:higi [⁹³]		si:olf:go:hnv
Tsini		now, this it is		still a part of, she
wahhyó:hi	unalf:go:hv			a:ne:hv
wolf-place	they joined together with them			living, they
	tsu:na[né]l(o)di [⁹⁴]			
	Christians, they			
ino:li	ahl(i)tsidó:hv:sgf			
Ino:li	one who preaches			
tša:li	digh(a)dhf:ya	20		
Tša:li	he watches them	20		
gawo:hflo:sgi	digh(a)dhf:ya			
Gawo:hflo:sgi	he watches them			
tso:tsaga				
Tso:tsaga				
a:tsi				
A:tsi				
ne:ni				
Ne:ni				
vyanu:la	[u:]yohu:sv			
Vyanu:la	he [she?] died			
o:hni				
O:hni				
hv:gi [⁹⁵]				
Hv:gi				
tse:gi	u:yohu:sa			
Tse:gi	dead, he			
e:gi				
E:gi				
	e:gi	[u:]yohu:sv		
	E:gi	she died		
du:ni	10			
Du:ni	10			

⁹¹ There is a superfluous *i* following the second syllable.

⁹² The second syllable is erroneously written *hyo*.

⁹³ A contraction of *gho:hi higi*.

⁹⁴ No truly satisfying translation of this word for 'Christians' is possible.

⁹⁵ The final syllable is erroneously written *di*.

de:nili				
De:nili				
saya				
Saya				
si:gawi				
Si:gawi				
ali:sa				
All:sa				
tsini	u:yohu:sv			
Tsini	she died			
usae:dv	u:yohu:sv	20		
Usae:dv	he [she?] died	20		
goyí:ne?				
Goyf:ne?				
galv:da?yi				
Galv:da?yi				
anúwe:gf				
Anúwe:gf				
a:yéle:f				
A:yéle:f				
a:ni				
A:ni				
dvdí:sdi [96]	20			
Dvdí:sdi	20			
idígv:n(e)dí				
Idígv:n(e)dí				
si:li				
Si:li				
dayunó:hyv:lí				
Dayunó:hyv:lí				
dan'v:n(i)galv:hí				
Dan'v:n(i)galv:hí				
a:li da:dayi				
A:li Da:dayi				
nigawi				
Nigawi				
o:l(u)tsegi [97]				
O:l(u)tsegi				
[s]dhi:wi	u:yohu:sv			
Sdhi:wi	he died			
[tsu]niyo:hu:sv:	6	18	28	
which died, they	6	18	28	
ulí:go:hn'v	gha:ga?li	gha?lv	1855	
he [or she] joined	February	month	1855	
tsu:dasi				
Tsu:dasi				
gwe:dh(i)si	30			
Gwe:dh(i)si	30			
guwo:ni	12	analí:go:hv:gá	1857	
April	12	they just joined	1857	

⁹⁶ We assume this name to be a variant of *Dhledi:sdi*.

⁹⁷ The second syllable is erroneously written *li*.

nv:tsi				
Nv:tsl				
saligi:ni				
Saligt:ni				
lo:si				
Lo:sl				
do:tsi:lá:wi:gi	de[ha]lu:yi	27ne	i:ga	1858
we just met	June	27th	day	1858
da:sgigidi:hi	alí:go:hv:gá			
Da:sgigidi:hi	he just joined			
e:l(i)si				
E:l(i)sl				
do:tsu:lé?hnv				
Do:tsu:lé?hnv				
wa:dʷ [98]		36		ino:li [99]
Wa:dʷ		36		Ino:li
a:ghuya		10		
A:ghuya		10		
sa:mi		30		
Sa:mi		30		
tsuló:gilá				
Tsuló:gilá				
ne:n(i)si		40		
Ne:n(i)sl		40		
tsá:n(i)la:tsí				
Tsá:n(i)la:tsí				
duli:sdi [1]	23		i:ga	1858
September	23rd		day	1858
wini				
Wini				
aligi:ni				
Aligt:ni				
e:ni				
E:ni				
ne:tsili				
Ne:tsili				
ga:su:dhé:sgi				
Ga:su:dhé:sgi				
tsa:ts(i)				
Tsa:ts(i)				
	gho:lanv:yí		u:naligó:hi	6
	raven-place		joined together, they	6
			tsu:n(a)sdi	12
			small ones	12
	[ani:wo:di:hi ?]			7
	[paint-place, they ?]			7
			[tsu:n(a)sdi ?]	10
			[small ones ?]	10

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

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

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

	12 83			
	12 83			
	100 3			
	100 3			
	10			
	10			
tsuniyo:hu:sv:	10		903	
which died, they	10		93	
adí:na		iy'v:digegawo:v'hi		21
not		been baptised, they		21
	31 02			
	31 02			
	43			
	43			
111111111111				
111111111111				
111111111111	tsu:n(a)sdi	11	7	23
	small ones	11	7	23
	6			
	6			

FREE TRANSLATION

1856

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

Tsa:ni De:hw(i)si

Ani:tsa

Da:yv:ha

Wa:di

Ne:ni

Do:yaní:da

Gelayi:ni

Tsinilv:gi

Gho:latsusdí:ga

Ada:sude:gi 10

Amatsv:na

Hv:gi

Ghola:ha

Ne:tsili

Adi:se

Gadola:ha

V:wo:diyó:hi

Da:li

Me:li

Ali:sa

Tse:gi

I:yátsagá

Ne:si—she died April 5, 1858

Diganv:wedi:sgi

Tsi:gh(i)sv—he just died June 25, 1858

They joined the Church August 11, 1856

Sa:li Ali:tsa

Gado:yoe

25

Ulv:hnavo:da—he died

Those who died—3

16 100 56

29

This is the number of members from Raven:

Adults 45

Children 12

From Wolftown:

Adults 33

Children 11

From Painttown:

Adults 55

Children 6

New members:

Adults 26

Children 1

Those who died 2

21 10 3

4

5

U:hli

Ali:sa

These are the members of the Sunday School:

Lu:yi—Deacon

Tsa:n(i)sini

Se:li

72

E:ni

Wi:l(i)sini

Sa:dayi

Wa:guli

Gvyu:tse—she just died August 27, 1858

Ila:gwi

Ni:gutse:gi

10

Sa:li

Di:gini

Sina:sdv

Ne:li

<i>Sa:ladi</i>			
<i>Wini</i> —she died			
<i>Tsini</i>			
<i>Sa:li</i>			
<i>Wa:huhu</i>	60		
<i>A:yigi</i>			
<i>E:ligi</i>	20		
<i>U:yohu:la</i> —he died			
<i>Tsiwe:li:si</i>	4	40	20
<i>O:hni</i>			
<i>De:gi</i>			
<i>A:hyvi:ni</i> —he died			
<i>U:l(i)sdu:hi</i>			
<i>So:²gini</i>			
<i>Ne:n(i)si</i> —she died			
<i>U:dan(i)du:da</i>			
<i>Du:na:yi</i> —dead			
<i>Li:si</i> —dead			
<i>E:wi</i> —dead			
<i>U:lu:tse</i>			
<i>Ne:n(i)si</i> —she died			
<i>Tsi:na²de:i</i> —he [she ?] died			
<i>Tseni:si</i> —she died			
<i>Go:hisdi:sgi</i>			
<i>Tsi:nayi</i>			
<i>Du:na:yi</i>			
<i>Tsi:lawi:se</i>			
<i>Tsu:we:lu:ga</i>			
<i>Da:gi</i>			
<i>Ge:hida</i>			
<i>We:gi</i>			
<i>La:yi:si</i>			
<i>Sa:ladu</i>			
<i>Wa:lení:da</i>			
<i>Ayò:adhu:gá</i>			
<i>A:li</i>	40		
<i>Wa:ligini</i>			
<i>De:wi</i> —he died			
<i>Lu:wáyí:sá</i>			
<i>Sa:dayi</i>			
<i>Ge:hyádho:gí</i> —he died			
<i>Ne:tsini</i>			
<i>A:li Wi:l(i)sini</i>			
<i>E:tsini</i>			

<i>Tse:gwáddi:hí</i>		
<i>Wahhyaní:da</i>		
<i>Tsa:li</i>		
<i>Sga:híló:sgi</i>	50	
<i>Yi:si</i>		
<i>Tse:si</i>	10	
<i>E:lígi:saní:da</i>		
<i>Lu:wáyi:sá</i>	10	
<i>Lusi:n(i)di</i>		
<i>Gwahyí:daá</i>	55	June 27, 1858
<i>Da:hv(i)sini</i>		
<i>Ali:sa</i>		
<i>Gudagi:sgi</i>	59	30
<i>Lu:si</i>	September 23, 18[??]	
<i>Ge:hyahi</i>		
<i>E:lini</i>		
<i>Tsi:guwi</i>		
<i>Gv:sgali:sgi</i>		
<i>Tsini</i>	6	
<i>Tsini</i> is still a member		
Christian members who live in Wolftown:		
<i>Ino:li</i> —Local Preacher		
<i>Tsa:li</i> —Deacon	20	
<i>Gawo:hílo:sgí</i> —Deacon		
<i>Tso:tsaga</i>		
<i>A:tsi</i>		
<i>Ne:ni</i>		
<i>Vyanu:la</i> —he [she ?] died		
<i>O:hni</i>		
<i>Hv:gi</i>		
<i>Tse:gi</i> —dead		
<i>E:gi</i>		
<i>E:gi</i> —she died		
<i>Du:ni</i>	10	
<i>De:nili</i>		
<i>Saya</i>		
<i>Si:gawi</i>		
<i>Ali:sa</i>		
<i>Tsini</i> —she died		
<i>Usae:dv</i> —he [she ?] died	20	
<i>Goyi:ne?</i>		
<i>Galv:da²yi</i>		
<i>Anúwe:gi</i>		
<i>A:yéle:i</i>		

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

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

² 'Fox.'

³ This word also means 'tax,' as well as 'central authority,' 'middle.'

⁴ 'Big Owl' (*Eubo virginianus saturatus*).

⁵ Meaning unknown.

⁶ 'They-Which-Are-Piled-Up.'

FREE TRANSLATION

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

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

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

COMMENTARY

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

Since *Ino:li* at the time of this meeting was the clerk of the township in which it was held, one would expect him to have been present upon the occasion. Whether *Diga:hl(i)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.

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

NO. 14.—*GADU:G(I)[]?* REGULATIONS

(ON RECTO)

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

⁷ 'He Arose.'

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

tsanv:nehe:sdi which to give you it (flex.), he		30 30		tsu:sv:hidv overnights
nada:hvtsi:sgv:hna not be collecting, he		hi?gesé:sdi this, it will be		tsv:sagwo yourself, just
tsa:ghuy(v)di to pay, you		hi?gesé:sdi this, it will be	ale and	gohwe:li paper
hi:nv:nehe:sdi this must give him (flex.), you		duyu:gh(o)dv:i right		iyadv:n(e)di to be done by, one
gesv:i it is	gha? now	hi?a?hno: this, and	ugh(a)dhi:ya it waits for him	do:tsu:lé?hnv Do:tsu:lé?hnv
da:tsvda over there you (pl.) just said		do:tsu:lé?hnv Do:tsu:lé?hnv	a?sganv:tsv:ha one does wrong	sa:gwo one
u:ghuy(v)di to pay, he	aye:hli central	da:tsvda over there you (pl.) just said		gha? now
ghiló:hno: someone, and	u:hliye:lidé:hi[⁹] one who has time	ge:sv it is	2 2	ale and
4 4	gesé:sdi it will be	ale and	a:se:gwo free	gesv:i it is
u:tse:li:ga his	40 40		ani:se:n(i)si cents	dida:hvtsi:sgi one who collects them
ani:sgaye:g'v:sda ^[10] leaders		wuló:hisdí over there to go, it		iga:dv:hno in amount, and
ani:se:n(i)si cents		wuló:hisdí over there to go, it		gesé:sdi it will be
				20 20
				anisgayegv:sdó:i leaders-place

(ON VERSO)

dida:hvtsi:sgi
one who collects them

ghano:he:ha
it tells

FREE TRANSLATION

(ON RECTO)

August 27, 1857

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

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

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

(ON VERSO)

This tells of the collector.

⁹ Idiom for 'one who comes to trial.'

¹⁰ The last syllable is erroneously written *do*

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

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

NO. 15.—TSO:TSAGA¹¹ SELLS HIS HOUSEHOLD FURNISHINGS

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

¹¹ 'The-Three-Which-He-Ate.'

¹² Idiomatic for 'where I was living.'

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

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

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

¹⁴ 'It'—the household furnishings collectively.

¹⁵ 'Katy.'

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

¹⁷ See footnote 12, p. 50.

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

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

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

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

(ON RECTO)

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

(ON VERSO)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁴ Known to the Whites as John Large. Usually written *Tsá:n(t)la:tsi*.

²⁵ The first syllable is erroneously written *ga*.

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

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

FREE TRANSLATION

On February 17 we met in Wolfstown. I asked *Tsa:li Ga:hwi:li*, and he told me: "This I told *Tsá:n(i)la:tsí*, that I was going to be passing by Wolfstown, 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 Wolfstown and all those who live here in the towns in the Cherokee country.

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

1858

COMMENTARY

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

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

NO. 18.—THE CLERK WARNS DEBTORS

(FIRST NOTATION)

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

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

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

²⁹ 'Maggie.'

