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The Eastern Cherokees

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PREFACE

This study is the result of 2 years' research on the Cherokee Indians of North Carolina. Field work with this band was made possible by a grant from the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago in 1932 and was carried out in two visits from September to December of that year.

The village of Big Cove was made the type of the whole reservation because it was the most conservative district of the region. The data from Big Cove was later checked by material collected from the other five towns of the Eastern Cherokee Reservation.

The purpose of the field survey was to obtain a fairly complete description of the existing society of the Cherokees. The data collected consisted in the main of descriptions of persons, households, land tenures, genealogies, clan memberships, places of residence, and the terms and behavior included in the kinship system.

The author endeavored to enter into the social life of the people as fully as possible. By virtue of living at the home of the chief informant, who was also the head man of the village, he was able to follow the daily round of activities and participate frequently in the native dances and games. In this way a better understanding of the spirit of Cherokee affairs was obtained than might have been acquired through the method of having the informant come to some strange and unfamiliar surroundings for questioning.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the assistance of many kind friends. Invaluable aid was rendered in the field by native Cherokees, notably Will West Long, the councilman at Big Cove, and ex-Chief Sampson Owl. Aid was also rendered by local white officials, in particular Miss Louvica Wyman, Superintendent R. L. Spalsbury, Farm Agent A. M. Adams, and Chief Clerk J. L. Walters. Elsewhere, Dr. J. R. Swanton, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, furnished the original stimulus for this study and many subsequently helpful suggestions; Drs. F. Olbrechts, F. Speck, and the late J. N. B. Hewitt, as students of the Iroquoian-Cherokee field, made helpful comments; and, at Chicago, indispensable aid was rendered in the final organization of the materials by Prof. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and by Drs. Fay-Cooper Cole, Robert Redfield, and Fred. R. Eggan.

THE EASTERN CHEROKEES

By William Harlen Gilbert, Jr.

INTRODUCTION

The Cherokees of the Southeastern United States were a tribe of great importance in early colonial times. Much has been recorded concerning their merciless wars with the white settlers, yet they remain today a tribe about which little is definitely known so far as social organization is concerned. The various ethnologic observations on the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and other Southeastern tribes have been summarized and systematized by J. R. Swanton (1928), so that we have today a generalized picture of social organization in the Southeast. The Cherokees have remained outside of this picture.

The present study is concerned with two very definite problems:

1. The outlining of the present social organization of the Cherokee in its formal and integrative aspects.

2. The portrayal of the historical changes in this social organization so far as they can be gleaned from past records of Cherokee culture.

A third possible problem arises in connection with the classifying of social structures in the Southeast and the relating of Cherokee social organization to these. Consideration of this problem will be deferred, for reason of its magnitude, to a later time.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PRESENT SOCIETY

THE ENVIRONMENTAL FRAME

GENERAL FACTORS

The natural environment of a people is divisible into several sets of influences, depending on the type of material concerned. The terrain, climate, minerals, plants, and animals are all conceivable as types of unified influences helping to give order to a people's culture. The factors arising from the terrain comprise such characteristics as the surface configuration of the land, the distribution of surface water in rivers, lakes, or ponds, the sites of settlements, trails, and the human orbit of activities.

LOCATION

The general locus of the Cherokee tribe was by States—western North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia; the north of Georgia and Alabama; all but the western parts of Tennessee; and parts of Kentucky adjoining Tennessee.[1] The eastern part of the Cherokee domain was part of the Southern Piedmont Province, a gently rolling plateau dissected by rejuvenated streams with valleys from 50 to 150 feet deep. Numerous monadnocks and isolated peaks rear their heads over the surrounding areas. This was the territory comprised in the Lower Settlements. The central area of the Cherokees, comprising the Kituhwa (Middle) and the Valley Settlements, was the heart of the tribe. This area lay within the Blue Ridge Province and comprised the slopes of the Unakas or Great Smokies (with spurs such as the Snowbird and Balsam ranges) and the numerous coves and flat-bottomed valleys nestling to the south of the main range. Finally, on the north and west lay the Overhill, or Tennessee Settlements, in the Appalachian Great Valley Province with river valleys from 50 to 500 feet deep, in a region predominantly of a gently rolling character.

The chief rivers of the Cherokee area flowed out from the great central watershed in three directions, viz, southeast to the Atlantic Ocean directly (Chatooga-Tugaloo and Keowee affluents of the Savannah); south and southwest to the Gulf of Mexico direct (Coosa and its affluents, the Oostanaula and Etowah; Chatahoochee and its affluents); west by north to the Ohio River drainage (Little Tennessee and its affluents, the Tuckaseegee and Nantahala, the Hiwasee and its affluent, the Valley River).

At the time of the earlier contacts with the whites, the Cherokee town sites were grouped in four main divisions, namely: (1) Lower Settlements on the upper tributaries of the Savannah River in what is now South Carolina; (2) Middle Settlements or Kituhwa lying to the north of the Lower Settlements on the easternmost reaches of the Little Tennessee and Tuckaseegee Rivers in North Carolina between the Cowee Mountains and the Balsam Mountains; (3) Valley Settlements in extreme western North Carolina along the Nantahala, the Valley River, and the Hiwassee; (4) Overhill Settlements north of the Unakas and south of the Cumberland Chain along the upper Tennessee and Lower Little Tennessee Rivers.

Later, in Revolutionary times, the whole Cherokee nation was pushed bodily southward into northern Georgia where a thriving group of settlements sprang up on the banks of the upper Coosa tributaries such as the Oostanaula, Coosawattee, Etowah, Chatooga, and the Little River.

[1] During the nineteenth century Cherokee Indians settled at various times in Ohio, Virginia, Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, and even in Mexico in Jalisco near Lake Chapala.

After the removal of 1838 only fragmentary remnants of the Valley and Middle Settlements were left. The numerous branch creeks along the Valley River sheltered small groups until quite recent times. The upper reaches of the Cheowa River and its branches—Buffalo Creek, Santeetlah Creek, the Snowbird River, Little Snowbird Creek, and others—were the sites of a cluster of settlements up until quite recently. This was called the Graham County group. The damming of the Cheowa River and the formation of Lake Santeetlah has in

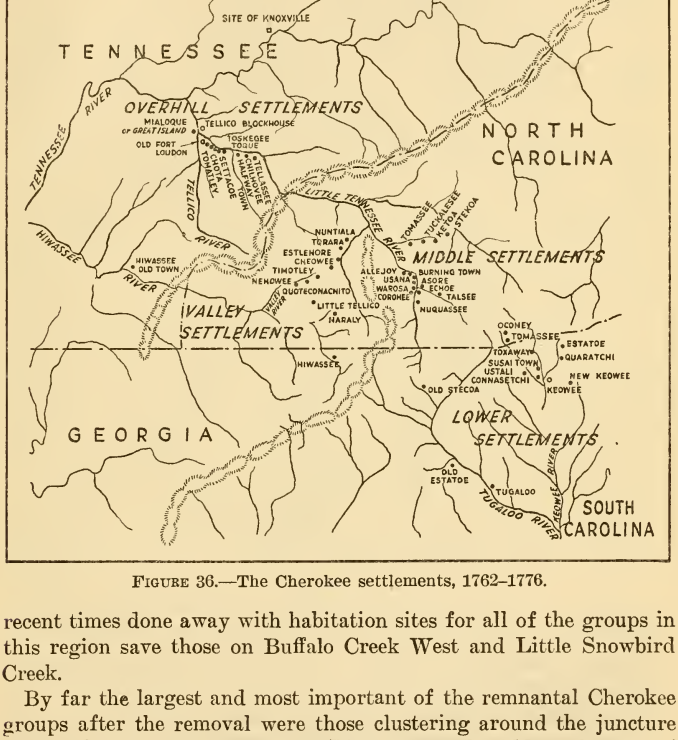

FIGURE 36.—The Cherokee settlements, 1762–1776.

recent times done away with habitation sites for all of the groups in this region save those on Buffalo Creek West and Little Snowbird Creek.

By far the largest and most important of the remnantal Cherokee groups after the removal were those clustering around the juncture of the Ocona and Tuckaseegee Rivers near the old settlement of Kituhwa in the heart of the old Middle Settlements. With the exception of the "Thomas 3,200 acre tract" along the east and west slopes of a ridge south of the Tuckaseegee, all of this group is settled along the axis of the Ocona River and its tributaries in what was

early known as "The Qualla Boundary," but which is now called simply "The Eastern Cherokee Reservation." This area consists of five towns, at the present time known as Birdtown, Yellow Hill, Big Cove, Painttown, and Wolftown. This pitiful remnant contrasts with the

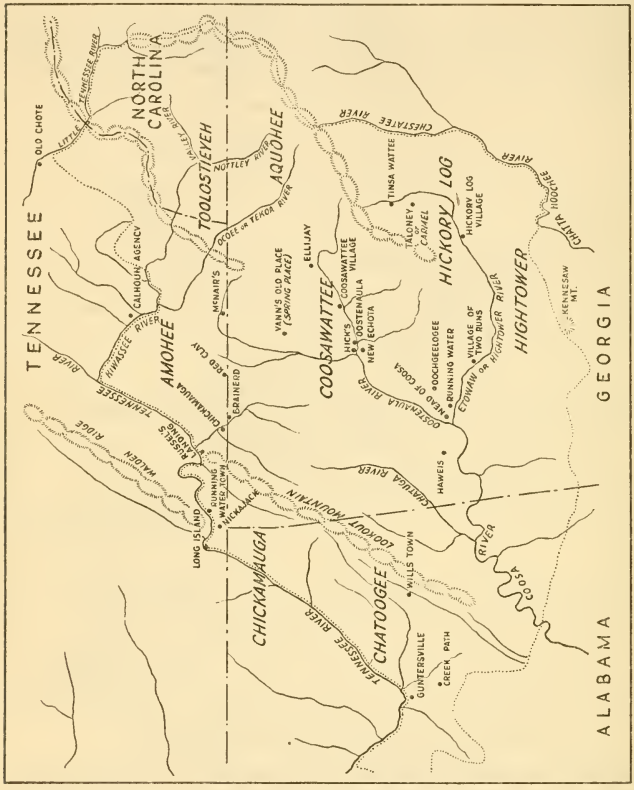

FIGURE 37.—The Cherokee settlements, 1825–30.

64 villages mentioned by Adair in 1775 and the 43 mentioned by Bartram in 1790.

At the time of the earlier white contacts with the Cherokees there were some seven main groups of trails or means of access to this area. These were as follows:

1. A group of trails running north to the Kanawha and Big Sandy Rivers.
2. A group of trails running north through the great valley to Pennsylvania.
3. Trails running northeast and east to the tidewater in Virginia and North Carolina.

4. Trails running down the Savannah to tidewater in South Carolina.
5. Trails leading south and east to the Chattahoochee and Coosa valleys of Georgia.
6. Trails westward along the Tennessee River and others through Tennessee.
7. Trails running northward through Kentucky to the Ohio.

Through trail group 1 the Cherokees had contact with the Mingoes, Iroquois, and Shawnees; through group 2 they contacted with Senecas, Mohawks, and Delawares; group 3 connected them with the nearly related Tuscaroras, the Catawbas, and the Eastern Siouans; group 4 with the Uchees, Cheraws, and others; group 5 with the Creeks; group 6 with the Chickasaws, Shawnee, Choctaws, and Natchez; and group 7 with the Shawnees. It was through trail groups 2, 3, and 4 that the westward rolling stream of white population first connected up with the Cherokees, but it was not until the whites had crossed the mountains and attacked the Cherokees in the rear through trail groups 6 and 7 that the latter were finally subdued.

Although parts of the Tennessee Valley are scarcely over 600 feet above sea level, the major part of the ancient Cherokee domain is above 1,200 feet in altitude and considerable areas over 3,000 feet, especially in the present-day settlements along the steep sides of the Oconaluftee River Valley. The Cherokee were predominantly mountaineer tribesmen, an aggregation of marauding, predatory warriors who swooped down on the more peaceful lowlanders of the east continuously when mountain conditions became too crowded or meager for sustenance. The cutting up by the mountains of the Cherokee area into so many small self-sustaining communities may account for their lack of political cohesiveness. In this they stand out in contrast with their kinsmen, the Iroquois, who lived in a less rugged topography. What cultural cohesion there was to the Cherokees appertained rather to historical tradition and common heritage. Such political cohesion as existed was fragile and broke at the slightest shock from without. The Cherokees of the past, and those of today, owned and still possess a certain individualism and independence of thought tinged with a type of conservatism peculiar to mountain peoples.

The Cherokees had a vigorous reaction on the terrain in which they found themselves. Materially this took the form of (1) numerous footpaths and trails leading over mountain gaps and through stream valleys, (2) villages—consisting of aggregations of square boxlike houses of poles clustered around large heptagonal town houses set on mounds or clearings with maize-bean crops growing on them, (3) chunkey yards and ball grounds—large flat areas cleared for the games, (4) stream weirs and dams impounding the swift mountain torrents into quiet ponds for fishing, (5) stone cairns, (6) mounds for burials, (7) stockades, and (8) canoes and dugouts on the larger streams and other constructions. Less obviously visible, this reaction on the ter-

rain took the form of an elaborate toponymic system connecting with plants, animals, and the general mythology of the tribe. Origin myths for many place names are to be found in Mooney. Probably every mountain, open level area, cave, stream, and such had a name, and this terminology, if completely recovered, would comprehend fairly well the totality of factors arising from the terrain involved in Cherokee culture.

The terrain, then, furnished the orbits for the revolution of the cultural elements of Cherokee life about their central factor, the individual. It furnished the routes for diffusion of cultural elements and for contacts. It furnished the protecting walls which enabled elements of Cherokee culture to survive to this day. It afforded the necessary basis for the growth of the various factors of reaction on environment mentioned in the above paragraph. Finally, the terrain formed the foundation on which could grow the other factors of plant, animal, and climatic influences.

CLIMATIC FACTORS

The climate of the Cherokee Country furnishes functional influences allied with the topography and the latitude. The area has essentially a mild, temperate climate. In the winter the sun is capable of heating the surface of the mountain slopes to around 50° or 60° Fahrenheit at midday even though a temperature of 15° to 20° above may be recorded during the night. In the summer a midday temperature of around a hundred will be succeeded by a night temperature of 35° or 40° Fahrenheit. Some 9 hours of daylight in the winter are succeeded by about 13 hours in the summer. Seasonal variation in temperatures in the mountains is not as great as the diurnal variation since the average Fahrenheit temperature of July is 80° and that of January is 40°. On the high mountains the moon and stars shine brilliantly at night and the burning sun beats down mercilessly by day. The average barometric pressure is slightly higher in winter (30.15 cm.) than in summer (30 cm.). The winds in winter are prevailingly north to south and southwest to northeast in summer. On the high mountain slopes there are few winds save during storms. A high wind can appear and disappear in a remarkably short time.

Air humidity varies with the altitude. In winter the precipitation is 40 inches or more in the high mountains, 30 to 40 inches in the semihigh areas, and 20 to 30 inches in the remainder. In winter, especially, the wispy cottonlike masses of clouds billowing against heavily wooded mountain slopes appears weird even to the chance outside observer. Ziegler and Grosscup mention the uncanny foreboding which afflicts the traveler in the high mountain country when he sees the dark glens and steep uncouth declivities of the higher ranges. What must

have been the effect, then, on the superstitious mind of the native-born Cherokee in earlier times?

In summer this region wears on the whole a more genial aspect. In the high mountains the rainfall is 30 to 40 inches and about 20 to 30 inches in the remainder. Storms are fewer and of shorter duration in the summer. The lightning is an object of great attention on the part of the Cherokee mythology and is connected with the daylight. Such local phenomena as landslides, earthquakes, and floods do not appear in the mythology as of much importance. It would be instructive, if some way of measuring the process could be devised, to ascertain the effects of change of locale of residence from higher to lower altitudes on the ideas and culture of the more recent western Cherokees.

The climatic factor consists primarily of a rhythmic or cyclic set of influences operating to produce a seasonal effect on the culture. The regular repetition of these influences constituted a unifying factor of tremendous importance in the tribal life. The alternation of moon and no moon (occasions for special monthly rites), of winter and summer (ceremonial and nonceremonial seasons), plant sprouting and ripening (rites and dances at planting and harvest), and other events serve as examples. The menstruation process was accompanied by severe taboos and was related in the minds of the Cherokees to the phases of the moon.

The reaction of the Cherokees on the natural forces of the climate are to be found in their uses of fire, smoke signalling, divination by sunlight through crystals, gazing at the sun as a shaman training ordeal, imitation of the noises of nature in the hunting of animals, rites to control the weather, cosmogonic wondertales, and in the intimate linkage which they made between the celestial phenomena and health or disease. Curious linkages also occur of waterfalls with thunder and of snakes with lightning.

INORGANIC ELEMENTS

The chemical constituents of the earth's crust entered into the Cherokee culture in various ways. Quartz crystals were used in divining the future, flint and chert were used in the manufacture of cutting tools and weapons, various river clays were used in pottery manufacture, red hematite powder from certain hillsides was made into pigment for face paint (connected here with one of the clans), white clays were also made and used for pigments, steatite was used for pipe carving and the heavier ferromagnesian minerals were chipped and ground into axes, celts, and hammers, slates into ceremonial pendants and gorgets, and so on for many others of the natural minerals of the hill country.

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Water had a tremendously important role in Cherokee culture. Aside from its practical value for drinking and fishing, as a place to stalk game, and a means of travel by canoes, it played an indispensable part in ritualistic bathing, in divination, and as a base for decoctions of medicinal plants. The present Cherokees claim that in the autumn when all of the trees seem to be dropping their leaves and many of these find their way into the streams, the latter have an especial curative value. This is owing to the mingling of all the curative properties of different plants in one big decoction for the season of the medicine dance.

FLORA AND FAUNA

The flora of the southern Appalachians belongs phytogeographically to three plant worlds. These are (1) the Appalachian Mountain district of deciduous forests, (2) the Piedmont vegetation, and (3) the Alleghanian-Ozark district. The general characteristics of the first area are: A predominance of hardwoods such as poplar, pine, spruce, balsam or fir, hemlock, buckeye, tulip-tree, chestnut, and birdseye maple along with many species of herbaceous plants and cryptogams. The second area is one largely of undergrowth and herbaceous species. The third area is marked by a great variety of broadleaved trees of some 700 species and a scarcity of evergreens.

Plants appear in the Cherokee culture in connection with food, shelter, clothing, and medicine. Compared with the animals in general, plants are friendly agents to man and fight in this way against their enemies, the animal world. They especially help man through their curative properties for the human diseases believed to result from the machinations of animals. According to Mooney some 800 species of plants were known and used by the Cherokees.

Most important of the cultivated food plants were maize and beans, to which were added at a later date potatoes, pumpkins, peas, squash, strawberries, tobacco, and gourds. Weeds from streams were burnt for lye, which was then used as a salt substitute and for soap making. Wood served a wide variety of uses. Houses of poles were the earliest type known and these were later supplanted by the log cabin of the pioneer white settlers. The log cabin had become the common type of dwelling among the Cherokees by the period of the American Revolution. In the nineteenth century plank or frame houses gradually supplanted the log cabin, which is now very rare. Wooden artifacts are numerous and woodworking is highly regarded. Various bark and herb fibers were used as twine and for weaving a certain type of garment. The typical medicinal plants are sassafras, cinnamon, wild horehound, seneca, snakeroot, St. Andrew's Cross, and wild plantain.

Zoogeographically, the Cherokee area belongs in the Alleghany subregion of the North American, or Nearctic Region. The characteristic native mammals of the area are bats, moles, shrews, raccoons, skunks, weasels, otters, bears, wolves, foxes, wildcats, panthers, hares, porcupines, groundhogs, beavers, rats and mice, squirrels, bison, deer, opossum, and a native dog. The descriptions of these species and the explanation of techniques for dealing with them forms a substantial section of Cherokee myth and folklore.

The bird species of the area are especially diversified and numerous. Among the more important can be mentioned tanagers, larks, finches, buntings, creepers, woodwarblers, pipits, nuthatches, kinglets and goldcrests, titmice, shrikes, vireos, thrushes, wrens, gnatcatchers, swallows, hummingbirds, owls, buzzards, hawks, woodpeckers, cuckoos, kingfishers, eagles, ospreys, vultures, cormorants, pelicans, geese, ibises, storks, herons, cranes, plovers, quail, woodcocks, snipes, sandpipers, grebes, doves, rails, coots, and pigeons. It was taboo to kill some species of birds but many types were snared by various means or shot with blow gun or arrow. Along with quadrupeds, birds were closely connected with clan names.