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

(SECOND NOTATION)

guwo:ni April	3ne 3rd	i:ga day	go:wé:la:gá I just wrote it	ayv I	gha:tsi Gha:tsi
digo:we:lí:sgi clerk, I		go:wé:la:gá I just wrote	he:ts(a)dhu:g'v:i this owing, you		sa:li [31] Sa:li
\$so:gwo one	ade:l'v:hi dollar	tso'i three-	gi:nú:d(v)dhi fourths		di:sdé:l(v)di to help them, on
i:gá:i in all	no:gwo now	tsá:ghuy(v)dí to pay, you	niga:hl(i)sda it just became		gho:higwo now, just
i:ga day	tsá:ghuy(v)dí to pay, you		tsine:gi I just said	ayv I	ne:gi Ne:gi

(THIRD NOTATION)

guwo:ni April	3ne 3rd	i:ga day	1858	ude:dhiy'v:sadi:s'v year	
go:wé:la:gá I just wrote it		he:ts(a)dhu:g'v:i this owing, you		u:ni:lo:sv [32] U:ni:lo:sv	
\$hi:sgh(a)sgo:hi fifty-		hi:sgígha:lí:? five full		ani:se:n(i) [si] cents	
nu:hl(i)sdv it became	tsine:gi I just said	ayv I	ne:gi Ne:gi	ayv I	gha:tsi Ghat:si
go:wé:la:gá I just wrote it	digo:we:lí:sgi clerk, I				

(FOURTH NOTATION)

gha? now	hi?a? this	a:gílu?tsí she just came to me	digo:we:lí:sgi clerk, I	
agwo:hlv I am sitting		igv:yí:tsv in front of	a:gílu?tsí she just came to me	
do:tsu:lé?hnv Do:tsu:lé?hnv	ne:gi [33] Ne:gi	aní:ghahwí [34] the Deer Clan	é:hi she belongs to	
du:da:dhú:gv is owed them, she	\$5.30 \$5.30	gha? now	hi?a? this	a:gílu?tsí she has just come to me
digo:we:lí:sgi clerk, I		agwo:hlv I am sitting	igv:yí:tsv in front of	
a:gílu?tsí she has just come to me	do:tsu:lé?hnv Do:tsu:lé?hnv	ne:gi Ne:gi	aní:ghahwí the Deer Clan	
é:hi she belongs		du:da:dhú:gv is owed them, she	de:gáhnno:gá she just brought them (flex.)	
gohwe:li papers		\$5.30 \$5.30	ani:se:n(i)si cents	

³¹ 'Sally.'

³² 'They-Passed-By.'

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

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

FREE TRANSLATION

(FIRST NOTATION)

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

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

(SECOND NOTATION)

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

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

(THIRD NOTATION)

On April 3, 1858, I just wrote this.

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

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

(FOURTH NOTATION)

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

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

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

Mooney does not identify this document.

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

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

1858 1858	gha? now	gho:ʔi:ga ^[35] now, day	digo:hwe:lí:sgi clerk, he	a:gíluʔtsí he just came to me
gu:dagi:sgi ^[36] Gu:dagl:sgl		u:ni:lo:sv U:ni:lo:sv	hiʔa? this	nitsawe:sv:gi then you did say
sa:yani ^[27] Sa:yani		a:gh(a)dhaha he knows	a:gwaghuyv: I paid it	sa:yani Sa:yani
u:da:dhú:gv is owed, he		a:gwághuyv:hv ^[38] I paid it	tsadv:hnv:gi you did state	sa:yani Sa:yani
tsahno:yagwá:n(v)dha not I know		a:di:ha he says	hiʔa? this	nigaweʔa he says
u:ni:lo:sv U:ni:lo:sv		dagwadv:hnv:gi ^[39] over there I did state		u:do:hiyú:sgo truly so (interro.)
ts(a)dhu:ga you owe him		tsudi:dagwo:se:lv:gi from over there they said to me		tsadi:hno not, and
tsidhú:gv:gi he just owed me		uwa:sv himself	tsfyo:se:lv:gi I did tell him	a:di:ha he says
sa:yani Sa:yani	ade:lv money	ditsiyadho:l(a)sdanv I loaned him them		hi:sgadu fifteen
ani:se:n(i)si cents		u:wa:nv:tshine:lv it piled up	5 5	ani:se:n(i)si cents
nigá:dv all	20 20	ani:se:n(i)si cents	tsuʔdi to put them (hard) down, one	
hiʔa? this	nu:we:sé:i then he said (w.p.k.)	ula:sdaʔa ^[40] Ula:sdaʔa		gane:ga ^[41] pelts
na:sgi that	ditsaghú:yv:e:lv over there he has paid you	a:hnvwo clothing		agiye:hw(i)sv I sewed it
na:sgi that	doditsa[nv:]ne:lá ^[42] he sent them (flex.) to you	ula:sdaʔa Ula:sdaʔa		na:sgi that
u:ni:lo:sv U:ni:lo:sv	gado:ʔhno why, and	tsinú:sdi which the way		tsin(i)tsawe:sv what you said
agh(a)say(a)sdoʔdi to examine it, one		niga:hl(a)sda it just became	tsuʔdi to put them (hard) down, one	
e:ts(a)dhu:gv been owed by you	20 20	a:sé:hno but		hiʔgaweʔa this he says
25 25	ani:se:n(i)si cents	a:di:ha he says		u:ni:lo:sv U:ni:lo:sv

FREE TRANSLATION

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

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

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

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

³⁶ Meaning unknown.

³⁷ Meaning unknown; possibly a loanword from English.

³⁸ The third syllable is erroneously written *gi*.

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

⁴⁰ 'He-Steps-Upon-It.'

⁴¹ The first syllable is erroneously written *gi*.

⁴² The first syllable is erroneously written *de*.

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

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

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

NO. 20.—REGULATIONS CONCERNING MARRIAGE

gha? now	hi?a? this	gho:hi now	ude:dhiyv:sadi:sv year	nu:sdi the way
a:nihné:gi they just spoke	ale and	danu:gh(o)da they just decided	a:nisdá:yi:dá they just pushed it	
1859 1859	a?n(a)sgv:dhi May	gha?lv:hv [43] month	20 20th	da:nilá:wi:gi they just met
tsu:n(a)del(o)gwasdí:yi which to learn, they-place		nahná:ni [44] there		gv:ghiné:tsi they spoke to me
digo:we:lí:sgi clerk, I	ghilo someone	ude:svvsdí:hi to get married, he		gohwe:li paper
u:nagí:sdi to go (flex.), it	a:sgaya man	gá?luge:sdí must come, he	ganagí:sge:sdí will be getting it (flex.), he	
gi:nú:d(v)di one-fourth	25 \$.25	a:ghuyí:[s]ge:sdí to be paying, he		ghila then
a:suyé:sge:sdí will be choosing it, he		gesé:sdi it will be	di:da:tsv:sdí:sgi one who marries them	
hi?a? this	elí:sge:sdí to be thinking, he	a:hl(i)tsidó:hv:sgí one who preaches		ale and

⁴³ Variant of *gha?lv*.

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

digó:hwe:lí:sgí		elí:sge:sdí	na:sgwo	na:sgí
clerk, he		to be thinking, he	also	that
tsu:tsv:sdo?dí		gesé:sdi	hi?a?	tsalagi
to marry them, he		it will be	this	Cherokee
tsu:natsv:sdi	hi?a?hno:		gv:hnage	yigi
to marry, they	this, and		black	if it is
tsu:natsv:sdi	yigi		asé:hyehnó:	se:gi:yu
to marry, they	if it is		because	improper
di:galé:n(v)do?dí	higi		gv:hnage	a:sgaya
to separate them, one	this it is		black	man
v:tsa	gohwe:li	ganv:ne?dí	yigi	hi?a?
not	paper	to give him (flex.), one	if it is	this
a:sgaya		gálu?ge:sdí	ganagí:sge:sdí	
man		must come, he	will be getting it (flex.), h	
hi?a?	a:sgaya	gálu?ge:sdí	ganagí:sge:sdí	
this	man	must come, he	will be getting it (flex.), he	
gohwe:li	a:se	uhé:sdi [45]		du:do:hv
paper	must	to have it (hard), he		her name
na:gwóhno:	go:hwé:lo:dí	di:natshe		nu:hl(i)sdanv
now, and	to write, one	joined, they		it became
di:natshe	niga:hl(i)sda	a:di:sge:sdi		du:n(a)do:hv
joined, they	it just became	he will be saying		their names
u:hagedó:hi	go:hwé:le:sdí	na:sgí		di:natshe
thick-place	it will be written	that		joined, they
ge:sv	ani:gh(a)dhahe:sdi	na:sgihno:		ga:dó:hi
it is	will know, they	that, and		land-place
u:ni:hv	na:sgwo	ghané:isdo?dí		higi
having it (solid), they	also	to mention it, one		this it is
na:sgí	aniná:gi?lv	ale	tsu:ne:tsi	ane:hv
that	cohabitants	and	their children	living, they
na:sgí	un(a)tse:li:go	a:nehe:sdi		i:tsú:la
that	their property	they will live		both
ani:gh(a)dhahe:sdi				
will know, they				

FREE TRANSLATION

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

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

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

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

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

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

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

(ON RECTO)

gha? ⁷ now	na:gwo now	go:wé:lv:gá I just wrote it	ayv 1	o:si [46] O:si	a?n(a)sgv:dhi May
a:sgwadi:sgv finishing, it		ghwalv:yi [47] Qualla-place			nvdáy:we:nv:dv she came from over there
wini [48] Wini	tsudó:idv which named, she	tsige:sv:gi [49] which it was			a?n(a)sgv:dh May
gha?lv month	28ne 28th	i:ga day	u:hl(i)sgwadi:si she just finished		a:hni here
dhani:si [50] Tennessee	na:sgihno: that, and	tsuhnuwó:sdi to wear them, she			ganoyv:gv buried, she
tsu:g'v:wahl(o)di [51] expensive		nu:hl(i)sdanv:gi then it did become			adí:na then

⁴⁶ 'Sudatory.'

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

⁴⁸ 'Winy.'

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

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

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

do:tsaghuyv [52] we paid for them	na:sgihno: that, and	ghane:sagi box
uni:sido?di to push it, they	dunilv:sda:sf they just worked	yvwine:gv person, White
na:sgwo also	tsu:gv:wahl(o)di cost	2 2 ade:lv:hi dollars
tsu?i:ne third	aye:hli central	na:sgihno: that, and
tsada:n(v)dhehi:sa?nv you (pl.) must think it over	uhlf:sdi quickly	wi:tsv:no:hv:si over there I just told you (pl.) nvdiga:hl(i)sdo?di then over there to become, it
u:tsadh(v) much	digalv:hw(i)sda:n(e)di to work, one	uyo:sdo?da:nelv:i it was ruined
tsu:gv:wahl(o)di cost	tsudu:lihá which he wants	na:hna there
nvdatsi:[n(a)di to be sent (hard), it	gesé:sdi it will be	iyv:dv far
ghwalv:yi Qualla-place	hi?tsé:hi this, you (pl.) live	tsu:gv:wahl(o)di cost
witsv:ne:tsi over there I just asked you (pl.)	o:sd(v) good	itsv:hna dé:gi you (pl.) caretakers
ayv I	o:si O:si	nvdá:tsaghu:y(v)di over there to pay you (pl.)
do:tsaghuyv we paid for them	a:yvhyehno: I, for	tsuhnwo:sdi to wear them, she
du:da:dhu:ga she is owed	dhani:si Tennessee	hi?a?hno: this, and
u:sgwadidé:na about to finish, she	ghvni:ge:sv evident	nuwá:ne:lv then she made it
duhno:hi:se:lv:gi she did tell them	ge:sv:i it is	na:gwo now
digu:dhline:sgi [56] Digu:dhline:sgi	ne:gi Ne:gi	u:sawi [53] U:sawi
ada:na?nv store	agidu:tsi my uncle	de:hw(i)si [54] De:hw(i)si
ge:sv:gi it was	1 1	ade:lv money
i:gá:i the amount	20 20	ade:lv money
á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one	gohwe:li paper	tsidhu:ga she owes me
hi?a?gwo: this, just	i:gin(i)yv:ghanv been put on it	tsidhu:ga he owes me
nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi	ada:na?nv store	ge:sv:gi it was
	u:v:hv:gi:hno: she did state, and	u:sgwadidé:na about to finish, she
	a:se but	duhno:hi:se:lv:gi she did tell them
	v:dhla not	digu:dhline:sgi [56] Digu:dhline:sgi
	hi?a?sgini this, in particular	ada:na?nv store
	ge:sv:i it is	ge:sv:gi it was
	uhlf:sdi quickly	i:gá:i the amount
	yiditsf:yohisé:lv if you (pl.) will turn them over to her	á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
	a:ne:na they just went	hi?a?gwo: this, just
	tsino:hi [57] Tsino:hi	nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this, just
		nv:tsi [56] Nv:tsi
		ada:na?nv store
		ge:sv:gi it was
		i:gá:i the amount
		á:ghuy(v)do?di to pay with, one
		hi?a?gwo: this

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

(ON VERSO)

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

(ON RECTO)

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

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

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

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

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

(ON VERSO)

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

COMMENTARY

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

⁵⁸ 'He-Just-Won.'

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

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

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

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

⁶⁰ 'Peter.'

⁶¹ 'The-Wolf-Stands.'

⁶² This word, which we cannot translate, appears to be a part of the name of *Wahhyagado:ga*. If it were a geographical designation, it would be *Gana:giló:hi*. *Gana:giló:* would be 'at the home of *Gana:gilv*.'

⁶³ Although there is a conventional spelling, *dhad(a)du:* for this word (as is seen in the manuscript), it is usually pronounced as we have written it.

⁶⁴ 'Spider'—"from a fancied resemblance in appearance" (Mooney, 1900, p. 524). The term in Oklahoma, for both 'clock' and 'watch', is the loanword *wa:ts(v)*.

⁶⁵ Properly this should be *diga:sale:na* ('coats').

⁶⁶ *Di:hyadlo* in Oklahoma.

⁶⁷ 'Shirt' is probably intended. The word indicates that it is a garment worn upon the upper part of the body.

⁶⁸ The difference between 'one shall owe' and 'if one shall owe' lies in the "high" tone of the syllable *ge* in the latter.

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

FREE TRANSLATION

June 21, 1858

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

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

And that is all.

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

The auction will be July 5th.

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

COMMENTARY

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

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

⁶⁹ Variant of *gesé:sdi*.

⁷⁰ Probably a contraction of *Gani:dawahya* ('Young Wolf').

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

⁷² Variant of *niga:hl(i)sda*.

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

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

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

1859	hi?a?	gho:hi	ude:dhiy'v:sadi:s'v	de[hə]lu:yi
1859	this	now	year	June
gha?lv	27ne:sine	i:ga	go:wé:la:gá	hi?a?
month	27th	day	I just wrote it	this
dunilv:hw(i)s[da:]si		utsalé:sdi	ani:tsaga	
they just worked		wheat	they just cut	
do:yaní:da [73]		u:tse:lí:ga	tso?iyá'ghalí:?	
Do:yaní:da		bis	three, full	
hisgí:ne [74]	a?ghan'v:sadhí		gawo:hílo:sgí [75]	
fifth	not quite full		Gawo:hílo:sgí	
u:tse:lí:ga	utsalé:sdi	so:gwo	wu:sili [76]	1
bis	wheat	one	bushel	1
gu:dagi:sgi	u:tse:lí:ga		utsalé:sdi	
Gu:dagl:sgí	bis		wheat	
tso?iyá'ghalí:?	nvghí:ne		a?ghan'v:sadhí	
three, full	fourth		not quite full	
dino?d'v:[i]hí [77]	na:ni:hv		tsu:g'v:wahl(o)dí	
they just bundled them (flex.)	in number		cost	
iy'v:wasdí:hagwó [78]	50	ts(i)sgili [79]	u:tse:lí:ga	
wages per man	\$0.50	Ts(i)sgilí	bis	
a?ghali:?	a:tsiló:sdi	u:wa?nv [80]	u:tse:li [81]	
full	bushel-bucket	U:wa?nv	bis	

⁷³ 'Young Beavers.'

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

⁷⁵ 'One-Who-Climbs-Over-It.'

⁷⁶ A loanword not in usage in Oklahoma.

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

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

⁷⁹ This is probably the *Ts(i)sgilí:ga* who was Chief of Wolfstown. His working with the *Gadu:g(i)* would in no way be jarring to Cherokee concepts of authority.

⁸⁰ 'Feather.'

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

a [?] ghali:ʔ	ghanv̄:sadhigwó [82]	dhali:ne	do:tsu:lé [?] hnv
full	not quite full, just	second	Do:tsu:lé [?] hnv
u:tse:li	a [?] ghali:ʔ	ghanv̄:sadhigwó	dhali:ne
his	full	not quite full, just	second
ga:gama [83]	u:tse:li	a [?] ghali:ʔ	ghanv̄:sadhigwó
Ga:gama	his	full	not quite full, just
dhali:ne	di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi [84]	u:tse:li	a [?] ghali:ʔgwo
second	Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi	his	full, just
di:ghuyí:sgi	u:tse:li	utsalé:sdi	a [?] ghali:ʔ
Di:ghuyí:sgi	his	wheat	full
dhali:ne	gha[nv̄:]sadhigwó		do:yani:da
second	not quite full, just		Do:yani:da
tso [?] iyá [?] ghali:ʔ	a:tsiló:sdi		agh(i)dhu:ga
three, full	bushel-bucket		I owe him
tsu:nv:sv̄:hihno:	tso [?] iyá [?] ghali:ʔ	3	gu:dagi:sgihno:
themselves, and	three, full	3	Gu:dagi:sgi, and
na:sgi	yaná:sgwo [85]	i:gá:i [86]	3
that	also	in all	3
3	ts(i)sgili	1	di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi
3	Ts(i)sgill	1	Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi
3	tsu:nv:sv	do:tsu:lé [?] hnv	1
½	themselves	Do:tsu:lé [?] hnv	1
u:wa [?] nv	1	3	tsu:nv:sv
U:wa [?] nv	1	½	themselves
gawo:hilo:sgi	2	hi [?] a [?]	utsalé:sdi
Gawo:hilo:sgi	2	tbis	wheat
dunilv̄:hw(i)sda:ne:l̄v̄		agwaghuyv:v	hw
they worked		I paid it	
			\$9.25
			\$9.25

FREE TRANSLATION

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

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

Gawo:hilo: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)sgili's wheat..... 1 full bushel-bucket.

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

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

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

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

⁸⁴ 'One-Who-Turns-Them-Over.'

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

⁸⁶ The last syllable is erroneously written *ti*.

⁸⁷ The third syllable is erroneously written *su*.

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

I owe *Do:yaní:da* for 3 full bushel-buckets, and also *Gu:dagi:sgi* for a total of 3 full ones; *Ts(i)sgili* for 1; *Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi* for 1; *Ga:gama* for 1½; *Do:tsu:lé²hno* for 1½; *U:wa²no* for 1½; *Di:ghuyi:sgi* 1½; *Gawo:hílo: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:hílo: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

hi²a²hno: this, and	wini Wíni	a:hni here	tsedó:hvgí [88] where she did walk	agilú²tshe:lv:gi she did come to me
nigwve:sgv:gi she did say		e:ni [89] E:ni	agino:sgi she just stole from me	ade:lv money
udv:hnv:gi she did state	ha:gh(a)sasda watch, you (imp.)		tsiyose:lv:gi I did tell her	gho:hi:hno: now, and
ghvhníge:sv́ apparent		niga:hl(i)sdi:ha it becomes		da:gwadi:[hi] [90] Da:gwadi:hi
du:go:hv he saw them	dha²li two	ade:lv money	sgo: ten	ani:se:n(i)si cents
ge:se² it was (w.p.k.)	agitsv́:dv next day		elawo:di [91] Yellow Hill	na:hna thero
e:do² [92] she walks	e:ni E:ni	u:hyátsv:gwó kerchief, just	duwá:tsanu:lv:gi she did have them (hard) wrapped up	
agi²tsi my mother		detsí:yadho:l(a)sdv́ I had loaned them to her		

88 Idiom for 'where she did come.'

89 'Annie.'

90 'Catawba-killer.'

91 Literally 'Earth-paint.' One of the townships on Qualla Boundary where the Agency was later located.

92 Idiom for 'she is there.'

ganf:li		da:ghv?si		dha?li		ade:lv
finally		she just gave them (hard) to me		two		dollars
ge:sv:gi		di:sdé:hl(v)dí		\$420 [93]		ayv
it was		to help it, they		\$4.20		I
digo:we:lí:sgi		go:we:la		guyé:gwo:ní		gha?lv
clerk, I		I write it		July		month
9ne	i:ga	1859	ayv	ino:li		5 [94]
9th	day	1859	I	Ino:li		5

FREE TRANSLATION

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

"Watch her," I told her.

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

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

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

I, *Ino:li*

COMMENTARY

This police blotter memorandum of crime and detection in old Wolfstown is sparse in details, but we nevertheless are able to trace the story line. At some time before her trip to Tennessee and her death there, *Wini* filed a complaint against a certain *E:ni* for theft of \$4.20. (On the Terrell Roll there are several individuals whose names, after making allowance for Terrell's spelling, resolve to *E:ni*; we cannot be sure as to which one was the accused.) *Da:gwadi:hi*⁹³ 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 Wolfstown 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."

⁹³ The 4 is not plainly made and therefore questionable.

⁹⁴ The significance of this numeral is not evident.

⁹⁵ *Da:gwadi:hi* was a conjuror. Some of his formulas are found in Mooney (MS., No. 1838, 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 July	gha?lv month	9 9	i:ga day	1859 1859
ale:nv:dv it began				
digalv:hw(i)sda:ne:lv things accomplished		higi this it is	nigá:dv all	á:ʔse:sdí to count, one
tsu:gv:wahl(o)di property		wini Wini	u:tse:lí:ga hers	h?aʔhno: this, and
si:ghwa pigs	agi:si female	gv:hnage black	aní:da young ones	tsoʔi three
na:ní:hv in number, they	agi:si female	soʔayó:hli another small one		ga:náʔlihno: gelding, and
ulagó:hv:sdá fall	dhaʔli two	iyú:dedhiyʔ:dv years-old		gesé:[s]di it will be
go:hli:sdí:yihnó: to recognize it, one, and		gali:sdagi:sv cropped ear		aʔghalí:dv filled
go:hli:sdí:yi to recognize it, one	a:gh(a)dhi:sgi right side			

(SECOND NOTATION)

hi?aʔhno: this, and	tsini ^[66] Tsiní	ade:lv money	igv:yi first	10 \$.10	hi?aʔhno: this, and
na:gwo now	u:lo:soʔnv passed by, it	ahhnuwo:gi clothes		100 \$1.00	gado:hno ground, and
u:n(i)siʔdí:yi ^[67] to lie down, one-place		20 \$0.20	ghahl(i)se:tsíhno: sugar, and		50 \$0.50

FREE TRANSLATION

(FIRST NOTATION)

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

1. Young black female pigs, three in number.

2. Another small female.

3. A gelding—will be 2 years old in the fall. One can recognize it by a full ear crop on the right side.

(SECOND NOTATION)

This *Tsini* has already paid----- \$0. 10

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

Clothes----- \$1. 00

A pallet in the yard----- \$0. 20

Sugar----- \$0. 50

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*

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

FREE TRANSLATION

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

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

I, *Ino:li*.

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

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

guyé:gwo:nf 29 1859
July 29 1859

gha? now	hi?a?sgini this, in particular	ani:n(o)da they just put up for sale	uwo:su:lo:tsv: he survived
wini Wini	u:tse:lí:ga hers	iyu:hl(i)sdanv formerly	udu:dalv:ne he became responsible
		tsi:sghwa (w.p.k.)Tst:sghwa	
A?hw(i)daya:i A?hw(i)daya:i	a:da:go:nad(v)da he just outbid	tsula:sgi [99] pot	hi?a:gigwo [1] this she just took it (hard), just
li:di Li:di	a:dhayo:ha she just asked for it	100 [2] \$1.00	
do:yunf:si Do:yunf:si	a:da:go:nad(v)da he just outbid	a:sano dress	tso:tsaga Tso:tsaga
udu:dalv:ne he became responsible (w.p.k.)	75 \$0.75	u:ghuyv:hv he paid it	75 \$0.75
diga:hl(i)lú:gi Diga:hl(i)lú:gi		a:da:go:nad(v)da he just outbid	a:sano dress
uwo:ha:se:hi Uwo:ha:se:hi		udu:dalv:ne he became responsible (w.p.k.)	\$150 \$1.50
a:hyví:nf A:hyví:nf	a:da:go:nad(v)da he just outbid	a:sano dress	udu:dalv:ne he became responsible (w.p.k.)
da:dhlvda Da:dhlvda	235 \$2.35		
ge:hyahi Ge:hyahi	a:da:go:nad(v)da she just outbid	a:sano dress	tse:gh(i)sini Tse:gh(i)sini
udu:dalv:ne he became responsible (w.p.k.)	225 [3] \$2.25		
A:li A:li	a:da:go:nad(v)da she just outbid	a:sano dress	ino:li Ino:li
udu:dalv:ne he became responsible (w.p.k.)			
550 [3] \$5.50			
a:da:go:nad(v)da he just outbid	tsu:sghwadhi plns	a:hyví:nf A:hyví:nf	25 \$0.25
			7 [4] \$0.07
			[?] [5] [?]
505 \$5.05			11 \$0.11
15 \$0.15		1506 \$15.06	
18 \$0.18			12 \$0.12

⁹⁹ 'One which has legs,' a large kettle used for boiling over an open fire. The word also means 'alligator.'

¹ The first syllable is erroneously written *hw*.

² This numeral is crossed out.

³ This numeral is crossed out.

⁴ These numerals are obviously totals of some sort.

⁵ This numeral is illegible.

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

36.15

\$36.15

degé:tsidhu:v:gá	dhadl(a)du:	íyanv:do	tsú:naghu:y(v)dí
they just owe	twelve	months	which to pay, they

gesé:sdi	uwo:su.lo:tsv
it will be	he survived

100

\$1.00

\$837

\$8.37

100

\$1.00

13.62

\$13.62

200

\$2.00

2.50 50

\$2.50 \$0.50

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

° This numeral is crossed out.

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

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

10 This numeral is crossed out.

ino:li				
Ino:li				
A?hw(i)daya:i	a:hv	tsula:sgi	a:gi	
A?hw(l)daya:i	it (hard) was here	pot	she just took it (hard)	
li:di	ade:l'vgwo		tsugi:so	
Li:di	money, just		which she got it (hard) (cond.)	
na:sgi:ya	ayv			
allke	I			
ino:li	o:siyu	gha?lv [11]	ga?lohni	21ne
Ino:li	good, very	month	August	21st
i:ga	1860		a:ghuyv	a:?'ghali:?
day	1860		he just paid it	in full
guyé:gwo:ní		gha?lv	30	i:ga
July		month	30	day
tso:tsaga	udu:dal'v:nel'v		ayv	u:do:hiyu
Tso:tsaga	he has become responsible		I	truly
+ [12]	tso:tsaga			
+	Tso:tsaga			
diga:hl(i)lú:gi	aghuy'v:a[ho?]'sí		75	450
Dlga:h(l)lú:gi	he just paid all of it		\$0.75	\$4.50
uwo:ha:se:hi	udu:dal'v:nel'v		o:sdv	nigv:ga
Uwo:ha:se:hi	he has become responsible		good	he just made it
75	a:si	ani:se:n(i)si		
\$0.75	yet	cents		
a:hyví:ní	a:tsi:dhu:v:ga [13]	u:ghuyv:hv	a:hyví:ní	245
A:hyví:ní	he just owed	he paid it	A:hyví:ní	\$2.45
a:ghuyv	ga:yó:hli [14]	ga?lohni	2ne	i:ga
he just paid it	small amount	August	2d	day
90	ago:la:da	ga?lohni		[?] [15]
\$0.90	he just lessened it	August		[?]
da:dhlvda	udu:dal'v:nel'v	ayv		u:do:hiyu
Da:dhlvda	he has become responsible	I		truly
+ da:dhlvda				
+ Da:dhlvda				
ge:hyahi	a:tsi:dhu:v:ga [16]	a:ghuyv		a:?'ghali:?
Ge:hyahi	she just owed	she just paid		in full
guyé:gwo:ní	gha?lv	30ne	i:ga	1860
July	month	30th	day	1860
				225
				\$2.25
tse:gh(i)sini	udu:dal'v:nel'v	ayv		u:do:hiyu
Tse:gh(l)sini	he has become responsible	I		truly
+	tse:gh(i)sini			
+	Tse:gh(l)sini			
a:li	a:tsi:dhu:v:ga [16]	u:ghuy(v)di	niga:hl(i)sda	
A:li	she just owed	to pay, she	it just became	
\$3.37		a:li		550
\$3.37		A:li		\$5.50

¹¹ The first syllable is erroneously written *tsi*.