Especially important in the medicinal mythology of the Cherokee were the reptiles and amphibians. In this group were the rattlesnakes, copperheads, and other snake species, the lizards, skinks, glass snakes, iguanas, turtles, frogs, toads, and salamanders.

The rivers and streams of the early days, before the chemical plants of the white man began using them for waste-product dumping places, abounded in fish such as perch, croakers, bass, pike, catfish, garfish, salmon, trout, and sturgeon. Many species of shellfish were also to be found. In Cherokee mythology fish, as well as quadrupeds and birds, cause diseases in man.

The insect world was not neglected in the Cherokee mythology. The warlike proclivities of the ants interested them greatly as did also the ways of the butterflies, beetles, crickets, flies, bugs, dragonflies, bees, and wasps. Among the lower animals worms were considered an important source of disease in man.

In summarizing the utilitarian effects of animals in Cherokee Culture it is worthy of note that scarcely any animal was domesticated in the older days. The dog appears to have been tamed and possibly also the bee, and turkeys were kept in captivity when young. The chief pursuit of the Cherokee men in the older period was the hunt. The principal objects of the hunt were bears, deer, bison, eagles, elk, beaver, turkeys, wild duck, and geese. These animals were hunted for food and for their hides, teeth, and bones. Anciently, also mollusks were gathered for food and for shell working and decoration. Fishing was seasonally very important in the Cherokee economy.

Among the ceremonial and nonutilitarian aspects of animals we note the important part played in mythology and lore. Intimately connected with the causation and cure of disease they were also linked with clan names, with mimetic dances, and education. The mimetic dances seem to have been connected with success in the hunt. Animals were conceived of as being organized like the Cherokees into clans and tribes with council houses and village settlements. The relationship between the Cherokee and animal species took on the character of international relations in which wars were waged, blood revenge was demanded and secured, alliances were contracted and dissolved, and peace declared. The prime objects of Cherokee raids on the animal world took on the same character as their plundering raids on other tribes of Indians, the only difference being that, in relation to the animals, the plunder was the body of the animal itself and that magic played a major part in the warding off of blood revenge and successful capture in the latter case.

ECOLOGY OF THE CHEROKEES

This tribe had a special adaptation to the Blue Ridge Physiographic Area. Settlements were elongated and strung out on river banks for considerable distances with little more than a few acres of level land in river bottoms. As in every case of tribal reaction to environment, there were two aspects visible in the ecology, namely: (1) An *autecological* aspect, or the means adopted by the tribe to adjust itself to immediate natural environment, and (2) the *synecological* aspect, or the means adopted whereby the tribe might adjust itself to other tribes, i. e., trade, theft, war, and predatoriness. Within the tribe each community or settlement had a corresponding autecology and synecology although the two tended to coincide in view of the relative homogeneity of the environment. It is through the tribal synecology that we find the existence of so-called "trade artifacts," or objects used by a specific tribe which could not possibly have been made by this group (or the material of which could not have come from the territories of this particular tribe). Thus, in one instance only the material may be foreign, in another both technique and material are foreign. In our catalog of material artifacts at least four categories can be distinguished: (1) Native articles made by native techniques of native materials, (2) native articles made by native techniques of foreign materials, (3) foreign articles made by foreign techniques of foreign materials, and (4) foreign articles made by foreign techniques of native materials. This came into great importance, especially in the distinction of marine from fresh-water shells, and their working.

The spheres of activities of the tribal members in relation to environment ought to be noted as follows: (1) The widest activity was war, which took the males far afield out of the normal habitat; in the case of the Cherokees as far north as the Ohio, as far west as the lower Tennessee, or even Mississippi River, and as far east as the Atlantic coast. The exaggerated land claims of the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and other tribes were undoubtedly based solely on the exploits of war parties in traveling immense distances, and resemble the claims of present day nations to uninhabited tropical jungles, or barren polar ice fields. (2) The next widest activity was hunting, which seemed hardly to have acquired the constancy of location characteristic of the northern Algonkians and often took members of the tribe great distances along rivers or valleys or mountain ridges in search of game. (3) The next activity, that of land cultivation and utilization, was not nearly as extensive as the first two

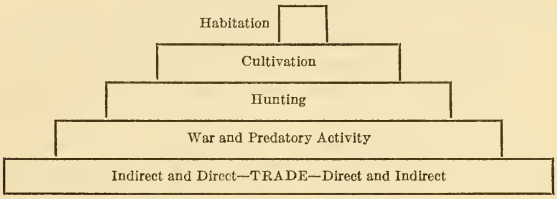


Figure 39.—Diagram of the spheres of tribal activity.

activities mentioned. It corresponds roughly with what we understand as the true habitat of the tribe and consisted invariably of river bottoms or nearby slopes. There was generally here, as well as in the next category of activities, a primary and a secondary type habitat. Examples of this form of Cherokee habitat are (a) Blue Ridge primary habitat, (b) Piedmont or Valley Provinces as secondary habitat. (4) The last of the spheres was the actual habitation area or sites of settlement. These latter are, of course, our primary concern as the nuclei of tribal life, which can still be discovered and described by archeological techniques. The trade relations of a tribe are difficult to fit into any of the foregoing categories. They might be said to constitute an elemental form wider than any other of the foregoing spheres. Trade relations are, however, of different sorts, direct trade or indirect trade (trade through intermediaries). The indirect trade extends spheres of trade interaction to virtually continental dimensions.

In the Southeast considerable attention has been directed to the Eastern Siouans, Choctaw, and Chitimacha as primarily trading groups who acted as intermediaries between tribes living in quite

different environments in the exchange of products. Undoubtedly the development of peaceful trade largely accounts for the building up of the entire material culture of the Southeast. Elements became known first through intermediaries, then directly, and finally are produced by the tribe itself. Thus a regular series of stages in growth is observed. Trade is probable whenever there are possibilities of contact with foreign groups. War enters in as a factor to counteract trade activities and to differentiate major social groups. The line of warlike relationships is generally the dividing line between major political groups, or confederacies. Thus we find Cherokee vs. Chickasaw, Cherokee vs. Creek, Chickasaw vs. Creek, etc. In some instances "civil" wars occurred within poorly organized areas as in the Timucuan region, the Eastern Siouan area, etc. This latter occurrence was rather unusual and clan blood revenge took care of most troubles within these social bodies. Thus we have the antithetical intertribal relations of trade and war.

These constitute the synecology of a tribe. Within the tribes hunting, soil cultivation, and habitation activities might be said to constitute the autecology. Hunting among the Cherokees was the practice of specialists and we know very little about it. The habits of animals were carefully observed, compounded with magical practices derived from the myths, and so "formulas" were developed and monopolized by the specialists. This lore has, unfortunately, been lost to a large extent. We know much more about soil cultivations, and the divisions of labor involved therein between the sexes. In common with most of the Southeastern tribes, the Cherokees were primarily sedentary agriculturalists, not migrants, and hence we can pin them down to definite areas. We know the plants cultivated, the supplementary wild plants used in times of scarcity, and much of the mythology and magic connected therewith. The final group of activities connected with habitations, eating, sleeping, physiological events, and the accompanying ritual are fairly well recorded in the literature.

At this point a word must be said about culture change and environment. None of the activities heretofore mentioned make for a static cultural situation. As a result we have to catch our culture traits on the run, so to speak, and hope that observers of some contemporaneousness will record a definite picture. Cherokee material culture was a very evanescent thing. New techniques were constantly in process of adoption and old ones of being discarded. The result is evident in such things as pottery. No one can definitely say what Cherokee pottery was at the time when the mounds were built in these areas although we might eventually find some strong indications by digging in historically recorded sites. The present-day techniques

are presumed to be of Catawba origin, although the clay is, of course, from the Cherokee area. The early observers, moreover, omitted the description of such fine points as basketry techniques or weaving of clothing. Hence, present-day Cherokee basketry is a mystery. Likewise the stone tools, both chipped and polished, were given absolutely no attention by ethnological writers. In hardly any sphere of material culture and especially in food preparation, clothing, manufacture and use, and house construction is it possible to derive a great deal of suggestion or helpful data from ethnological writers on the Cherokees for interpretation of present-day archeologic finds. This appears so potently before the mind of the present writer that he is forced to suggest that site analysis of known historic Cherokee settlements is the only practicable method of linking up any of the present-day archeologic finds with this specific tribe. A list of historic culture traits of the Cherokee may be suggestive in attempting to interpret archeologic finds, but that is probably the extent of its value. The Cherokees were possessed, let it be emphasized once more, of an especially dynamic culture whose composition was the result of diverse contacts and frequent changes of old lamps for new.

Among the items connected with environmental adaptation we ought to notice the extensive use of plants for medicines. Undoubtedly the Great Smokies is one of the richest areas in North America in varieties of plants from which the Indian could make his beloved decoctions for specific ills. Perhaps it was the attraction of this type which originally induced the Cherokees to settle in their rather inhospitable and inaccessible mountain homes.

The Cherokee area of eastern Tennessee, in common with the other surrounding regions, was one furnishing a fundamentally nonvegetable diet of deer, turkey, bear, and fish. The deer is an animal preferring open glades in mixed forest-grassland areas and eats grasses, shrub leaves, tree leaves, aquatic plants, and acorns. Besides being eaten by man, it is eaten by cougar, wolf, and wildcat. The bear is an omnivorous eater of grasses, fruits, berries, roots, ants, honey, small mammals and birds, fish, frogs, and carrion. It prefers thickets more than the deer.

It must be emphasized that food-chain relationships between animals and man are established habits and are fairly consistent over long periods of time. The dietary habit of the Cherokee tribes of this area, then, conjoined with known ecological areas, is a fundamental key to the early distribution of the Cherokee aborigines.

A great majority of the existing archeological sites of the Cherokee area occur on rivers. This is especially the case in eastern Tennessee. Here the best places for cultivation were canebrake areas because the cane stalks could be easily pulled out by their roots from the ground

and the latter thus cleared for crops. Maize, being likewise a grass plant, probably flourished in this environment. There are no native grass lands in eastern Tennessee excepting for the high mountain balds. On the whole, the forest areas were not suitable for cultivation since the trees obscured the sunlight necessary for crop growth and took up the better part of the space available. The clearing of such land was a task of considerable magnitude with stone implements.