¹² We assume that this cross has the force of an official stamp, or seal.

¹³ The penultimate syllable is erroneously written *hv*.

¹⁴ There is a superfluous final *li*.

¹⁵ This date is illegible.

¹⁶ The penultimate syllable is erroneously written *hv*.

ino:li Ino:li	udu:dal'v:nel'v he has become responsible	ayv I	u:do:hiyu truly
guyé:gwo:ní July	gha?lv month	30ne 30th	i:ga day
a:hni here	wahhyó:hi wolf-place	sga:dú:gi township	ge:sv it is
ga:n(o)dhanv he put it up for sale	du:n(a)dó:v name, they		uwo:su:lo:ts'v:hi survivor
guyé:gwo:ní July		29 29th	1859 1859
iyán'v:do months	guyé:gwo:ní July	29 29th	1860 1860
ayv I	digo:we:lí:sgi clerk, I		dhadl(a)du: twelve
go:hwé:lo:dí to write, one	niga:hl(i)sda it just became	u:ghuy(v)dí:yi to pay, she	ino:li Ino:li
ade:lv money	ú:ghuy(v)dí to pay, she	100 [17] \$1.00	sa:gwo one
a:ghuyv she just paid	sa:li Sa:li		a:?'ghali:? in full
idígv:n(e)dí Idígv:n(e)dí	deg'v:wu:gh(o)da:sí they just decided for him	sa?du eleven	ade:lv money
a:nitsú:la [18] both of them	wini Wini	udhu:nv he owed	tso?i three
ú:ghuy(v)dí to pay, he	hi:sgi five	ade:lv money	su:dalí:ne sixth
dhaliné:hno: second, and	su:dali six	iyán'v:do months	hi:sgi five
su:dalí:ne sixth	ayé:hli half	ga?lohni August	15 15th
tse:gh(i)sini Tse:gh(i)sini	adu:dal'v:v:gá [19] he just became responsible	ayv I	u:do:hiyu truly
a:ghuyv he just paid it	a:?'ghali:? in full	+ +	tse:gh(i)sini Tse:gh(i)sini

(THIRD PAGE)

1859

1859

idígv:n(e)dí Idígv:n(e)dí	tsi:dhuv:ga he just owes me	gani:sadi:sdi bed	u:tse:li his
niga:hl(i)sda it just became	dhadl(a)du twelve	iyán'v:do months	ú:ghuy(v)dí to pay, he
guyé:gwo:ní July	gha?lv month	29ne 29th	i:ga day
ghane:gi he just agreed	ayv I	go:wé:la:gá I just wrote it	ino:li Ino:li
			gha? now

¹⁷ This numeral is crossed out.¹⁸ The helrs.¹⁹ The first syllable is erroneously written *u*.

hi?a?hno: this, and	idígv:n(e)dí Idígv:n(e)dí	u:ghuyv:hv ^[20] he has paid it	a:sgo: ten
ade:lv money	[?] ^[21] [?]	u:do:hiyu truly	a:gigi:sv:gi I did receive it (hard)
ino:li Ino:li	gha? now	hi?a?hno: this, and	tsu:lú:lv:gi which he did not finish
a:ghuyv he just paid it	a:ghali:? in full	idígv:n(e)dí Idígv:n(e)dí	ga?lohni August
gha?lv month	2ne 2d	i:ga day	1860 1860
hi?a? this	a?hw(i)daya:i A?hw(l)daya:i	nu:ghuyv:dvgwó not, he paid, just	tsula:sgi pot
ahv:ga she just put it (hard) down	li:di Li:di	a:se?dhlv ^[22] one counted it	ade:lv money
nani:gv the amount			
hi?a?hno: this, and	gu:la:tsi Gu:la:tsi	ayé:hli half	ú:ghuy(v)dí to pay, he
sa:gwo one	ade:lv money	100 \$1.00	a:gi he just took it (hard)
diga:hl(i)lú:gi Díga:hl(i)lú:gi	u:ghuyv:hv he has paid it	tso?gi:nú:d(v)di three-fourths	75 \$0.75
do:yuní:si Do:yuní:si		u:ghuyv:hv ^[23] he has paid it	75 \$0.75
a:hyví:ní A:hyví:ní		u:ghuyv:hohnv he has paid it in full	260 \$2.60
hi?a?sgini this, in particular	ga:se?ga I just counted it	nigá:dv all	tsu:g'v:wa:hl(o)dí value
nu:hl(i)sadanidó:lv it happened	wini Wini	u:tse:li hers	ga:n(a)di:dhvvnv ^[24] it is put up for sale
\$38.80 \$38.80			
hi?a?hno: this, and	du:hnigi:sv sent away, them	ade:lv money	da:tsi:dhv:gv he extended credit to several places
nigá:dv all	gá:[l(a)]tsugi:so?hnv ^[25] already he received all of them (hard)		
hi?igá:v ^[26] this, in amount	\$24.10 \$24.10		
a:síhno: yet, and	degé:tsidhu:g'v they owe	hi?a? this	nigá:v ^[26] amount
			\$9.905 \$9.95

(AT BOTTOM OF PAGE)

hi?a? this	de:gi De:gi	a:tsi:dhv:g'v:i she was owed	wini Wini	udhu:ts'v:hi over, she	gho:hi now
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²⁰ The final syllable is erroneously written *u*.

²¹ This word is garbled.

²² The final syllable is erroneously written *lv*.

²³ The penultimate syllable is erroneously written *o*.

²⁴ The final syllable is erroneously written *dv*.

²⁵ The penultimate syllable is erroneously written *sa*.

²⁶ The final syllable is erroneously written *hv*.

i:ga day	ga?lohni August	16ne 16th	i:ga day	hi?a? this	nu:sdi was	niga:hl(i)sda it just became
a:hni here			digo:we:li:sgi clerk, I			ino:li:yi Ino:li-place
ahhnuwo:gi clothing			ada:nv:ne:l'v:hi given, it			na:sgwo also
ahhnuwo:gwo cloth, just			unv:di to put it (flex.) down, he		1 1	ade:lv money
60 60	ani:se:n(i)si cents			i:ga:i in all		tsu:gv:wa:hl(o)di worth
ayv 1	gha:tsi Gha:tsi			go:wé:la:ga I just wrote it		1859 1859

FREE TRANSLATION

(FIRST PAGE)

July 29, 1859

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

A?hw(i)daya:i was the highest bidder for a pot. *Li:di* asked for it and took it with her..... \$1. 00

Do:yuni:si was the highest bidder for a dress. *Tso:tsaga* became surety for the debt..... \$0. 75

Diga:hl(i)lu:gi was the highest bidder for a dress. *Uwo:-ha:se:hi* became surety for the debt..... \$1. 50

A:hyvi:ni was the highest bidder for a dress. *Da:dhlvda* became surety for the debt..... \$2. 35

Ge:hyahi was the highest bidder for a dress. *Tse:gh(i)sini* became surety for the debt..... \$2. 25

A:li was the highest bidder for a dress. *Ino:li* became surety for the debt..... \$5. 50

A:hyvi:ni was the highest bidder for some pins..... \$0. 25

\$0. 07

[?]

\$5. 05 \$0. 11

\$0. 15 \$15. 06

\$0. 18 \$0. 12

\$0. 12 \$0. 13

\$1. 00 \$8. 55 \$14. 09

\$24. 15 \$15. [?]4

\$36. 15

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

\$1. 00 \$8. 37

\$1. 00 \$13. 62

\$2. 00

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

(SECOND PAGE)

Wini's bed, worth \$1.00, just became *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*.

A²hw(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:hyvi:ni owed. *A:hyvi:ni* has paid it—\$2.45. He paid a small amount August 2nd. He just decreased the debt \$0.90, August [?]. *Da:dhlvda* has become surety. I approved it + *Da:dhlvda*.

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

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

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

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

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

Both of them decided that *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.

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

A²hw(i)daya:i did not pay for the pot. *Li:di* just brought it back. The amount of money was counted.

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

Diga:hl(i)lú:gi paid \$0.75.

Do:yuni:si paid \$0.75.

A:hyví: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 Wolfstown 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 Cherokeees to adhere to the principle of ultimogeniture has not been fully reported.

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

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

(FIRST NOTATION)

gha? now	hi?a? this	ude:dhiv: sadhi:sv year	aye:hli [27] tax	a:ghuy(v)di to pay it, one
u:sgwalv:v it became time		hi?a?hno: this, and	nu:sdi way	otsada:n(v)dhv:li we just thought
ha:hni this here	wahhyó:hi wolf-place	o:tsé:hi we resides	o:gi:hni:sv:gagwó we lack it, just	ade:lv money
na:sgihno: that, and		iyú:sdi why	itsv?lú?tsi we just came to you	dala:la Dala:la
ge:tsvlv:ghw(o)di [28] your beloved ones		itsv:hné:tshe:lv we asked you		uhne?gwo:tsv: the increased
hf:ya:dho?hihi you donor		ghv:nigwo plain, just	do:gado:v our names	do:go:hwe:le:sdi they will be written
ayv I	o:sigwo good, just	tsi:ye:lv:na I just approved	agiv:wiyuhi I, chief	ts(i)sgili Ts(i)sgili
u:dv:hmv [29] he stated	a:yvhno: I, and	da:dhlvda Da:dhlvda	o:sigwo good, just	tsi:ye:lv:na I just approved
ayv I	ino:li Ino:li	aye:hli tax	tsigh(a)dhí:ya I watch it	gha? now
otsi:dhayo:hiv we asked for it		sa:gwo one	ade:lv money	di:sgiyó:hi?se?di to turn it over to us, you
gesé:sdi it will be		iyó:tsi:i this many of us	do:gado:v our names	da:go:hwe:lv we wrote them
a:hni here	wahhyó:hi wolf-place	sga:dú:gi township	ge:sv it is	guyé:gwo:ní July
29ne 29th	i:ga day	1859 1859		
ts(i)sgilié:gwa Ts(i)sgilié:gwa				50 \$0.50
da:dhlvda Da:dhlvda				100 [30] \$1.00
dihye:lidó:hi Dihye:lidó:hi				
ino:li Ino:li				
ga:gama Ga:gama				50 \$0.50
tsá:n(i)la:tsí Tsá:n(i)la:tsí				100 \$1.00
- [31] gu:dagi:sgi - Gu:dagi:sgi				45 \$0.45
di:ghuyí:sgi Di:ghuyí:sgi				5 \$0.05
wahhyaní:da Wahhyaní:da				20 \$0.20

²⁷ Another meaning of this protean word.

²⁸ There is a superfluous syllable *i* following *ge*.

²⁹ The last syllable is erroneously written *hna*.

³⁰ As usual, *Ino:i*'s use of the dollar sign is erratic.

³¹ We do not know the significance of this mark.

u:dhlvna:da		25
U:dhlvna:da		\$0.25
wa:sida?na	u:wa?nv	50
Wa:sida?na	U:wa?nv	\$0.50
idigv:ne:hi		100
Idigv:ne:hl		\$1.00
ila:gwi [22]		40
Ila:gwi		\$0.40
a?hw(i)daya:i		100
A?hw(i)daya:i		\$1.00
do:yunf:si		40
Do:yunf:si		\$0.40
tsuló:gilá		25
Tsuló:gilá		\$0.25
tsa:li		20
Tsa:li		\$0.20
a?hw(i)gado:ga		100
A?hw(i)gado:ga		\$1.00
tsi:sghwa		25
Tsi:sghwa		\$0.25
- tso:tsaga		
- Tso:tsaga		
amasu:yl		100
Amasu:yl		\$1.00
- sgwa:gini		100
- Sgwa:gini		\$1.00
- da:sgigidi:hi		
- Da:sgigidi:hl		
- gu:la:tsi		
- Gu:la:tsi		

(SECOND PAGE)

25 [33]	saló:laní:da	100
25	Saló:laní:da	\$1.00
26	tsá:nílo:sí	\$1.00
26	Tsá:nílo:sí	\$1.00
27	tsutso:ladha	
27	Tsutso:ladha	
28	gawo:hílo:sgí [24]	65
28	Gawo:hílo:sgí	\$0.65
29	wi:l(i)sini	\$1.00
29	Wi:l(i)sini	\$1.00
30	wa:wóle:sidi [25]	
30	Wa:wóle:sidi	
31	dalo:níge	
31	Dalo:níge	
32	i:sadi:hi	50
32	I:sadi:hi	\$0.50
33	wa:gigu	25
33	Wa:gigu	\$0.25

²² The second syllable is erroneously written *na*.

²³ On the second page *Ino:li* numbers the names.

²⁴ The first syllable is erroneously written *go*.

²⁵ The third syllable is erroneously written *la*.

34	dhlv:datsi			
34	Dhlv:datsi			
35	da:gwadi:hi			\$100
35	Da:gwadi:hi			\$1.00
36	dhlvdi:sdi			25
36	Dhlvdi:sdi			\$0.25
37	ule:yoe			100
37	Ule:yoe			\$1.00
38	sa:mi			\$100
38	Sa:mi			\$1.00
39	a:tsi			25
39	A:tsi			\$0.25
40	de:nili			50
40	De:nili			\$0.50
41	ulá:sda?á			
41	Ulá:sda?á			
42	tsuna:sdala			
42	Tsuna:sdala			
43	do:tsu:lé?hmv			50
43	Do:tsu:lé?hmv			\$0.50
44	du:nawi	a:ghuyv	a:?ghali:?	25 [36]
44	Du:nawi	he just paid it	in full	\$0.25

digo:we:lí:sgi	wahhyó:hi	sga:dú:gi	ge:sv	na:hna
clerk, I	wolf-place	township	it is	there

ge:a	go:wé:la:gá	ga?lohni [37]	guyé:gwo:ní	gha?lv
I belong	I just wrote it	August	July	month

29ne	i:ga	1859	ayv	ino:li
29th	day	1859	I	Ino:li

dalo:níge
Dalo:níge

le:si
Le:si

tso:tsaga
Tso:tsaga

yo:núwo:hlá
Yo:núwo:hlá

ghanohi:yadv
Ghanohi:yadv

47
47

1859	1860	1861	1 1 1 1	1862 [38]
1859	1860	1861	1 1 1 1	1862

(SECOND NOTATION)

hi?a?	wi:l(i)sini	tsiyadho:hl(a)sda	ade:lv	\$50
this	Wi:l(i)sini	I just lent him	money	\$0.50

nv:dáde:gwá	7ne	i:ga	u:ghuy(v)dí:yí
November	7th	day	to pay it, he

³⁶ This numeral is crossed out.

³⁷ *Ino:li* appears to have forgotten to cross out August, written in error.

³⁸ We do not know the significance of these dates.

nv:dáde:gwá November	28ne 28th	i:ga day	a:silu:la yet, he does not finish	a:ghuyv he just paid it
aye:hli tax	50 \$0.50	nv:dáde:gwá November	24ne 24th	i:ga day
u:wa?nv [30] U:wa?nv	a:ghuyv he just paid it	a:?ghali:? in full	nv:dáde:gwá November	24ne 24th
i:ga day				25 [40] \$0.25
do:tsu:lé?hmv Do:tsu:lé?hmv		a:ghuyv [41] he just paid it		50 \$0.50
u:dhlvna:da U:dhlvna:da		a:ghuyv [42] he just paid it		25 \$0.25
de:nili De:nili	a:ghuyv he just paid it	de:nili De:nili	a:ghali:tša he just made it full	
hi?[gh(a)]sgo:hi fifty		ani:se:n(i)si cents		50 \$0.50
tsá:n(i)la:tsí Tsá:n(i)la:tsí				10 \$0.10

(THIRD NOTATION, BOTTOM OF PAGE, UPSIDE DOWN)

hi?a? this	la:hw(i)sini La:hw(i)sini	a:hv:ga [43] he just put it (hard) down	ade:lv money	75 \$0.75
vsghi:yi December	gha?lv month	17ne 17th	i:ga day	go:lada [44] he just reduced it
ayv I	digo:we:lí:sgi clerk, I	a:le and	ade:lvtsigh(a)dhí:ya money, I watch it	ino:li Ino:li

1860

1860

hi?a? this	idigv:ne:hi Idigv:ne:hi	a:hv:ga he just put it (hard) down	ade:lv money	100 \$1.00
vsghi:yi December	gha?lv month	25ne 25th	i:ga day	1860 1860

(FOURTH NOTATION, BOTTOM OF PAGE, UPSIDE DOWN)

hi?a? this	a:ghuyv he just paid it	ule:yoe Ule:yoe	si:ghwa pig	ga:n(o)dhanv he put it up for sale
a:tsi:dhu:gv been owed by him	100 10 \$1.10	sa:gwo one	ade:lv money	a:sgo ten
ani:se:n(i)si cents	vsghi:[yi] December	25ne 25th	i:ga day	1860 1860

FREE TRANSLATION

(FIRST NOTATION)

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

³⁰ This name is crossed out.

⁴⁰ This numeral is crossed out.

⁴¹ The first syllable is erroneously written *u*.

⁴² The first syllable is erroneously written *u*.

⁴³ The second syllable is erroneously written *v*.

⁴⁴ The final syllable is erroneously written *ga*.

is why we come to you, beloved *Dala:la*. We asked you to donate the increased amount. Our names will be written plainly.

"I, Chief *Ts(i)sgili*, believed it was the right thing," he stated.

"And I, *Da:dhlvda*, believed it was the right thing."

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

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

1. <i>Ts(i)sgilié:gwa</i>	\$0. 50
2. <i>Da:dhlvda</i>	\$1. 00
3. <i>Dihye:lidó:hi</i>	
4. <i>Ino:li</i>	
5. <i>Ga:gama</i>	\$0. 50
6. <i>Tsá:n(i)la:tsí</i>	\$1. 00
7. <i>Gu:dagi:sgi</i>	\$0. 45
8. <i>Di:ghuyí:sgi</i>	\$0. 05
9. <i>Wahhyaní:da</i>	\$0. 20
10. <i>U:dhlvna:da</i>	\$0. 25
11. <i>Wa:sida^ona U:wa^onv</i>	\$0. 50
12. <i>Idigv:ne:hi</i>	\$1. 00
13. <i>Ila:gwi</i>	\$0. 40
14. <i>A^ohw(i)daya:i</i>	\$1. 00
15. <i>Do:yuní:si</i>	\$0. 40
16. <i>Tsuló:gilá</i>	\$0. 25
17. <i>Tsa:li</i>	\$0. 20
18. <i>A^ohw(i)gado:ga</i>	\$1. 00
19. <i>Tsi:sghwa</i>	\$0. 25
20. <i>Tso:tsaga</i>	
21. <i>Amasu:yi</i>	\$1. 00
22. <i>Sgwa:gini</i>	\$1. 00
23. <i>Da:sgigidi:hi</i>	
24. <i>Gu:la:tsi</i>	
25. <i>Salo:laní:da</i>	\$1. 00
26. <i>Tsá:nilo:sí</i>	\$1. 00
27. <i>Tsutso:ladha</i>	
28. <i>Gawo:hílo:sgí</i>	\$0. 65
29. <i>Wi:l(i)sini</i>	\$1. 00
30. <i>Wa:wole:sidi</i>	
31. <i>Dalo:níge</i>	
32. <i>I:sadi:hi</i>	\$0. 50
33. <i>Wa:gigu</i>	\$0. 25
34. <i>Dhlv:datsi</i>	
35. <i>Da:gwadi:hi</i>	\$1. 00
36. <i>Dhldi:sdi</i>	\$0. 25

37. <i>Ule:yoe</i>	\$1. 00
38. <i>Sa:mi</i>	\$1. 00
39. <i>A:tsi</i>	\$0. 25
40. <i>De:nili</i>	\$0. 50
41. <i>Ula:sda²a</i>	
42. <i>Tsuna:sdala</i>	
43. <i>Do:tsu:le²hno</i>	\$0. 50
44. <i>Du:nawi</i> he paid in full	\$0. 25

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

Dalo:nige

Le:si

Tso:tsaga

Yo:núwo:hlú

Ghanohi:yadv

47

(SECOND NOTATION)

On November 7th I just lent *Wi:l(i)sini* \$0.50, to be repaid on November 28th. He has not yet finished paying. He paid his tax \$0.50, on November 24th.

U:wa²nv paid in full, \$0.25, November 24th.

Do:tsu:le²hno paid \$0.50.

U:dhlvna:da paid \$0.25.

De:nili paid. *De:nili* paid it in full, \$0.50.

Tsá:n(i)la:tsí----- \$0. 10

(THIRD NOTATION, BOTTOM OF PAGE, UPSIDE DOWN)

La:hw(i)sini just reduced his debt. He put down \$0.75 December 17th.

I, *Ino:li*, clerk and treasurer.

1860

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

(FOURTH NOTATION, BOTTOM OF PAGE, UPSIDE DOWN)

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

COMMENTARY

We infer that taxes had been raised on the Thomas lands on Qualla Boundary and that the Cherokee were hard pressed to pay them—

hence the appeal to James W. Terrell, Thomas' factor at the Qualla trading post.

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

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

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

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

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

NO. 29.—THE CLERK PAYS WOLFTOWN OFFICIALS

(FIRST NOTATION)

á:ghuy(v)dfí to pay, one	tsiniga:hl(i)sda which it just became		digu:gh(o)dfí:sgi judge
a:ghuyv:e?dfí to pay him, one	wa:huhu Wa:huhu	digo:hwe:lí:sgi clerk, he	de:nili [45] De:nili
a:ghuyv:e?dfí to pay him, one	ge:sv:gi it was	na:sgwo also	wa:huhu Wa:huhu
a:ghuyv:e?dfí to pay him, one	niga:hl(i)sda it just became	\$1.805 [46] \$18.05	ga:ghuyv I paid it
ayv I	da:dhlvda [47] Da:dhlvda	a:ʔghali:ʔ in full	nigv:ga I just made it
gha?lv month	7ne 7th	i:ga day	1859 1859
ayv I	ino:li Ino:li	digo:we:lí:sgi clerk, I	du:ni:n(o)dhi October
			go:wé:la:gá I just wrote it

(SECOND NOTATION)

ts(i)sgili Ts(l)sgill	u:sdf:ga [48] U:sdf:ga	tsiyadho:l(a)sda I just lent him	ade:lv money
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⁴⁵ 'Daniel.'

⁴⁶ *Ino:li's* declmal point is misplaced.

⁴⁷ 'He-Just-Put-Them-(long)-Down.'

⁴⁸ 'Little Screech-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:sdi:ga* \$1.00, October 7th. He paid the interest, \$0.10.

COMMENTARY

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

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

There is no Mooney caption for this document.

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

gha?	hi?a?sgini	u:yo:hu:sv	wini	du:dadhu:ga
now	this, in particular	she died	Wini	owed by them, she
tsu:n(a)ghuyv:dhanv		a:sgwanigo:do?di	gʷ:gi	he just took it (hard)
what they paid with		to keep it, I		
tsu:n(a)ghuyv:dhanv			gv:ghine:tsi	they just asked me
what they paid with				
n v:dáde:gwá	28ne	1859	widaní:la:wihʷ	over there they met
November	28th	1859		
da:nu:gh(o)da	nigá:di [49]		agwada:n(v)dhelida:sdi	to plan, I
they just decided	all of them			
ayv	ino:li	gadu:lv	ne:hv:ga	du:yu:gh(o)dv
I	Ino:ll	the top	make it, you (imp.)	right
a:gwagh(a)sa:sdo?di		niga:hl(i)sda		hi?a?
to examine it, I		it just became		this
idígv:n(e)dí [50]	a:tsi:dhu:gv	u:ghuyv:hv		ade:lv
Idígv:n(e)dí	which he owed	he paid it		money

⁴⁹ Animate.

⁵⁰ 'To-Make-Them, One.'

\$10 [51] \$10.00	hi?a'hno: this, and	ne:gi Ne:gi	a:tsi:dhu:gv which she owed	u:ghuyv: hv she paid it
ahhnuwo:gi clothing	a:ghuyv:da paid for, it	\$100 [51] \$1.00	hi?a'hno: this, and	de:gi [52] De:gi
go:lada [53] Go:lada	uwe:tsi his child	ahhnuwo cloth	a:ghuyv:da [54] paid for, it	une:gv white
hi?a'hno: this, and	e:ni E:ni	ughuyv: hv: dhanv she paid it with		agi:n(a)dhin v sackful
sv:ghi onions	10 \$0.10	hi?a'hno: this, and	asi:hw(i)dv colored, it	á:gihwahi:sdi to buy it, I
niga:hl(i)sda it just became		tsu:g'v:wa:hl(o)di cost	305 \$3.05	hi?a'hno: this, and
na:sgwo also		ghane:sa box	a:ghuy(v)di to pay, one	aye:hli central
adho:l(i)sdi to borrow, one		ga'lohni August	gha'lv month	hisgadusí:ne fifth
i:ga day	na:sgi that	a:ghuy(v)di to pay, one	niga:hl(i)sda it just became	hi?a' this
i:gá:i in amount	nigá:dv all	agf:dv I collected it (hard)	higi this it is	ade:lv money
250 \$2.50	a:ma salt		u:hwahi:sdi to buy it, he	tsihu:si I just gave it (hard) to him
ade:lv money	50 \$0.50	hi?a'hno: this, and	ghahl(i)se:tsi sugar	a:ghiwahi I just bought it
50 \$0.50	vsghi:yi [55] December	12ne 12th	i:ga day	1859 1859

FREE TRANSLATION

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

Idíqv:n(e)dí paid what he owed.....\$10.00

The clothing for which *Ne:gi* owed has been paid for.....\$1.00

The white cloth for which *De:gi*, *Go:lada's* child, owed has been paid for.

E:ni paid with a sackful of onions.....\$0.10

The colored [cloth] which I had to buy, valued at.....\$3.05

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

This is the amount I collected and you received_ \$2.50

⁵¹ Crossed out in the manuscript.

⁵² 'Peggy.'

⁵³ 'He-Just-Deceased-It.'

⁵⁴ The second syllable is erroneously written *ghi*.

⁵⁵ There is a superfluous syllable *hə* following the first syllable.