The location of settlements in the lower valleys made them susceptible to flooding by the rivers and this insecurity frequently lead to hasty vacating of the town. In one site in Hamilton County, Tenn., T. M. N. Lewis found a layer of river silt between two distinct strata of cultural remains. Characteristic also of the low-lying areas was the hunting of small animals whereas the larger game animals were hunted in the mountain areas back from the river generally. This came to be especially true at a later date when game was becoming scarcer through the use of guns and white man's techniques. The modes of stalking and hunting game have not been reported in much detail for the Cherokee area. Animals may have been secured when they repaired to springs or other such drinking places and at salt licks.

The types of available materials and their uses reflect physiographic environments. The river bank emphasis is shown, for example, in the many uses of shells for decoration and utensils, the extensive use of cane for basketry and for blowguns, the use of cane for thatching dwellings or even for walls, the use of cane in fire making, the ritualistic importance of the river, the great emphasis on fish food, and, finally, the divisions of groups of settlements into localities by particular river habitats. On the other hand the occasional use of small trees for houses, especially large ceremonial structures, the dugout canoes, and the extensive use of bark fiber for clothing and basketry point to the supplementary use of the forested areas of the high slopes back from the rivers. Chipped and polished stone tools are also secured in quarries which are generally at a distance from the streams. Again, as has already been indicated, the character of the animals used reflects physiographic areas insofar as these animals have known habitat preferences.

It has been noted that major tribal groups are frequently located on small affluents of larger streams rather than on the major river courses. Thus, the early Choctaw sites were mainly on small affluents of the Tombigbee River, the early Chickasaw on small branches of the Tombigbee, Big Black, and Yazoo Rivers; in the case of the Cherokee, on the smaller branches of the Tennessee River and the Savannah River. In this connection, of course, it is very likely that the military value of back positions away from main traveled routes was of protective significance.

Locations again frequently occur at transition points between two distinct types of physiographic developments. For example, the Creeks were located on the fall line between the Coastal Plain and the Piedmont, as were also the Eastern Siouans. The Cherokees appear to have located on the border lines of the Piedmont and the Blue Ridge Provinces in part and on the border between the Appalachian Great Valley and the Blue Ridge for the remainder. An even more obvious case is furnished by the tribes on the coast proper, such as the Chitimacha of Louisiana, who traded on the advantage of having both land and sea products to use. In a sense the Cherokees were a peripheral group insofar as they were in the Blue Ridge Province the sole inhabitants apparently, whereas in the Piedmont and Great Valley Provinces they were in competition with other tribal groups. The more favored areas from the cultural standpoint in early days were the regions such as the Piedmont-Coastal Plain transition wherein trading peoples developed.

A few words should be said regarding the mountain balds. These clear grassy spaces on the ridges of high mountains were not used by the Cherokees, but were superstitiously avoided. As before mentioned, ritualistic use of rivers prevented settlement very far away from the valleys even though the balds did furnish springs. The openness of the balds together with the presence of springs seem to have attracted a considerable number of game animals, especially deer. Apparently at some early date the balds were resorted to by Indian groups since projectile points have been found in them. It is possible that the balds may have been used to drive game into the open yet it seems unlikely that they were created by the burning off of original forested areas for this purpose. Nor were they likely to have been burnt off by early man for settlement purposes. Their inaccessibility and exposed location are disadvantages for any type of permanent settlement. Most likely the mode of their creation was by natural soil factors.

Several lines of evidence go to prove that, in the main, the primary adaptation of the Cherokee was to a fairly high altitude. There is, first, the evidence furnished by the Cherokees themselves and, second, the evidence furnished by their cultural and linguistic relatives, the Iroquois and Caddo.

In the first place, there is the fact of the existing location of the Cherokees of the east in the high mountain areas of the Blue Ridge Province. Their expressed preference for this habitat is quite marked even at the present time. The mere threat that the United States was planning to remove the final remnant from their beloved mountain homes several times in the nineteenth century almost created a panic. Divinations, magical prayers, and other devices were resorted

to by the conjurers to prevent this anticipated calamity. Various ideas still circulate that the lowlands of Oklahoma are unhealthy and cause Cherokees to sicken and decay.

When the first of the emigrant Cherokees removed from their original Appalachian home in the late eighteenth century to the westward, their first sites of settlement were in the Ozarks, on the slopes of the Boston and Ouachita Mountain ridges of Arkansas. These areas furnished an environment most like the original habitat in the east. Later the Cherokees were forced by pressure from the whites into the northeastern hilly sections of Oklahoma. Those Cherokees who went to Mexico found, after a temporary sojourn in the Rio Grande Valley, a permanent home in the highlands of Jalisco near Guadalajara and Lake Chapala.

The original four groups of settlements of the Cherokees were all, except one group, in the highland area of the Appalachians. The single exception consisted of the Lower Settlement group of South Carolina, which seems to have been located exclusively in the Piedmont. This group of settlements disappeared so early before the advancing tide of European settlers that we have scant knowledge as to its character. There is some evidence that this region was inhabited by Siouans or Yuchi at the time of the earliest explorers and was later conquered by Cherokees from the north.

Finally, there is the evidence furnished by kindred cultural groups. The original sites of Iroquois settlements appear to have been exclusively confined to the high plateau areas of southern New York and northern Pennsylvania and it is only within the historic period itself that we find them settling in the lake valleys with which the tribal names have come to be indelibly associated. The stockading of bluff sites continues in the new habitat of the lowland areas, beside the lakes and rivers of central New York. Apparently both the Iroquois and the Cherokee are found sharing a preference for highland life when we first glimpse them. The Caddoan Tribes, likewise, although more plainslike than forestlike, in many respects show an original preference for the highlands of the Ozarks when we first hear of them. Later they find secondary adaptation, like the Iroquois, to lowland areas.

The Cherokee environment was a highly variegated one owing to the close juxtaposition on steep mountain slopes of diverse altitudinal assemblages of plants and animals. This variegation was probably a stimulant to local trade and cultural interrelations. Although communication in this rough topography was difficult, nevertheless we find a vigorous and a dominant people whose influence on the whole of the Southeastern Woodlands area was quite marked.

THE SOMATIC BASIS

HISTORY OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF CHEROKEE SOMATOLOGY

Scattering observations on the physical type of the Cherokees occur in a number of authors of the last two centuries. The first attempt at an accurate study was that of Frederick Starr in 1892 for the Chicago World's Fair of that year. Evidently no use was ever made of this study or the results ever published. In 1928 A. R. Kelly, of the University of Illinois, made a prolonged survey of physical traits, both descriptive and metric, among the Eastern Cherokees.

The Cherokees early showed a great susceptibility to smallpox and treated it so inexpertly that the tribe was at one time reduced by 50 percent through that disease.

The cephalic index in the southeastern area of aboriginal American Indian populations ranges from 75 to 84 and skulls average from 170 to 175 cm. in height. According to Brinton, Cherokee skulls are dolichocephalic. According to Hrdlička, Cherokee skulls are brachycephalic. Whether there was ever any artificial cranial deformation of the skull among the Cherokees is not definitely settled. The Western Cherokees were once called "flatheads." The custom could have been sporadic among the Cherokees in the earlier times from contacts with the Eastern Siouans.

The stature of both males and females was always recorded as from middle to tall. The body build is universally described as thin, delicate, and slender in both men and women. The extremities are rather small.

The complexion is described as rather light for Indians of the South by most observers. Starr describes two types—one with a light yellow-brown complexion and the other dark as burnt coffee, possessing a fat round little nose and hairy forehead. The forehead of these persons is narrow, low, and covered with fine, soft, short black hair, this characteristic disappearing after the age of 20. Other observers describe the skin as copper colored, or deep chestnut colored and obscured by red paint or other colored pigments.

The long black coarse hair sometimes appears brownish red and is almost soft in children. The hair has been variously treated in the course of the centuries. In the earlier times it was shaved save for a patch on the back of the head in the young and plucked out by the roots in the old. The long scalplock alone remained hanging from the apex of the head. Later the hair was allowed to grow and be confined by a fillet or a turban. Feathers were always favorite decorations for the hair. Women wore the hair of the head long but plucked it elsewhere.

According to Butrick, the ancient Cherokees wore beards but these were discarded with the coming of the white man in order to distin-

guish themselves from him. Other authorities concur in the statement that facial hair on the Cherokee visage was always scant and generally plucked.

Ears were slit and stretched to an enormous size in the old days. Silver pendants and rings hung from these ear slits.

Most authorities concur in the opinion that both physically and temperamentally the older Cherokees made a most favorable impression. They delighted in athletics and excelled in endurance of intense cold. Well featured and of erect carriage, of moderately robust build, they were possessed of a superior and independent bearing. Although grave and steady in manner and disposition to the point of melancholy and slow and reserved in speech they were withal frank, cheerful, and humane, as well as honest and liberal.

BLOOD ADMIXTURE

Mixing of blood between Cherokees and whites has been prolonged and extensive. Among the earlier blood infusions were those from Scotch traders, Scotch-Irish soldiers, and English or German farmers of the poor white class who came in land-hungry hordes. The Scotch contribution was notable and from it developed several important leaders. Negro admixture was negligible in the early days. Leaving out of this consideration the Western Cherokees, who are much more thoroughly mixed in blood than those in the east, we find several additions to the mixture already mentioned.

First, the Catawbas who were always close neighbors and who for a time in the nineteenth century dwelt with the Cherokee, introduced considerable blood of a highly mixed character, Indian-Negro-White. Land-hungry whites from all of the surrounding area are ever increasing intruders into Eastern Cherokee families and have given rise to a large class of "White Indians" (possessing a sixteenth or more blood of Cherokee origin). Again, some of the Cherokee students away at Indian Government Schools in Pennsylvania, Kansas, Virginia, and Oklahoma have brought back wives of other tribes (Seneca, Pueblo, Chippewa, etc.). Even Creek and Shawnee blood is still traceable in some families of the Eastern Cherokee.

A new method of possibly determing extent of admixture of bloods was tried about 1926 in the case of a sample of 250 Cherokees of North Carolina and reported on by L. H. Snyder. The percentages of the four recognized blood types were (in the Cherokees):

1	2	3	4
74.4 percent	16.0 percent	7.2 percent	2.4 percent

The relative percentages of the four recognized blood types in the average white American is—

1	2	3	4
45.00 percent	42.00 percent	10.00 percent	3.00 percent

Of the sampling of 250 Cherokees, 110 were pure-blooded (by testimony) and 140 were definitely known to be mixed. In the pure-blooded group the percentage of group 1 was 93.6 while the mixed group percentage of group 1 was 59.3 or much nearer the white ratio. This appears to substantiate a claim already made that the American Indian is predominantly of group 1 (Pacific-American) blood type and that the occurrence of other types is due to mixture of bloods.