The money I gave him to buy salt.....	\$0. 50
I bought sugar.....	\$0. 50

December 12, 1859

COMMENTARY

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

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

To 13 yds Blk Calico 7-½.....	[\$0.]95
To 13 Blk Domestic.....	95
To 1 pr Gloves.....	25
To 1 pr Stocking[s].....	10
To 1 pr [sic] White-Hdkerchief.....	10
To 2# nails @ 5.....	10
To 1 paper Tacks.....	5
To 1 pr Slipper shoes Prince Albert.....	1. 50
<hr/>	
Total.....	4. 00

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

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

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

NO. 31.—EXPENSE ACCOUNT: RECOVERING A HORSE

gha? now	hi?a?sgini this, in particular	so:gwil(i) horse	tsa:giyohu:se:l'v:gi that I did lose
ga?lohni August	tsigha:l'v:gi which month	ha:hni'gwo this here, just	ga'dú:si mountain
tsagihyo:bv:gi that I did hunt	hi?a'hno: this and	no:gwo now	á:gwagh(a)say(a)sdo'dí to examine it, I

nu:hl(i)sdanv then it became		si:n'v:dogwó month ago, just		a:sigwo about, just
a:hliyé?li:s'v passing, it		nv:dáde:gwá November	29 29th	na:gwo now
a:gwadeloho:sv:gi ^[66] I did find out		na:sgihno: that, and		a:gwaghuy(v)di to pay, I
nu:hl(i)sdanv then it became	\$4 \$4.00	agwen'v:sv:gi I did go		diga:du:hv town
nv:dáde:gwá November	a:sgwadi:sgv finishing, it	tsa:li Tsa:li		ga:hwi:li Ga:bwí:li
ane:tsvdi:sdf:sgi one who interprets		a:gwaghuy(v)di to pay, I		nu:hl(i)sdanv then it became
\$5 \$5.00	i:yadi:hwisgi ^[67] I:yadl:hwlsgl	go:hiy(u)df:sgi one who witnesses	agh(i)dhu:ga I owe him	\$5 \$5.00
a:gwe:do:l'v:hno I made the trip, and	su:dali six	tsudó:dagwad'v days		sv:no:yi nights
hi:sgi five	ayé:hli one-half	igo:hí:dv nighly stopovers	hi?a'hno: this, and	so:gwil(i) horse
a:gw(a)dho:hl(a)sdanv he lent it to me	75 \$0.75	tsuló:gilahnó: ^[68] Tsuló:gilá, and		so:gwil(i) horse
a:gw(a)dho:hl(a)sdanv he lent it to me		25 \$0.25		tse:gwádi:hí ^[69] Tse:gwádi:hí
une:ts(v)dhanv he interpreted	25 \$0.25	hi?a' this		tsigowé:la:gá which I just wrote
vsghi:yi December	8 8th	i:ga day	ude:dhiy'v:sadi:s'v year	1859 1859
digo:we:l'f:sgi clerk, I		tse:gh(i)sini Jackson	sga:dú:gi County	ayv I
sga:dú:gi township		ino:li Ino:li		wahhyó:[hi] wolf-place

FREE TRANSLATION

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

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

I had to pay *Tsa:li Ga:hwi:li*, the interpreter----- \$5.00

I owe *I:yadi:hwisgi*, the witness----- \$5.00

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

Tsuló:gilá lent a horse to me----- \$0.75

Tse:gwádi:hí interpreted----- \$0.25

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

Ino:li

⁶⁶ The fifth syllable is erroneously written 'wo.

⁶⁷ 'Pumpkin-Planter.'

⁶⁸ 'Clouds.'

⁶⁹ 'Killer-of-Large-Ones.'

COMMENTARY

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

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

Mooney's caption reads: "Inali—Cost of recovering Horse."

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

u:l(a)sdu:[hi]		tsiyadho:l(a)sda		a:lv:tsi		u:yo:hu:sv	
U:l(a)sdu:hi		I just lent him		A:lv:tsi		he died	
u:tse:lí:ga	\$480	duni:n(o)dhi		gha?lv		20ne	i:ga
bis	\$4.80	October		month		20th	day
gha?		hi?a?sgini		lidi		a:gi	
now		this, in particular		Lidi		she just took it (hard)	
ade:lv	50	de[ha]lu:yi		gha?lv		19ne	i:ga
money	\$0.50	June		month		19th	day
wa:huhu		tsiyadho:l(a)sda		ade:lv		a:ghuyv	a:?ghali:?
Wa:huhu		I just lent him		money		he just paid it	in full
\$100 [60]		duni:n(o)dhi		gha?lv		2ne	i:ga
\$1.00		October		month		2d	day
gu:la:tsi		a:gi		ade:lv		\$200	a?n(a)sgv:dhi
Gu:la:tsi		he just took it (hard)		money		\$2.00	May
gha?lv		7ne		i:ga			1861
month		7th		day			1861
wini		a:tsi:dhu:gv		a:ghuyv:dv		niga:hl(i)sda	
Wini		she owed		paid, it		it just became	
ge:hyahi		a:gh(a)ghuyv:i		ge:hya[hi]		u:tse:lí:ga	
Ge:hyahi		it has been paid		Ge:hya[hí]		hers	
niga:hl(i)sda		a:go:lo:hi				75	25
it just became		it just lessened				\$0.75	\$0.25
do:tsu:lé?hnv		a:gh(a)ghuyv:[i]					do:tsu:lé?hnv
Do:tsu:lé?hnv		it has been paid					Do:tsu:lé?hnv
u:dhu:gv				a:hv:na			250
he owed				he just removed it			\$2.50
li:di		a:tsi:dhu:gv		a:ghuyv:dv		niga:hl(i)sda	\$2.12
Lí:di		she owed		paid, it		it just became	\$2.12

⁶⁰ Crossed out.

tse:gh(i)sini Tse:gh(i)slul		a:gh(a)ghuyv:i It has been paid			
a:ghuyv she just paid it	a:li A:li	\$3 \$3.00	tso ^o anisidá:hv:gá three, they just came for it (hard)		
wini Wini	u:yo:hu:sv she died	uni:sido ^o di to push it, they	ghane:sa box	ago:sv:ná:ne:l'v made for her, it	
a:ghuyv:hv paid for, it		250 \$2.50			
wa:huhu Wa:huhu	tsiyadho:l(a)sda I just lent him	ade:lv money	\$200 \$2.00	vsghi:yi December	
gha ^o lv month	25ne 25th	i:ga day	1860 1860	a:ghuyv he just paid it	ga ^o lohni August
gha ^o lv month		5ne 5th		i:ga day	1861 1861
li:di Li:di	a:gi she just took it (hard)	ade:lv money	tsina:ni Tsiná:ni	u:yo:hu:sv dead	
u:tse:l'f:ga hers	na:gwo now	dha ^o li two	ade:lv money	dugi:sv she took them (hard)	
li:di Li:di	\$200 \$2.00				
gu:la:tsi Gu:la:tsi	[?] [61] [?]	sa:gwo one	ade:lv money	\$100 \$1.00	unolv:dhan'f January
gha ^o lv month		go:wé:la:gá I just wrote it		7ne 7th	1861 1861
di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi [62] Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi		tsi[ya]dho:hl(a)sda I just lent him		ade:lv money	100 \$1.00
gha:ga ^o li February	gha ^o lv month		23ne 23rd	i:ga day	1861 1861
tsini Tsini	u:yo:hu:sv she died	na:sgihno: that, and	ahhnuwo:gi clothing	a:ghuyv:hv paid for, it	100 \$1.00
					10
ga:dó:[hi]hnó: ground, and	an(a)sgó:sgi those who dig	ani:dha ^o li two, they		a[ni]:so ^o i others, they	10 \$0.10
igv:yi Igv:yi	tsu:hwa:sv he bought		ghahl(i)se:tsi sugar		10 \$0.10
wini Wini	tse:do:hv:gi when she was walking	e:ni E:ni	gilo:hi:yi Gilo:hi:yi	go:lada Go:lada	
u:tse:li her		aye:hl(a)sdi knife		u:di:nv:sé she threw it away (w.p.k)	
tsu:lo:[sv] while she passed	100 \$1.00	gano:hi:dv long		aye:hlasdi:ga ^o knife, amount of	
o:sdv good		no:tsv:ga then we just made it		da:dhlv:da she just put them (long) down	
				de:gi De:gi	
				a:nu[we]:gi A:nuwe:gi	
				ghanu:gada:hv Ghanu:gada:hv	

⁶¹ The word here is garbled.

⁶² The final syllable is erroneously written *ghu*.

FREE TRANSLATION

I just lent *U:l(a)sdu:hi* \$4.80 from the estate of the dead *A:lv:tsi*, October 20th.

Now! *Li:di* just took \$0.50, June 19th.

I just lent *Wa:huhu* \$1.00. He paid it in full October 2, 1860.

Gu:la:tsi just took \$2.00, May 7, 1861.

What *Wini* owed has just been paid.

What *Ge:hyahi* owed has been paid and the property became hers—\$0.75 \$0.25.

What *Do:tsu:lé^hhuv* owed has been paid. *Do:tsu:lé^hhuv* removed the debt of \$2.50.

What *Li:di* owed, \$2.12, has just become paid. It was paid by *Tse:gh(i)sini*.

A:li paid \$3.00, and they just came for it.

The shipping of the coffin of the dead *Wini* has been paid for, \$2.50.

I just lent *Wa:huhu* \$2.00, December 25, 1860. He repaid it August 5, 1861.

Li:di took money from the estate of the dead *Tsina:ni*. She took it now, \$2.00.

Gu:la:tsi [?] \$1.00. I just wrote this January 7, 1861.

I just lent *Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi* \$1.00, February 23, 1861.

The burial clothing of the dead *Tsini* was paid for, \$1.00.

Two other gravediggers, \$0.10 and \$0.10.

Igv:yi bought sugar, \$0.10.

When *Wini* was alive, *E:ni Gilo:hi:yi Go:lada* lost her [*Wini's*] knife, worth \$1.00, on her way. We have just made it right: *E:ni* replaced it with some long knives.

De:gi

A:nuwe:gi

Ghanu:gada:hv

COMMENTARY

Several categories of activities by the township organization are recorded here by clerk *Ino:li*, some of which have not been reported in the literature on the North Carolina Cherokee: loans from the estates of the deceased; collection of debts incurred at the sale of the effects of one deceased; restitution to the heirs, through township authority, for property of the deceased lost prior to demise; payment by the township of funeral expenses (although we do not learn whether the outlay was from township funds or deducted from the estate of the deceased); and routine loans from and repayment to the township funds.

The import of the three names subjoined to the document is problematical. If they are witnesses, the fact that at least two of the three names are feminine is of interest.

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

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

(ON RECTO)

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

Jas M Terrell
For W. W. Thomas

(ON VERSO)

a: gidi: na	dala: la	ga: ghuyv: sv? ná
he just took it (hard), certainly	Dala: la	I just finished paying
v̄: tsa	yagh(i) dhu: ga	na: gwo
not	not I owe	now
		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.⁶³ The mathematical calculation, the significance of which is not evident, is in Terrell's handwriting.

Mooney summarized the meaning of the Cherokee: "I have paid all I owe *Talala*."

NO. 34.—SALE OF THE ESTATE OF *GU: DAGI: SGI*

(FIRST PAGE)

1860
1860

guyé: gwo: nf	gha?lv [64]	u: yo: hu: sv	guyé: gwo: ní	gha?lv [64]
July	month	he died	July	month
l6ne	i: ga	go: wé: la: gá	di go: we: lí: sgi	ino: li
16th	day	I just wrote it	clerk, I	Ino: lí
gha?	hi?a?	ágh(a) sado?dí	niga: hl(i) sda	gho: hi
now	this	to push it, I	It just became	now

⁶³ *Ino: li* records the death of a *Owe: dh(i) si* in October 1865, on the verso of a sheet in *Ino: li* (MS., n.d., No. 2236).

⁶⁴ There is an extraneous *ga* following the first syllable.

i:ga day	gu:dagi:sgi Gu:dagi:sgi	u:tse:lí:ga his	u:dhi:ye:lv left over, it	u:[s]dí:ga small
go:hú:sdi something		v̄:t̄sa not	ú:go:dí a great deal	go:hú:sdi something
a?hwi deer	ahhnuwo:gi clothing	une:gv white	tsuna:sdala Tsuna:sdala	a:da:go:nad(v)da he just outbid
				1 100 1 \$1.00
dighano:gf:sdi [65] musical instrument		da:sgigidi:hi da:sgigidi:hl	a:da:go:nad(v)da he just outbid	2 2 \$2.26 [66] \$2.26
ditsu:di [67] to boil them, one	a?hw(i)gado:ga A?hw(i)gado:ga		a:da:go:nad(v)da he just outbid	3 3 18 \$0.18
gasale:na coat	tsutso:ladha Tsutso:ladha		a:da:go:nad(v)da he just outbid	4 4 8 \$0.08
aye:hl(a)sdi knife	tsuna:sdala Tsuna:sdala		a:da:go:nad(v)da he just outbid	5 5 18 \$0.18
u:tsi:lv:hno: cotton, and	dha?li two	idage:da pounds	2 2	6 6 \$1.2 [68] \$0.12
si:ghwa [69] pig				7 7
galo:go:di hoes	v̄:t̄sa not		yitsigá:dhahá not I know	yi:si still
tsu:nina:sanagí:sdi to carry them upon their backs, they				75 \$0.75
na:sgwo also	galo:go:di hoes	tsu:tse:lí:ga his, they	dha?li two	so?i other
galo:giso?dí [70] grubbing hoes			2 2	25 \$0.25
a:tsi A:tsi	a:da:go:nad(v)da he just outbid		galo:giso?dí grubbing hoes	2 2 64 \$0.64
de:nili De:nili	ayv I		tsidhu:ga he owes me	10 \$0.10
di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi		tsidhu:ga he owes me	a:di:ha he says	25 \$0.25
agh(i)dhu:ga [71] I owe him	ayv I		di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi	10 \$0.10
ayv I	la:hw(i)sini La:hw(i)sini		agh(i)dhu:ga I owe	25 \$0.25
a:yvho: I, and	ino:li Ino:li	tsiyadho:hl(a)sdi [72] I loan him	ade:lv money	25 \$0.25
tsidhu:ga he owes me				10 \$0.10
ayv I	tsá:nilo:sí Tsá:nilo:sí	tsidhu:ga he owes it	tso?gi:nú:d(v)di three-fourths	i:gá:i in all
				75 \$0.75
wi:l(i)sini Wi:l(i)sini	sga:tsi Sga:tsi		ayv I	tsidhu:ga he owes me
				30 \$0.30

⁶⁵ 'To play them, it.' This could be any sort of a musical instrument, but we surmise that it is a violin.

⁶⁶ *Ino:li* is inconsistent in the use of the dollar sign.

⁶⁷ 'To boil them, one'—probably a large kettle without legs.

⁶⁸ The cotton may not have been sold, hence no buyer's name, but only an estimate of its value.

⁶⁹ The pig may not have been sold.

⁷⁰ 'To hoe, one.'