The influence of personal differences in Cherokee culture seems to have been extensive, and the amount of individual freedom allowed among the Cherokees accounts not only for their singular lack of strong internal cohesion but also for the strong influence wielded by single leaders such as John Ross and others. The individual was in some lights more important than the group.

Population movements of various types have been noticed. Passing over the alleged early movement from the headwaters of the Ohio to their present homes, we perceive first the increasing southwesterly movement under pressure of the Anglo-Americans at the time of the Revolution. At the time of the Removal in 1830, Cherokee population centered in northern Georgia. The grand exodus of 1838 through Tennessee, Kentucky, Illinois, and Missouri to Oklahoma removed all except a scant hundred individuals who hid in the mountains. From these Indians who remained have sprung the present-day Eastern Cherokee.

The Cherokee physical type was variously modified through a reaction expressed in a number of ways, the chief being through labrets, earrings, scratching (scarification), bleeding of veins, coiffure arrangements, various body paintings, ornaments, and the like.

PRESENT-DAY PHYSICAL TYPE

Passing to the subject of general present-day somatology, we find that one of the best places to observe the general Cherokee type is at the dance. The average height is rather under that of the white man in the neighborhood, appearing to be about 5 feet 4 inches. The women are shorter than the men. The taller men range to 5 feet 10 inches. The build of the men, although in a few cases strikingly muscular and athletic, is in the main asthenic and wiry. The build of the women is variable. The younger girls are thin as a rule. The married and older women are well-rounded and rather heavy-set, especially around the waistline. Some of the very young girls are very chubby cheeked and almost obese. The face of the females is rather rounded with prominent cheek bones. Prognathism is sometimes apparent. The men seem to be lighter boned in the face and more approaching the white type of feature.

The long black hair of the women is in many cases rather attractive. The skin color is a variable brown tending toward lighter shading.

Mostly the hair is straight and black and moustaches or beards are rare. The complexion of the unexposed parts of the body is very light according to the testimony of informants. The Mongolian fold appears in the eyes of the females occasionally.

The beaklike formation of the face characteristic of Maya sculpture sometimes crops out. Ears are generally small, lips rather full but vary to thin. Brownish hair appears occasionally in children and is attributed to burning by the sun. Lighter eye coloring than is usual with dark races appears now and then.

The Cherokees have a peculiar walking gait consisting of short steps with the foot pointed straight forward and the back humped a little. A man can average 30 miles a day in walking although the Cherokees are not especially great travelers. Swimming is a favorite activity in summer. If cramps develop, a taboo is laid on rabbit meat with a fast of several days and scratchings. The swimming is mostly of the dog paddle variety although diving and water somersaults are indulged in. Formerly the Cherokees rode horses a good deal.

Sleeping postures vary immensely from the curled-up position of the child or the prone position of the adult to the chair-sleeping posture of the old men.

Childbirth is treated in some detail by other authorities. The woman is generally aided by midwives who hold the arms of the parturient upright while she keeps a standing or sitting position. The general practice is for the woman to go to the water with the conjurer when she has been pregnant for 5 months to see if the baby will be born sound or not. She then takes a physic every new moon from then on. Just before the birth, the woman is rubbed on the stomach to help her out. If the child is sidewise in the uterus, they will raise the woman up while the conjurer examines to see about the position. The beads are used to examine for the future of the expected child. Decoctions are sometimes drunk to aid difficult childbirths while the beads are reexamined to see what the probable outcome will then be.

The Cherokee physique is subject to a variety of diseases and disease symptoms. From study of the magical formulas almost any kind of disease can be deduced. The following is a list of symptoms treated in the prayers:

1. Urinary disorders.
2. Digestive disorders (stomach troubles, bloody flux, piles, etc.).
3. Skin disorders (cancers, scrofula, pellagra, pimples, warts, boils).
4. Birth and menstrual disorders (suppression, excessive flow, retention of afterbirth, breast sickness).
5. Circulatory disorders (anemia from hookworm, weak heart, leg swelling).
6. Respiratory disorders (tuberculosis, inflamed palate, pains in the chest, etc.).
7. Minor disorders such as toothache, earache, etc.
8. Nervous troubles such as insane terrors, paralysis.

9. Accidents such as lacerations, broken bones, gunshot wounds, snake bites, sunstroke, worms in bowels, etc.

According to one informant, the Cherokees suffer considerably from kidney trouble because they are in the custom of leaching lye from ashes to use with their bread to raise it. Also goitre was attributed to the excessive loads carried up hills by the women with the cloth straining on their neck muscles.

Tuberculosis is rather a common disease, along with another malnutrition disorder, pellagra. Gonorrhea is known, but a sure cure is claimed for it. It does not appear to be widespread. Syphilis is almost unknown. The very symptoms of this king of all diseases are apparently unrecognizable.

In summarizing these somatic asides, we might notice that the Cherokee physique is of the type called asthenic by Kretschmer, implying that a schizothymic diathesis might be expected. Be that as it may, the most noticeable insanities on the reservation have been manic-depressive, implying thereby a cyclothymic predisposition. There are no especially noticeable dysplasias, but a tendency toward hyperthyroidism might be suspected. An introverted or melancholic disposition is characteristic. The large abdomens seem to point to an emphasis on the digestive activities in the average Cherokee.

CENSUSES OF NUMBERS AND PEDIGREES

(For the following lists, see the files of the Indian Office at Washington, D. C.:)

1835. Treaty Roll.

1848. J. C. Mullay Roll. Names of North Carolina Cherokees of 1836 who did not go west. There were also some in Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama, totaling 2,133.

1850. D. W. Siler. Names of all in North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama.

1862. Terrell Roll listed soldiers of Cherokee extraction in Civil War.

1868. S. H. Swetland.

1882. J. G. Hester. Listed some 2,956. Most of these were in North Carolina, although some were in Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama.

1890. Jas. Blythe and H. W. Spray listed some 1,520 and 256 blockhouses.

(At the Cherokee, North Carolina, Indian Office the following records are to be found:)

1900. H. W. Spray and Jas. Blythe list for North Carolina and Tennessee of 1,376.

1910. Churchill Census. "This is the most authentic," says Mr. Walters, chief clerk of the reservation.

1920. Henderson Census.

1930. L. W. Page and S. D. A.

Yearly enumerations are made on the basis of annually registered births and deaths at the present time. One, Baker, in the 1926 enumeration, used the records at Washington in making up his list.

The age groups in the 1930 census were as follows:

Age	No.	Age	No.
0–1	23	40–49	104
1–3	19	50–59	104
4–9	79	60–69	55
10–19	163	70–79	30
20–29	146	80–89	11
30–39	110		

This great predominance of the younger elements in this population is significant of the mental attitude of the Cherokees, a youthful outlook on life, which we might not at first sight expect from such a conservative community.

These census records are hardly more than of supplemental value to the pedigrees collected from the natives themselves. The premarital names of wives are not mentioned and, of course, clanship affiliations go totally unnoticed in the official census records. On the other hand, the degree of social mobility indicated by the places of residence is given as well as the state, living or dead, of the persons enumerated at the time of listing. Also ages are rendered in the official censuses. The native names, which are so often valuable material, are generally faultily rendered in the censuses.

The writer's lists of Cherokee pedigrees, which were obtained from Will W. Long, Charley Lambert, John Lasi, Jim Taylor, Saunook Littlejohn, and others, are the first to be collected in this region. In the lists the writer endeavored to list, where possible, both the native and English name, condition (living or dead), clan affiliations, place of residence, and, of course, consanguinities and affinities so far as they were remembered. The limit of informants' knowledge was generally reached at the third or fourth ascending generation above his own and the generations descending were rather hazy (hence best supplemented from the official census records). Most of the pedigrees were obtained through the wonderful cooperation of Will W. Long by means of his ability to extract information from his relatives and neighbors where his own extensive stock of knowledge failed. Remarkable as it might seem, he was almost invariably able to give clan affiliations even where he forgot names and consanguinities. Only in a few cases wherein persons had moved in from some remote section was the clan unremembered.

CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS

SOUTHEASTERN TRAITS

In the main, the elements of the aboriginal material culture of the Cherokee were typically Southeastern. The chief cultivated plants were maize, beans, and tobacco. Other typical culture elements were

the skin breechclout and shirt, the feather cloak, the female short skirt of deerskin, the square house with gables and constructed of poles, the dugout canoe, and the blowgun.

Owing to the poverty of resources in the mountain environment, the Cherokees were lacking elements in which the rest of the Southeast shared. In several important respects, moreover, the Cherokees differed entirely from the rest of the Southeast, particularly in their use of triangular unnotched arrowpoints, round-bottom pottery, the grooveless celt, and some other points exclusively Iroquoian.

In the matter of ceremonies and beliefs the Cherokees differed but little from the rest of the Southeast. Typical elements shared by them with the other Southeastern tribes were the green corn feast, the sacred ark, the new fire rite, religious regard for the sun, use of divining crystals, scarification, priesthood, animal spirit theory of disease, and certain medical practices. A few of the myths of the Cherokees are reminiscent of the Iroquois, but the majority seem to be of Southeastern types.

From what we know of the superficial features of Cherokee social organization, such elements as matrilineal clans, matrilocal residence, a double division of government into white and red organizations, an emphasis on rank and military titles, intertown rivalry in ball games, and many features of the sexual division of labor were shared with the other Southeastern tribes.

Linguistically, the Cherokee shared a common inheritance with the Iroquois of the North, and showed remote, if any, affinity with the Muskogean family of the Southeast. In keeping with the topographically dissected nature of the country of the Cherokees, several dialectic variations occurred: (1) The Elati, now extinct, was once spoken in the Lower Settlements; (2) the Kituhwa was spoken in the Middle Settlements; and (3) the Atali was spoken in the Valley and Overhill Settlements. The Graham County Cherokees still use the Atali, and the Qualla Boundary Cherokees the Kituhwa dialect.