⁷¹ This debt to a buyer may have to do with making change.

⁷² This tense expresses an action that began in the past and that still continues in the present.

ino:li	ayv	tsiyadho:hl(a)sdi	\$100
Ino:ll	I	I loan him	\$1.00
ga:sgwalo:sgi		udhu:gv	\$100.10
Ga:sgwalo:sgi		he owed	\$1.10

(SECOND PAGE)

1860

1860

guyé:gwo:ní	16ne	i:ga	ga?lohni	15	i:ga
July	16th	day	August	15	day
tsuna:sdalaghu:yv [73]		ayé:hli		ade:lv	50
Tsuna:sdala just paid		half		money	\$0.50
tsuna:sdala	a:tsi:dhu:ga	wa:huhu	ayv	u:do:hiyu	+ \$126
Tsuna:sdala	owed by him	Wa:huhu	I	truly	+ \$1.26
tsutso:ladha	a:tsi:dhu:ga	u:dhlvna:da	ayv	u:do:hiyu	+ 10
Tsutso:ladha	owed by him	U:dhlvna:da	I	truly	+ \$0.10
da:sgigidi:hi	a:tsi:dhu:ga	ayv	do:tsu:lé?hmv	u:do:hiyu	+ \$2.26
Da:sgigidi:hi	owed by him	I	Do:tsu:lé?hmv	truly	+ \$2.26
a:tsi	a:tsi:dhu:ga	ts(i)sgili	ayv	u:do:hiyu	+ 60
A:tsi	owed by him	Ts(i)sgili	I	truly	+ \$0.60

[two lines crossed out]-----a:?ghali:?

[two lines crossed out]-----in full a:ghuyv

he just paid

wa:sida?na	a:ghuyv:ho?na	sa:gwo	ade:lv	2 iyadá:n(v)dhedhf
Wa:sida?na	he just finished paying it	one	money	2 cents

i:gá:i	15	i:ga	ga?lohni	1861
in all	15	day	August	1861

yi:si	a:tsi:dhu:v:ga	ayv	du:nawi	+ 73
still	he just owed	I	Du:nawi	+ \$0.75

yi:si	a:si	u:hlinohí:ya	65
still	yet	it remains	\$0.65

tsá:n(i)la:tsí	a:tsi:dhu:v:ga	ayv	da:dhlvda	u:do:hiyu	+ 20
Tsá:n(i)la:tsí	he just owed	I	Da:dhlvda	truly	+ \$0.20

a:ghuyv	a:?ghali:?	20
he paid	in full	\$0.20

tsá:nílo:sí	a:tsi:dhu:v:ga	ayv	u:wa?nv	u:do:hiyu	+ \$3.85
Tsá:nílo:sí	he just owed	I	U:wa?nv	truly	+ \$3.85

tsá:nílo:sí	a:si	u:hlinohí:ya	3
Tsá:nílo:sí	yet	it remains	\$3.00

tsuna:sdala	1	20	55	20 [74]
Tsuna:sdala	1	20	55	20

(AT BOTTOM OF PAGE)

guyé:gwo:ní	16ne	i:ga	tsú:naghu:y(v)dí	ude:dhiy'v:sadi:s'v
July	16th	day	to pay, they	year

1861 \$5.42

1861 \$5.42

\$4.80

\$4.80

\$10.22 [75]

\$10.22

⁷³An elision of *Tsuna:sdala aghu:yv*.

⁷⁴The significance of these numerals is unknown

⁷⁵*Ino:li's* totals are frequently inexplicable.

FREE TRANSLATION

(FIRST PAGE)

1860

In July he died. On July 16th, I, *Ino:li* the clerk, just wrote this.

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

1. <i>Tsuna:sdala</i> was the highest bidder for some white buckskin clothing.....	\$1.00
2. <i>Da:sgigidi:hi</i> was the highest bidder for a musical instrument.....	\$2.26
3. <i>A^hhw(i)gado:ga</i> was the highest bidder for a large pot.....	\$0.18
4. <i>Tsutso:ladha</i> was the highest bidder for a coat.....	\$.08
5. <i>Tsuna:sdala</i> was the highest bidder for a knife.....	\$.18
6. Two (2) pounds of cotton.....	\$.12
7. A pig.	
Hoes. I do not know how many. They still have to bring them.....	\$0.75
Also two (2) hoes of his, one a grubbing hoe....	\$.25
<i>A:tsi</i> was the highest bidder for grubbing hoes (2).....	\$.64
<i>De:nili</i> owes me.....	\$.10
<i>Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi</i> says that he owes me.....	\$.25
I owe <i>Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi</i>	\$.10
I owe <i>La:hw(i)sini</i>	\$.25
And I, <i>Ino:li</i> , lent him money.....	\$.25
He owes me.....	\$.10
<i>Tsá:nilo:sí</i> owes me seventy-five cents in all....	\$.75
<i>Wi:l(i)sini Sga:tsi</i> owes me.....	\$.30
I, <i>Ino:li</i> , lent him.....	\$1.00
<i>Ga:sgwalo:sgi</i> owed.....	\$1.10

(SECOND PAGE)

1860

July 16th–August 15th.

<i>Tsuna:sdala</i> paid one half-dollar.....	\$0.50
<i>Tsuna:sdala</i> owes. <i>Wa:huhu</i> became surety for the debt. I approved it.....	\$1.26

<i>Tsutso:ladha</i> owes. <i>U:dhlvna:da</i> became surety for the debt. I approved it_____	\$0. 10
<i>Da:sgigidi:hi</i> owes. <i>Do:tsu:lé²h²nv</i> became surety for the debt. I approved it_____	\$2. 26
<i>A:tsi</i> owes. <i>Ts(i)sgili</i> became surety for the debt. I approved it_____	\$0. 60
[Two lines crossed out]_____ he paid in full.	
<i>Wa:sida²na</i> paid all of it, a total of \$1.02, August 15, 1861.	
<i>Du:nawi</i> owed_____	\$0. 75
Still remaining to be paid_____	\$0. 65
<i>Tsá:n(i)la:tsi</i> owed. <i>Da:dhlvda</i> became surety for the debt. I approved it_____	\$0. 20
He paid in full_____	\$0. 20
<i>Tsá:nilo:sí</i> owed. <i>U:wa²nv</i> became surety for the debt.	
I approved it_____	\$3. 85
There still remains for <i>Tsá:nilo:sí</i> to pay----	\$3. 00
<i>Tsuna:sdala</i> 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(D)LA:TSÍ* OFFERS TO WORK FOR SOME CORN

hi?a ² sgini this, in particular	agwo:hwé:lo:di to write, I	niga:hl(i)sda it just became
ino:li Ino:li	ts(a)dhv:go:di to hear, you	hi?a ² this
1	ade:lv money	se:lu corn
	tsu:g ² vahl(o)di worth	deg ² :dhayo:sí I asked you for them
		hi?a ² this

nitsiwi I just said					digilv:hw(i)sda:n(e)dhigwó [76] to work, I, just
[i]nigé:tsadvn'v:isdi [77] still to be ready, you					dighaná:sde:tsv:v:gwó [78] to pull stumps (cond.), one
yi:tsadv:n'visdi if to be ready, you					iyagwadv:n(e)dhigwó to do it (cond.), I, just
digilv:hw(i)sda:n(e)dhigwó to work, I, just		alé:nohná [79] and		yi:tsadv:n'visdi [80] if to be ready, you	
na:gwó now	yigi if it is	na:sgi that	iyú:sdi reason	v:dhláhyehno not, for	
aghw(a)dhv:gá:nv I heard	yigi if it is	tsá:n(i)la:tsí Tsa:n(i)la:tsí		ayv 1	7 7
i:ga day		ga'lohni August		1860 1860	

FREE TRANSLATION

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

I, *Tsa:n(i)la:tsí*, August 7, 1860.

COMMENTARY

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

"John Large wants Corn and will pay in work" is Mooney's precise identification.

NO. 36.—ROSTER OF COLONY AT SANDTOWN

a:hani here	no:yú:hi sand-place	naní:hv in number, they	u:naligó:hi joiners together, they	
ane:hv living, they	go:hwe:ló:di to write, one	niga:hl(i)sda it just became	duni:n(o)dhi October	29ne i:ga 29th day
yo:nvganvhi:d(v) Yo:nvganvhi:d(v)		a:hl(i)tsidó:hv:sgí [81] one who preaches		tsi:lawi:se Tsi:lawi:se
tsu:da:so? di Tsu:da:so?di				gwi:ni Gwi:ni

⁷⁶ 'Work' is conceived of as being comprised of multiple motions, hence the plurality of this verb-form.

⁷⁷ The prefix *inige*: has the force of 'still' or 'yet.'

⁷⁸ As written here, this word is either somewhat garbled or representative of a form that is obsolete. One would expect it to be today *dighana:sde:hl(i)digwó*.

⁷⁹ More formal for *ale*.

⁸⁰ The first syllable is erroneously written *ni*, the last, *dr*.

⁸¹ The fifth syllable is erroneously written *v*.

gv:dé:gi			tsadha:gani:da
Gv:dé:gi			Tsadha:gani:da
tsa:ni			tse:yvyo:si
Tsa:ni			Tse:yvyo:si
de:wi			ganv:dase:gi
De:wi			Ganv:dase:gi
e:li			me:li
E:li			Me:li
ne:n(i)si			le:hawi
Ne:n(l)si			Le:haw l
tse:gh(i)sini			dinale:hwisda
Tse:gh(l)sinl			Dinale:hwisda
e:n(i)di			ne:li:si
E:n(l)di			Ne:li:si
e:sigi			gvyu:tse
E:sigi			Gvyu:tse
da:ni			
Da:ni			
duni:n(o)dhi	28ne	i:ga	1860
October	28th	day	1860

FREE TRANSLATION

It just became necessary to write down the names of those that live in the group at Sandtown. October 29th.

<i>Yo:nvganvhi:d(v)</i> , the preacher	<i>Tsi:lawi:se</i>
<i>Tsu:da:so²di</i>	<i>Gvi:ni</i>
<i>Gv:dé:gi</i>	<i>Tsadha:gani:da</i>
<i>Tsa:ni</i>	<i>Tse:yvyo:si</i>
<i>De:wi</i>	<i>Ganv:dase:gi</i>
<i>E:li</i>	<i>Me:li</i>
<i>Ne:n(i)si</i>	<i>Le:hawi</i>
<i>Tse:gh(i)sini</i>	<i>Dinale:hwisda</i>
<i>E:n(i)di</i>	<i>Ne:li:si</i>
<i>E:sigi</i>	<i>Gvyu:tse</i>
<i>Da:ni</i>	

October 28, 1860

COMMENTARY

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

We do not learn why *Ino:li* prepared this census of the colony at Sandtown. We do know that at a later date considerable but

seemingly rather futile pressure was exerted by the Qualla people upon these enclaves to the south to persuade them to move to Qualla. Perhaps this roster was designed for some such purpose.

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

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

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

hi?a?	wa:huhu	tsiyadho:l(a)sda	ade:lv	200
this	Wa:huhu	I just lent him	money	\$2.00
tsiu:yo:hu:sv	u:tse:li	ade:lv	tsa:gh(i)sgwá:nigo:dí	
which the dead one	his	money	which to keep it, I	
ayv	digo:we:lf:sgi	agi?nv [82]	agwada:n(v)dhe?dhi [83]	
I	clerk, I	I have it (flex.)	to think, I	
ge:li?	gada:dhol(a)sdi:sgo?		sé:ga [84]	gho:hi
I believe	to make loans, I (hab.)		daily [?]	now
i:ga	vsgbi:yi	gha?lv	25ne	i:ga
day	December	month	25th	day
ayv	ino:li	1860		go:wé:la:gá
	Ino:li	1860		I just wrote

(IN BOTTOM LEFTHAND CORNER)

a:ghuyv	a:?ghali:?
he just paid it	in full

FREE TRANSLATION

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

I, *Ino:li*.

He just paid in full.

⁸² The inference is that the clerk has written authority.

⁸³ Or, 'to use my own judgment.'

⁸⁴ Perhaps *si:ga* was intended: 'every day' or 'all day.'

COMMENTARY

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

Mooney's caption is difficult to decipher: "Wahuhu loans 2⁰⁰ (?) fr [from] property of deceast [sic], [?] Wolftown Council WW."

NO. 38.—THE CLERK PAYS THE JUDGE

hi?a?	o:sdv	nigv:ga	digu:gh(o)di:sgi
this	good	then I just made it	judge
aghuyv:e:lʋ [85]		wa:huhu	hi?a?
was just paid to him, it		Wa:huhu	this
aghuyv:e:lʋ		niga:hl(i)sda	\$2
was just paid to him, it		it just became	\$2.00
tso?gi:nú:d(v)di		a:tsi:dhu:ga	tsiu:yo:hu:sv
three-fourths		he owed it	which the dead one
u:tse:lí:ga	a:ghuy(v)di	niga:hl(i)sda	75
his (hers)	to pay it, he	it just became	\$0.75
ayv	ino:li	aghihné:tsi	o:sdv
I	Ino:li	I just said	good
wa:huhu			iyadv:n(e)di [86]
Wa:huhu			must to make it, one

FREE TRANSLATION

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

COMMENTARY

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

"Payt [Payment] to Wáhuhú—WW" is Mooney's comment.

⁸⁵ In this word and in the same word following, *Ino:li* spells the penultimate syllable *he*. In Cherokee manuscripts one rather frequently finds *v*+*vowel* spelled *v*+*syllable* beginning with *h*. This appears to be an attempt to represent the strong nasalization of the *v* (see Chafe and Kilpatrick, 1962, pp. 62-63).

⁸⁶ The third syllable is erroneously written *guv*.