CULTURAL APPROACH

The primary purpose of this study, as was pointed out at the beginning, is to deal with two related problems: (1) The delineation of the principles involved in the present social organization of the Eastern Cherokees, and (2) the portrayal of the historical changes in this social system so far as these changes can be gleaned from past records of Cherokee culture. It must be realized from the outset that we are dealing with a partially deculturalized group in studying the present-day Cherokees, and that the admixture of white and native elements has gone so far in some instances as to render impossible any attempt to separate the two. The purpose of the first half of this study, there-

fore, is simply to describe, and, if possible, interpret the existing social organization and social integration of the Cherokees, laying emphasis on those elements which seem most important, regardless of their white or Indian origin. The purpose of the second half will be to attempt to trace back those elements which have had a recorded role in Cherokee history and separate them from the recent intrusive elements of white origin.

The form of procedure in the first part will be to outline the kinship system and kinship behavior, the clan organization, and the various political and economic groupings. The discussion in the second part will interpret the data presented in the first part in terms of the structural viewpoint developed by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and his group of investigators.

This represents, so far as is known to the writer, the first attempt to apply to data from the Southeast the principles of structural sociology. The literature on the Southeast is lacking in those data on which the structuralist lays most stress, namely, kinship usages and detailed material on social integration. This places a double duty on the pioneer in this area of both making sure of his ground in his statements concerning his particular subarea (in this case the Cherokee) and of cautiously avoiding erroneous interpretation of the data of other writers on this and culturally related tribes.

This synchronic study of the first two parts will be followed in the third part by a consideration of certain important early materials which would possibly lead to a historically helpful explanation of the existing features of Cherokee social organization and furnish the basis for a comparative study of change in methods of social integration. One of the results to be expected from this study is a test of the value of historical data as an adjunct to functional studies in general. If it should be shown that historical material is necessary in explaining the findings of present-day culture, then one of the basic premises of the Radcliffe-Brown school, namely, that historical reconstructions are unnecessary, will be opposed by an apparently negative case. If, on the other hand, the culture type of the Cherokees can be shown to have been unstable and shifting, then the historical data will prove itself to be of little value or importance for functionalism.

Finally, a fourth part will be devoted to a discussion of Cherokee culture considered in its diachronic aspects, in order to discern, if possible, the fundamental principles of the cultural changes undergone by this people. The changes in mode of integration and the significance of these changes will be pointed out and a definite answer will be sought for the question of the stability of the culture pattern or type.

PRESENT-DAY QUALLA

Before proceeding to a discussion of social units it might be helpful to consider the general background in which the Cherokee Society exists. The five towns of the Qualla Boundary today are Birdtown, Yellow Hill, Painttown, Wolftown, and Big Cove. Birdtown, Yellow Hill, and Big Cove are located in the valley of the Oconaluftee River proper while Wolftown and Painttown are located on the Soco Creek tributary of the Oconaluftee. Each town consists of a number of log cabins strung out at intervals of from a quarter to a half mile apart. There are two recognized neighborhoods in Big Cove, upper Big Cove, or "Raven," and lower Big Cove, or "Calico." Each of these neighborhoods is distinguished by certain social groupings limited to each.

The total native population of the Eastern Cherokee Reservation numbers scarcely 1,900 persons, and of these about 1,000 are still native enough to have clan affiliations. In Big Cove there are perhaps 300 persons grouped in 50 families. Of these scarcely half a dozen are white families. The town of Big Cove is the least permeated by white influences of the several towns.

The existing material culture of these towns is not distinguishable from that of the neighboring mountain whites. Each family possesses a tract of hillside or woodland of about 30 or 40 acres. Of this area perhaps some 6 acres may be cultivated and planted with corn, beans, or potatoes. The amount of stock owned is scant and consists of a horse, cow, a few hogs, and chickens.[2]

Such of the old culture as remains consists principally of nonmaterial elements. The speech of the home is still native although most, if not all, of the Cherokees speak or understand English. The kinship system and the various local political and other social organizations betray much of the aboriginal nonwhite inheritance. Locally there occur sporadic survivals of the old time dances, medicinal prayers, and other lore.

SOCIAL UNITS

THE TOWN

The Eastern Cherokees are organized politically in six towns[3] which have locally elected officials and which are united in a republican form of government known as The Eastern Band of Cherokees. Members of a Band Council are elected annually and a chief and vice-chief are also elected. These officials, as well as the United States Superintendent of the district, regulate affairs among the Indians and determine policies. The Eastern Band is incorporated

[2] Data on these subjects is contained in a thorough census of economic conditions in the reservation made by Roy Adams, the local school principal, in the summer of 1932, and kindly made available to the present writer by R. L. Spalsbury, Superintendent of the Reservation.

[3] The sixth town comprises the Graham County Settlements. The other five towns are of the Qualla Boundary.

under the laws of the State of North Carolina and hence a most confusing conflict of State, National, and Cherokee jurisdictions is to be found. Generally speaking, the State regulates taxation and administers common law in the area, the National Government regulates education and local welfare work, and the Cherokee Band regulates its own land policies.

Each of the six towns comprising the Eastern Band is composed of one or more local neighborhoods whose interests are expressed in several local organizations. These latter consist mainly of cooperative bodies such as the gadugi, and the funeral or poor aid societies. The unity of the town itself is recognized not only in its political organization with head councilman or councilmen but also in the organization of a town ball team and, in some cases, a town dance team. The importance of the ball team in emphasizing the unity of the town will be later elaborated. Suffice it to say here that the town organization has important ritualistic and kinship connections.

THE HOUSEHOLD

A smaller social unit, yet one of the utmost importance as the fundamental unit of Cherokee society, is the household, in which dwells the domestic family. The individual land tenure is not held in fee simple but rather as a grant to the individual householder on the condition of his occupation and cultivation of the area. Yet these tenures can be bought, sold, traded, or inherited just as if they were actually private property. The conditions under which land reverts to the band are not clear but generally pertain to circumstances in which the holder of the tenure has become a person who is not an actual bona fide member of the band. Usually, in order to be judged a member of the band, the possession of at least one-sixteenth Indian blood must be proved to the satisfaction of the band council.

The Cherokee household is generally made up of the simple domestic family with occasionally a few other relatives. Extended domestic families consisting of father, mother, children, mother's connections, and daughter's connections occur occasionally. Residence has many matrilocal features although the prevailing trend is toward the patrilocal type. In some cases two or more families quite unrelated may dwell together in perfect amity under the same roof.

The ordinary head of the household is the father. The authority and prestige of the father is shown in various ways. Family names are English and can be traced back at least three generations in a patrilineal line. Given names for children are selected by the father or the father's connections. The father must be obeyed by the child and must be defended and upheld on all occasions. The father is

the economic head of the family and is generally the wage earner bringing in a monetary income from handicraft arts or from labor with the gadugi in white employment.

The father was not always in a position of high authority in the Cherokee family. It is historically recorded that the father at one time came to live at the house of his wife and was there quite restricted in his activities and authority over the children. The mother's line was the most important means of tracing descent and the mother's brother was the person of authority in the family whose commands must be obeyed on all occasions. It is to be inferred, consequently, that the patripodestal family of today is a form borrowed from the white people.

The household is the land-owning unit. The title to the land resides in the male head of the family generally. In Big Cove some 35 native households were listed and from the accompanying table of household members some idea can be obtained of the degree of solidarity residing in the female connections within the individual household.

BIG COVE HOUSEHOLDS AND THEIR MEMBERS

	Number of cases
1. Simple complete families—husband, wife, with or without children	16
2. Simple complete families with wife's or daughter's relatives	4
3. Simple complete families with husband's or son's relatives	1
4. Single man	2
5. Single woman	0
6. Widow:	
a. With her own or her daughter's relatives	2
b. With her children	3
c. Alone	2
7. Widower:	
a. With his relatives or his son's	2
b. Alone	3

THE CLAN

The next unit of importance in Cherokee society is the clan. The many and often widely diverging definitions of the clan, as a segmentary division of society, a totemic lineage, and a kinship grouping, need not obscure the fundamental reality of its existence. Among the Cherokees matrilineal exogamous groups bearing totemic designations and having apparently some correlation with ritual, marriage, and other phases of culture function as social factors and are called "clans."

There are, and have always been, to the present memory of the natives, seven clans among the Cherokee. Their names are: Aniwahiya (Wolf), Anikawi (Deer), Anidjiskwa (Bird), Aniwodi (Red Paint), Anisahoni (Blue?), Anigotigewi (Wild Potatoes?), and Anigilohi (Twisters?).

The names of these clans call up totemic associations and are derived by the natives from various resemblances and occupations. The Wolf Clan used to hunt in the old days much like wolves. They were fond of wolves and used to raise them in captivity, training the pups just as dogs are trained. The Wolf clan used to be called Anidzogohi when the bears were said to have belonged to this clan and to the Cherokee tribe. It was, and still is, regarded as bad luck for a Cherokee to kill a Wolf.[4] Wolftown is named after this clan.

The Deer Clan used to be like the deer for swiftness. They also used to keep deer in captivity. They were skilled especially in being able to hunt and kill deer.[5] Part of Painttown was formerly called Deer-place (Kawiyi).

The Bird Clan people were always fond of birds and often kept captive crows and chicken hawks. They were noted for their successful use of snares and blowguns in bear hunting. Birdtown is named after this clan.

The Red Paint, or Hematite clan people were formerly noted for their ability and magic with the red iron oxide paint employed for love attraction and for protection. They were great conjurers in these matters. Painttown is named after them.

The Anisahoni Clan are named after a bluish plant that they used to gather from the swamps for food and medicine. This plant is called sakoni or sahoni and is a kind of narrow-leaved grass having a berry like a young cucumber. Only the roots were used. It was customary to bathe the children every new moon in a decoction of this plant to protect them from all diseases.

The Anigotigewi Clan always used to gather wild potatoes. Wild potatoes are like sweet potatoes except that they are round. They grow in swampy places along the rivers. This clan was especially fond of the wild potato, and many Indian people still eat them.

The Anigilohi clan are supposed to have derived their name in two ways. One way would be through the word gagiloha, "one who twists," changed to ugilaha, "one born twisted," and Anigilohi, "those who are born twisted," referring to the fact that they used to be a very proud people who strutted when they walked and twisted their shoulders in a very haughty manner. According to another version, the name is derived from ugilohi, "long hair," referring to the love of adornment and display of their elaborate coiffures which was once characteristic of this people.

[4] Mooney (1900, pp. 261–311, section on Wolf) mentions the professional "wolf killer" who used magic.

[5] J. H. Logan (1859, p. 26) mentions the professional "deer killer" who, like the wolf killer, used magic to avoid evil consequences.