NO. 39.—RECORD OF DROWNING OF *TSA:LI GA:HWI:LI*

gha? now	hi?a?sgini this, in particular	agwo:hwé:lo:dí to write, I	niga:hl(i)sda it just became
ga:yó:hli a little	niga:hl(i)sda [87] it just became	a:hni here	ani:wo:di paint, they
a:nets(v)dí:sgi the one who interprets	a:yo:hu:hi he just died	ama:yi [88] water-place	a:gv:gi he just fell into (liquid)
ga:hwi:li Ga:hwi:li	tsige:sv:gi [89] who it was	unol'v:dhaní January	gha?lv month
18ne 18th	i:ga day	sv:no:yi night	hi?a? this
go:wé:la:gá I just wrote	gha:ga?li February	igv:yi first	ude:dhiy'v:sadi:s'v year
i'tse new	didá:ne:lv house	u:hl(i)tsido?dí:yi to preach, he-place	1861 1861
na:hl(i)tsido: hv:ga then he just preached		dhali:ne second	hi?a'hno: this, and
tso?í:ne third	u:hl(i)tsido?dí:yi to preach, he-place	h'v:tsa [90] not	a:hni here
na:gwo now	gahlv:na he just went to sleep	tso?iyu:sv: three days	yú:lu'tsé not he came (w.p.k.)
i:nv:hiyu far away	a:se perhaps	ama:yi water-place	é:sgha less
		u:wa:sgal'v: hv:gá it has just hidden him	
		tso?asgo thirty	37 [92] 37
		iyuló:dv [91] miles	

FREE TRANSLATION

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

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

COMMENTARY

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

⁸⁷ The manuscript has a superfluous final *ni*.

⁸⁸ A stream, creek, or river, is usually implied.

⁸⁹ This word, and also *tsige:sv*, is used in reference to one deceased; 'the late.'

⁹⁰ Variant of *ó:tsa, v:dhla*.

⁹¹ This word in the printed literature is *tyu:dhiló:da*. The spelling here is probably garbled, but one cannot be certain as to how it was pronounced in *Ino:li's* era and locale.

⁹² The significance of this numeral is not evident.

Charley Hornbuckle is described on the Terrell Roll as a brother of Johnson Hornbuckle, a halfbreed who was also a preacher. The exact clerical status of Charley is uncertain; he may have been an itinerant preacher, and therefore of a higher status than *Ino:li*.

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

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

(ON RECTO)

gha? now	hi?a?sgini this, in particular	na:gwo now	go:wé:la:gá I just wrote it	gha:ga?li February
gha?lv month	22 si:ne 22d	i:ga day	na:sgi that	iyu:sdi reason
		a:hni here		ghwalv:yi Qualla-place
du:do:v named, It	digo:we:l:f:sgi clerk, I	a:gwo:hlv I was sitting		u:nílú?tsv:gi they did come
na:sgi that	tsa:ni [93] Tsa:ni	tse:si [94] Tse:si	hi?a? this	naniwe:sgv:gi they were saying
				dhaló:hi [95] white oak-place
iyv:dv out there		dagilv:hw(i)sda:ne:lv:gi I did work		tse:si Tse:si
u:tse:li:gó:hi his property	nv?ghi four	tsudó:dagwadv days	dagilv:hw(i)sda:ne:lv:gi I did work	
a:di:ha he says	tsa:ni Tsa:ni	na:sgihno: that, and	tse:si Tse:si	a:gwaghuyv:e?df [96] to pay me, he
gv:ginugo?dhanv:gi [97] they did evict me		sa:gwo one	ade:lv money	u:ghuy(v)di to pay, he
u:dv:hmv:gi he did state		ahhnuwo:gi clothes, just		aginv:n(e)di to give me (flex.). he
u:dv:hmv:gi he did state	na:sgihno: that, and	v:dhla not	sgwa:ghu:[yv]e:?há [98] you pay me	
hi?a?gwo this, just	nigawe?a he says		u:lu?tse he came (w.p.k.)	ugv:wiyu:hi chief, he
du:ghu. . . [?] [99] to pay with them, he [?]		a:di:sgv:gi he was saying	higi this It is	na:sgihye:hno that, for
du:ghuy(v)di to pay with them, he		gv:ginugo?dhanv:gi [1] they did evict me	a:gigwo he just received it (hard), just	
tse:si Tse:si	gha?lv:i month	so:gwil(i) horse	tsi:sgihá:ne:lv:gi which you did give me (alive)	
30 \$30.00	tsu:g'v:wa:hl(o)di in value	si:ghwa pig	de:dhagighá:ne:lv:gi they gave me (alive)	
so'ne:la [2] nine	tsu:g'v:wa:hl(o)di in value	ge:sv:gi it was	na:sgihno: that, and	sa:gwo one

⁹³ 'John.'

⁹⁴ 'Jesse.'

⁹⁵ We cannot identify this place name, the "Tellowe" of the Whites.

⁹⁶ The fifth syllable is erroneously written *ye*.

⁹⁷ The first syllable is erroneously written *gu*.

⁹⁸ The penultimate syllable is erroneously written *ye*.

⁹⁹ Part of this word is illegible.

¹ The first syllable is erroneously written *gu*.

² The written attempts to provide the glottal stop by *yl*.

ade:lv money	uhlinó:hiyv:gí it was left over	na:sgihno: that, and	tsa:ni Tsa:ni	u:tse:lí:ga his
gu:tsu:se?[s]dhánv:gí [3] he did count it		a:di:ha he says	tse:si Tse:si	na:sgihno: that, and
tsinú:sdi which way	tsin(i)gá:hv which in all	tse:si Tse:si	na:sgi that	nusdé:sdi the way it will be
de:tsúgh(o)de:sdí you (pl.) will decide		na:sgigwo that, just		nu:lagwo hurry, you (imp.), just
dhaghúyv:hvhá over there pay, you (imp.)	u:lú?tse he came (w.p.k.)	ale and	na:sgwo also	ase:gwo in vain
hi?gesé:sdi this it will be	a:sé:hi but	gohwe:li letter	u:lu?hi:sdi to come, it	hi?gesé:sdi this it will be
a:hni here	iyv:dv this far	ghwalv:yi Qualla-place	du:do?v:i named, it	hi?a? this
a?dhayo?hihi asker for it		gohwe:li letter	a:sege:li? I believe	tsada:nelv:gwo [4] your house, just
u:lú?tse it came (w.p.k.)	sa:gwo one	ade?lv money	i?gá:i in amount	a:yvhyehno: I, for
gv:ginugo?dhanv:gi [5] they did evict me		tsa:ghuy(v)di to pay, you	ayv I	tse:si Tse:si
tsa:ni Tsa:ni	agigo:hw(a)dhv:dhi to see it, I	ade:lv money	na:sgi that	i:gá:i in amount
go:wé:lv:gá I just wrote it	ayv I	da:sgigidi:hi [6] Da:sgigidi:hi		ghwalv:yi Qualla-place
digo:we:lí:sgi clerk, I	go:wé:la:gá I just wrote it	1861 1861		ude:dhivyv:sadiv:i year
iyv:dv further on	gha:ga?li February	22 22		

(ON VERSO)

gwe:dh(i)si Gwe:dh(i)si	tsago:lí:ye:dí to read it, you	hi?a? this	gohwe:li letter
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FREE TRANSLATION

(ON RECTO)

Now! I just wrote this on the 22d of February. The reason is that *Tsa:ni* and *Tse:si* came to me at Qualla, where I am the clerk. This is what they were saying: that I worked on *Tse:si's* property out there at White Oak Place for 4 days. *Tsa:ni* says that *Tse:si* should pay me \$1.00 because he evicted me, he stated.

He stated that he would just give me some clothes. That is not paying me. When the chief came, he said, "He has to pay." He said that he has to pay for evicting me.

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

³ We cannot account for the *gu*; one would expect *u*.

⁴ The fourth syllable is erroneously written *la*.

⁵ The first syllable is erroneously written *de*.

⁶ 'Tasgigi-killer.'

over. *Tse:si* says that *Tsa:ni* counted his money, and that this is the way it totals.

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

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

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

I, *Da:sgigidi:hi*, the clerk at Qualla, just wrote this. I just wrote it February 22, 1861.

(ON VERSO)

This letter, *Gwe:dh(i)si*, is for you to read.

COMMENTARY

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

We ascertain from another document in The Inoli Letters that *Da: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 *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."

NO. 41.—RESIGNATION OF JUDGE *WA:HUUH* AND PAYMENT TO OTHER OFFICIALS

1861 [?]

1861

<i>wa:huhu</i>	<i>a:sgwada</i>	<i>digu:gh(o)di:sgi</i>	<i>na:gwa:se</i> [8]
Wa:huhu	he just finished	judge	now, I suppose
<i>a:sgwada</i>	<i>ga?lohni</i>	<i>gha?lv</i>	5ne
he just finished	August	month	5th
<i>digu:gh(o)di:sgi</i>	<i>aghuyv:e?di</i>	<i>niga:hl(i)sda</i>	<i>ayv</i>
judge	to pay him, one	it just became	I

⁷The 1860 written in the manuscript we assume to be an error

⁸ *Na:gwo + a:se*.

ino:li Ino:li	gv:ghine:tshi they just gave me permission	ga:ghuyv:sadí to pay them, I
tsá:n(i)la:tsí Tsá:n(i)la:tsí	ts(i)sgilié:gwa Ts(i)sgilié:gwa	ga:ghuyv I paid it
ade:lv money	de:tsihv:ga I put them (hard) down	dha?li two
nigá:dv all	ga:sginé:tshe:lv you (pl.) gave me permission	du:yu:gh(o)dv right
		1861 1861

FREE TRANSLATION

1861

Wa:huhu, I assume, has now resigned as judge. He resigned as judge the 5th day of August. It has become necessary for him to be paid. They gave me, *Ino:li*, permission to pay *Tsá:n(i)la:tsí* and *Ts(i)sgilié:gwa*. I paid them. I expended \$2.00, doing the right thing, as all of you gave permission to do.

1861

COMMENTARY

As seen elsewhere, *Ts(i)sgilié:gwa* was Chief of Wolfstown, but we do not learn what official position *Tsá:n(i)la:tsí* held. The "they" and "all of you" that gave *Ino:li* his authority were members of the Wolfstown Council.

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

Mooney and Olbrechts (1932, p. 29) state: "The meaning of tsrkíí 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 Wolfstown WW."

NO. 42.—ROSTER OF SINGING CLASS AT ECHOTA METHODIST
MISSION

(AT TOP OF DOCUMENT)

hi?a? this	gho:hi now	ude:dhiy'v:sadi:s'v [9] year	1862 1862
duli:sdi [10] September	gha?lv month	21 21	gho:hi now
u:nale:n(v)di to begin, they	n vga:hl(i)sda then it just became		i'tse new
tsa:ts(i) [11] Tsa:ts(i)	di:dehyó:v'v:sgí [12] the one who teaches them		di:nihnogí:sgí those who sing them
tsu:ni:go:[lí:]ye:di how to read them, they	higi this it is	gho:hi now	ale and
tsuniyé:l(v)n(v)di how to divide them, they	hi?dighahnogí:sdi this, to sing, them, they		dha?li two
e:lígí:sadv + [13] E:lígí:sadv +			tsalagi Tsalagi
li:yedi + Li:yedi +			lusi:n(i)di + Lusi:n(i)di +
wo:lada Wo:lada			e:tsini + E:tsini +
dagv:ya Dagv:ya			a:li:si:ni + A:li:si:ni +
gv:sgali:sgí + Gv:sgali:sgí +			gelayi:ni Gelayi:ni
			ue:tsini Ne:tsini
			midi + Midi +
			e:nili E:nili
			tsi:n(i)si + Tsi:n(i)si +
			ne:tsili + Ne:tsili +
			gado:yoe? + Gado:yoe? +
			lo:si + Lo:si +
			tsinilv:gi Tsinilv:gi
			seyo:lini Seyo:lini

(AT BOTTOM OF DOCUMENT, UPSIDE DOWN)

ude:dhiy'v:sadhi:s'v year	1863 1863	guwo:ni April	gha?lv month	19ne 19th
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⁹ The fourth syllable is erroneously written *sv*.

¹⁰ There is a superfluous *i* between the second and third syllables.

¹¹ 'George,' not otherwise identified.

¹² The fourth syllable (*v*) would appear to be superfluous; but it may have been pronounced by *Ino:li*; therefore, it is retained.

¹³ The cross here, and elsewhere, may be an attendance tally mark pertaining to a subsequent meeting of the class.

i:ga day	di:nihnogí:sgi those who sing them	u:nale:n(v)di to begin, they	ano:hwe:li:sgv writing it, they
e:ligi:sadi [14]		me:li Me:lí	
E:lígí:sadí		gelayi:ni Gelayí:ni	
li:yedi		e:tsini E:tsini	
Li:yedí		lusi:n(i)di Lusi:n(i)dí	
		tsi:n(i)si Tsi:n(i)sí	
		lo:si Lo:sí	
		a:li:si:ni A:lí:sí:ní	
		tsinilv:gi Tsinílv:gí	

FREE TRANSLATION

(AT TOP OF DOCUMENT)

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

<i>E:ligi:sadv</i>	<i>Lusi:n(i)di</i>
<i>Li:yedi</i>	<i>E:tsini</i>
<i>Wo:lada</i>	<i>A:li:si:ni</i>
<i>Dagv:ya</i>	<i>Gelayi:ni</i>
<i>Gv:sgali:sgi</i>	<i>Ne:tsini</i>
	<i>Midi</i>
	<i>E:nili</i>
	<i>Tsi:n(i)si</i>
	<i>Ne:tsili</i>
	<i>Gado:yoe?</i>
	<i>Lo:si</i>
	<i>Tsinilv:gi</i>
	<i>Seyo:lini</i>

(AT BOTTOM OF DOCUMENT, UPSIDE DOWN)

On April 19, 1863 it became time for the undersigned singers to begin writing.

<i>E:ligi:sadi</i>	<i>Me:li</i>
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¹⁴ An alternate spelling (*di vice de*) that may be indicative of an alternate pronunciation.

*Li:yedi**Gelayi:ni**E:tsini**Lusi:n(i)di**Tsi:n(i)si**Lo:si**A:li:si:ni**Tsiniv:gi*

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

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

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

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