TABLE 1.—*Clan names of the Cherokees*

Clan name	1 Haywood	2 Payne	3 Payne	4 Lanman	5 Morgan	6 Gatschet	7 Mooney	8 Gilbert
1. Wolf		Unknee why-yah	Aniwahiyi	In-a-wah-ha-yah	Aniwhiya	Aniweyahia	Aniwa ya	Aniwahiya.
2. Deer	Hawee	Unknee-cow-wee	Anihawi	In-e-co-wih	Anikawih		Ani-hewi	Anikawi.
3. Bird	Cheesqua	Unknee-chee-squah	Ani tsisga	In-e-chees-quah	Anidseskwa ("extinct").	Anitsiskwa	Ani-tsi-skwa	Anidjiskwa.
4. Paint	Wo-te-a	Unknee-woti-tah	Ani woti	In-e-wo-tah	Ani wote	Aniwote	Ani-wo di	Aniwodi.
5. Blue	Nesonee (rings of the ears cut off).	Unknee-sah-aw-nagh.	Ani sahoni	In-e-se-ho-nih	Anisahokni	Anisahoni	Ani-sahani (?)	Anisahoni.
6. Wild potato	Neho-lo-hawee	Unknee-hawkt-a-kayagh (blind savannah).	Ani-kotakewi (blind savannah).	In-e-co-te-ca-wih (?).	Anigotoganih (long prairie).	Anigodegewe (?)	Ani-gata-gewi (?)	Anigotigewi (?).
7. Twist	Hank-a-lo-hee (hair hanging loose).	Unknee-kay-law-eh (long hair).	Anigilohi (long hair).	In-egil-lohee (pretty face).	Anikalohai (long hair).	Ane-igilohi (long hair).	Ani-gila hi (?)	Anigilohi (?).
8. Acorn					Anidsula (extinct)	Ani go-ule or Ani-kule (acorn).		
9. Deaf					Dsuliniana			
10. Holly tree					Anisdasde			
11. Hollow Leaf	Ne-lus-te							

There are some six or seven previous lists of Cherokee clans from as many authors and altogether there is a fair amount of correlation in names as may be seen from table 1 (p. 205).

A list was compiled of 321 families among the Eastern Cherokees (table 2), and clan affiliations of the family heads were noted for some 475 individuals (table 3). Of these families 28 (about 8 percent) were absolutely clanless; in 71 families (22 percent) showed only one of the two heads of the family to possess clan affiliations, and in 31 families (9 percent) father and mother both appeared to be of the same clan. So far as absolute numbers go, the Wolf Clan was far in the lead with 142 members (30 percent) followed tardily by the Bird with 94 members (20 percent). These two clans accounted for 50 percent of all the individuals listed as having clan affiliations. The Twister and Deer Clans tied for third place with 73 members each (15 percent each) and far below them came Red Paint with 34 members, Wild Potato with 32, and Blue with 27 members.

The Wolf clan predominates in Wolftown, the Wright's Creek area of Painttown, in Yellow Hill and Birdtown, besides disputing first place in Big Cove with the Deer clan. The Wolf clan is, in fact, strongly represented everywhere except in Graham County, where it hardly exists. The Deer clan ranks highest in Big Cove and is numerous in Graham County. Elsewhere it is weakly represented. The Bird clan ranks highest of all clans in numbers in Graham County and ranks second in Wolftown, Painttown, and Yellow Hill. The Paint clan predominates locally in the Wright's Creek area of Painttown. The Blue clan is scarce everywhere except in Big Cove, and the Potato clan is scarce everywhere save that it increases toward the western towns. The Twister clan is at its strongest in Birdtown and Yellow Hill.

TABLE 2.—*Survey of clan affiliations of family heads of Eastern Cherokee households*

Town	A Clanless households	B Only one of two with clan	C Both heads of same clan	D Normal clanned households	Total households
Big Cove	10	6	1	38	55
Yellow Hill	11	22	4	31	68
Wolftown and Painttown	3	28	13	66	110
Birdtown	4	15	7	35	61
Graham County		6	21	0	27
	[1] 28	[2] 77	[3] 46	[4] 170	321

[1] Mostly "white Indian."
[2] Mixed families.
[3] Abnormal marriages.
[4] Typical marriages.

Local preponderances of one or two clans is quite large. Some 57 percent of Big Cove consists of Deer and Wolf; 60 percent of Yellow

Hill consists of Wolf and Bird; 50 percent of Wolftown and Painttown consists of Wolf and Bird; 65 percent of Birdtown consists of Wolf and Twister; and 73 percent of Graham County consists of Bird and Deer. On the whole, the less thickly settled areas such as Graham County and Big Cove show a greater preponderance of one or two clans over the others than do the more densely populated areas such as Painttown and Yellow Hill.

TABLE 3.—*Representative numbers of the members of the various clans among family heads in each town*

Town [1]	Wolf	Deer	Bird	Paint	Blue	Potato	Twister	Total
Big Cove	19	21	8	1	12	1	7	69
Yellow Hill	32	7	19	4	7	4	10	83
Wolftown and Painttown	57	22	32	22	4	16	22	175
Birdtown	32	8	11	3	3	8	30	95
Graham County	2	15	24	4	1	3	4	53
Total	142	73	94	34	27	32	73	475

[1] The figures herein cited by no means include all of the individuals possessing clan affiliations among the Eastern Cherokees but rather a representative sampling in each town of a total of 475 individuals.

The significance of the relative percentages of the various clans in each town will be seen later in the discussion on the preferential marriage system.

The clan is the subject of a number of magical ideas and practices. The clan is regarded as being identical with the mother's blood. This blood gets into the food a woman prepares during her menstrual period, and if a man eats of this tainted food he becomes sick. Only a woman with clan can cause this sickness, not a white woman. For this sickness there is a medicine, but the application of the cure to the man causes the woman to become still more violently taken during her own sickness.

It is the idea of the blood connection of the clan which allies with the blood revenge principle. According to the old Mosaic idea of "an eye for an eye" and "a tooth for a tooth," the older brother of a person who has been injured by a certain man takes revenge on the offender or a member of his clan. The principle of blood revenge, held in abeyance by white man's laws, may still function under cover in the conjuring battles between rival magicians.

The clan is believed by the Cherokees to have been derived along with their songs, dances, and magical formulas from the great mythical giant Old Stonecoat, who was slain long ago. The legend relates that this giant was burned at the stake and as his spirit ascended on high it sang forth the whole culture of the Cherokees. Included in the words uttered were the rules and regulations which govern the clan even today. Going to the water in clan groups for purificatory ceremonies is a custom abandoned only recently. As the conjurer prayed

for the family he mentioned the clan by name and prognosticated as to the future fortunes of its individual members. In all of his conjuring practices, whether for the good or ill of the person affected, the conjurer is above all careful to get the right name and clan of the person to be conjured on, otherwise the charm would be powerless.

A council of seven members to represent the seven clans is always employed in selecting a conjurer to pray for rain or to magically order a favorable change in the weather. This clan representative council is allied to the older council pattern of village government by an executive council of seven members recorded for the Cherokees of the earlier culture in the Payne manuscripts.

The clan is inherited through the mother. Hence the mother's clan is ego's clan. From ego's clan a whole series of relationships are developed. All members of ego's clan except mother and her sisters, brothers, and grandparents are "brothers" and "sisters" to ego. Ego is forbidden to ever marry one of these "brothers" or "sisters." The term "child" is applied to anyone whose father is one of these brothers.

The next most important clan is ego's father's clan. Everyone in this clan is a "father" or a "father's sister" or "grandmother." All men marrying "father's sisters" are "grandfathers" and all of the women marrying "fathers" are "step-parents" if of a different clan from ego's, or "mothers" if of ego's clan. All children of "fathers" are "brothers and sisters."

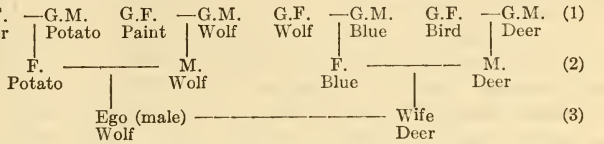
Two other clans are important in the average individual's reckoning, the mother's father's clan and the father's father's clan. All the persons in both these clans are "grandmothers" and "grandfathers." It is among these "grandfathers" and "grandmothers" that the ego must find a marriageable mate. Toward all of these persons behavior of a familiar nature is allowed.

The regular configuration of rights and duties toward some four clans is carried on in every village wherever one chances to be. When a man is traveling in a distant village and needs shelter for the night he seeks one of his "brothers" of his own clan. The ascertaining of mutual clan affiliations is the ordinary form of greeting between two persons when meeting for the first time. There are several ways of ascertaining a given man's clan without asking him. He may be found always associating with his own clansmen, and the affiliations of one of these may be known. Then again it is only necessary to observe his behavior toward these persons whose clan affiliations are already known to determine his clan. Hence, in general, it is quite easy after some slight acquaintance within a given village to know how to behave toward a number of persons who stand in given relationships to ego.

One's grandfather on the maternal side is generally of a different clan from one's grandfather on the paternal side. The reason for this

is that marriage with a "sister" or woman whose father is the same as one's own is forbidden with the result that in few cases is the wife's father of the same clan as her husband's father.

In order to properly objectify the relationships involved in a clan pedigree, we will select a typical three-generation set of individuals. Only the clans of the individuals will be given since that is the primary concern of this chart.



In the above pedigree, ego sustains the following relationships:

(1) *Wolf clan.*—This is his own clan and he is on the terms of fullest familiarity with its members except that he cannot marry a woman of this clan and he must respect his mother and her siblings, his own children, and his sister's children.

(2) *Potato clan.*—He must always respect this clan because its members are all "fathers" and "father's sisters." Anyone whose father is in this clan is a "brother" or "sister" to ego.

(3) *Deer clan.*—He may find his wife in this clan and did in this case. This is his ginisi (paternal grandfather's) clan and can be joked with and treated pretty freely. After marriage with a Deer woman, however, he must respect the wife's mother and her siblings.

(4) *Paint clan.*—This is treated exactly like the Deer clan.

(5) Persons of the other three clans are treated exactly as their personal relationships to the Wolf or Potato clans prescribe. In this case wife's father (Blue) is respected. Yet, if X, say, is Blue and has a father who is Potato, then X is a brother to ego.

If ego in this case lives in Big Cove and goes to Painttown on a visit, he finds out the clan affiliations of everyone he meets. Then he knows how to behave. Every Potato that he meets must be treated with great respect and praised highly. On meeting persons whose father is Potato he jokes with them as brothers and sisters. He would not think of marrying one of these, however. He stays at the house of Wolf people in Painttown. If he were visited by Wolf people, he would keep them in his own house at Big Cove. He must respect people whose fathers were of Wolf clan as they are the same as children to him. If he finds a man whose father's father is of Deer clan, he must respect him because his own father's father was Deer and hence that man is a brother of his own father.

ECONOMIC UNITS

After the household and clan the most important social units are the economic divisions. Some account must be given of the general

economic situation by way of introducing the economic units. The methods of landholding afford the foundation of Cherokee economics.

Since Congress passed the law in recent years allowing persons of one thirty-second Indian blood to be enrolled as members of the band, the number of Cherokees has much increased. The 1,900 members of the band in 1930 was suddenly increased by 1,100 more persons of one-sixteenth or less blood. There is evidently a desire on the part of white people to become enrolled as members of the band. It is the land which attracts the whites into the tribe, and the possibility of a future allotment of the land to individual owners in fee simple is very alluring. Some 12 families out of the 50 families at Big Cove are "white Indians," or persons showing no perceptible Indian characteristics either in physique or culture. Some white families have even been admitted into the tribe by the act of adopting a Cherokee child, others by the marriage of a relative to an Indian man or woman. The "white Indians" tend to take up all of the best land. In the district of Raven, for example, practically all of the best bottom land along the streams is preempted by two or three white families. The purebloods retain small holdings of steep hillside land, rocky and forested. The average Indian holding is 30 acres, and of this hardly more than six is cultivated as a rule. There is nothing to prevent the buying up or inheriting of land beyond the 30-acre limit.

In the Adam's Creek district of Birdtown the same situation exists, namely the white Indians occupying all the low-lying level and fertile areas while the purer bloods occupy the rim of the valley. Again in the rich Soco bottoms, an immense amount of white invasion has taken place and intermarriage with the Indians occurred.

The pureblood Indians acting as individuals are not able to hold their property or land for long. Several instances, which occurred in Big Cove in recent years, of the loss of property and money at the hands of unscrupulous persons emphasizes this. Moreover, land titles have always been in a confused state. Claims are generally based on the Temple survey, made in 1876. But the boundaries are constantly in dispute. The end result of the constant wrangling which has occurred is that the small landowner has been pushed to the wall by a few white Indians. Consequently, there are many persons in favor of an allotment of the tribal lands in individual holdings with fee simple. As yet, the allotment principle has not been adopted.

An examination of some 49 households in Big Cove showed that in 40 cases the land was a simple grant from the tribe and that in the remaining 9 cases the holdings were rentals from other members of the tribe. This constitutes a proportion of home owners to renters of approximately 80 percent to 20 percent. The proximity of considerable unclaimed land has allowed a great amount of homesteading.

Also, unimproved land reverts to the tribe, and keeps the land from becoming absorbed in unused claims.

As far as was remembered by the informant, the average number of changes of tenure of households in Big Cove was from two to three times; however, limitations of knowledge on the part of informants may vitiate this estimate. Of the recorded changes of property in Big Cove, 32 were changes of possession through inheritance, and 23 were changes of possession through purchase.

The methods of obtaining the land tenures were the following: (1) Inheritance, in 17 cases; (2) homesteading and improving wild land in 11 cases; (3) purchase from previous owners in 8 cases; (4) "swapping" in 4 cases; and (5) squatting on disputed land in 1 case.

In the 17 cases of inheritance, 8 households were inherited from the man's father or grandfather, 5 inherited from the wife's father, 1 from taking care of an old person, 1 from the wife's mother, 1 from the deceased husband, 1 from the wife's former husband, and 1 from the sister's husband.

All of the 50 households were originally homesteads. The general method of homesteading consists in clearing a small acreage for crops and erecting some sort of a dwelling thereon, after having applied to the Council for a grant to legalize the holding. Places which are unoccupied become liable to homesteading even if still claimed by the original owners.

"Swapping" of lands is a common practice. Persons are constantly moving from one town to another or from lowland to highland. Cherokees of the more conservative type are perpetually trying to locate further away from the trails which lead to the white man's world.

The annual cycle of events in Cherokee economy are as follows: In latter April or early May, pototoes, corn, and beans are planted. The harvest comes in August or in early September. The corn is ground in corn mills run by water power. During the summer, fish constitutes a large item of sustenance. Any rainy day in summer, the Cherokee man can be seen wending his way to the stream with his hornet's larvae bait over his shoulders. In good weather, during the summer, he spends his time hoeing the corn or in making hay. He may have a few side crops such as sweetpotatoes, cabbages, turnips, pumpkins, squash, parsnips, carrots, and tobacco. In the late spring various kinds of berries are gathered, such as blackberries, blueberries, gooseberries, huckleberries, and strawberries. During the summer, fruit such as apples, plums, grapes, and the like ripen. During the summer also, the ball game is played. The fall is the period for hunting and dancing. Various small rodents such as rabbit and squirrel are hunted, and nuts are gathered. In the winter, a great part of the time is spent in gathering wood for the fire, tending the

stock, and dancing. The amount of stock is now very limited, but may consist of some pigs, chickens, a few cows, steers, and horses. Bacon and sausage are sometimes made. In early spring, some hunting is done, and plowing on the steep hillsides with the aid of steers.

Various forms of economic cooperation exist between Cherokee neighbors. Of these the most typical are the *gadugi*, or "companies," and the poor aid societies.[6] The gadugi consists of a group of a dozen men organized in the form of a corporation, with a treasurer, a sheriff or money collector, a warner to catch the laggards, a secretary, and a chief. All of these officials are elected by the members of the company annually. The most important officials are the chief, who hires out the company, and the warner, who commands the operations of the company, tells them how long to work, and regulates the labor in general.

The gadugi hires out its services, and divides the profits annually among its members. In addition to this, the members of the gadugi work in rotation each other's farms for 4 days in the week. For example, white people hire the gadugi for $2 a day, which averages about 20 cents a day per member. The members of the gadugi may borrow money from the common treasury, such as 10 cents or 50 cents on the dollar earned by the month. In order to borrow money, however, one has to place a mortgage on stock, land, or dwelling. Two or three women often belong to the gadugi, as cooks. A woman cooks in the morning and helps in the other tasks of the gadugi in the afternoon. During her menstrual period, a woman is not allowed to cook. The tasks of the gadugi consist of ordinary agricultural labors, such as hoeing corn, cutting the tops of corn for cattle fodder, and clearing fresh land for agriculture. About one-fourth of the people of Big Cove belong to these gadugi. There are two gadugi in Big Cove, one in Raven, or upper Big Cove, and one in Calico, or lower Big Cove.

The habit of exchange of services between neighbors still persists. Farmer A and his family spend a day with farmer B and his family in digging potatoes. Here there is no money transaction involved, but rather a simple exchange of services with the gift of a few potatoes and some meals. A pattern of spontaneous cooperation for a common purpose exists among the Cherokees. Whenever the community desires the services of some useful person, such as a conjuror, everyone in the neighborhood assembles and proceeds to render some service to that person. Some will hoe the corn, some will cut wood, others will fix up his house. Another form of cooperation is shown in enterprises for public good. When a new footbridge is needed, the band will furnish the materials, and the

[6] The gadugi are described by Starr, Boston (1899, p. 140).

people in the neighborhood will assemble and put the bridge together in a short time.

Still another form of cooperation of great importance among the Cherokees is the poor aid society.[7] Annually the people of the Raven district meet on August 10th in the graveyard. Here they elect a chief undertaker, a secretary, gravedigger, coffin maker, and two warners. The assembly then combines to clean up the graveyard of weeds, and to straighten up the tombstones. The officials have various duties. The chief acts as director of poor aid, the warners are delegated to look after the poor.

When a family is in bad straits, the chief directs the two warners to go around and collect the neighbors together. When these are collected together, they do the planting, hoeing, harvesting, and cutting wood for the family. For this the neighbors expect payment in kind from the family which they assist, in the form of chickens or other livestock. The chief can command the services of the community with 3 days' notice during the summertime. At other times, he can command immediate service.

At the death of a certain person, the gravedigging company is notified, and the chief gives notice to his helpers to collect together and dig the grave. The gravediggers consist of a company of six volunteers who obey the chief. All these are appointed for 1 year. The coffin is made by the coffin maker and two assistants. Nomination and election of all of these officials is generally made from volunteers. The ritual accompanying death and burial will be mentioned in the section on the life cycle.

There is, in addition to the foregoing forms of cooperation, a farm organization in Big Cove which is sponsored by the United States Government. Intended to include all of the adults of the community, it has the purpose of raising the level of crop production in quality and quantity. Its head is the Government farm agent, and annual and other meetings are held in the schoolhouse.

The economic life of the Cherokees today is largely a resultant of the interracial situation which exists between the Cherokees and the white man. As we have already noted, the whites have tended to absorb the best lands of the reservation even under a stringent system of land grants only to members in good standing of the tribe.

Because of this there has grown up a chronic resistance to white encroachments in the form of a resilient negativism to all white influences. In this connection several examples came to the fore. A century of missionary proselytizing has few results to show among the Cherokees. A very small minority of the Cherokees of Big Cove are pro-

[7] Described by Olbrechts (Mooney and Olbrechts, 1932, pp. 135–36).

fessing Christians. These few are divided between the Baptist and Methodist sects in the main, and their influence is ebbing steadily.

In the case of the penal sanctions governing the Cherokees there is also a complete failure of the white influences to become entirely dominant. In cases of murder the local white authorities are left utterly in the dark as to witnesses since the racial solidarity of the Indians is great enough to prevent reliable testimony being given in court.

The principal North Carolina State laws affecting them are resented by the Cherokees. They are regarded as being the cause of the present depressed economic state of the people. In the old days during autumn the Cherokees were accustomed to setting fire to the brush and light timber on hillsides in order to roast the chestnuts, which were to be found in great numbers at that time of the year. Now, the State Law forbidding brush or timber fires has ruined all of the chestnut trees and made them subject to blight, say the Indians. The hills, again, were formerly the free grazing ground of the cattle, razorback hogs, and other stock of the Cherokees, but the State stock law passed some time ago, which required the fencing in of grazing areas, has caused the Cherokee stock to dwindle and disappear.

Still other grievances are laid against the white man. The poisoning of the wolves has ridded the country of these sacred animals and the white hunters have exterminated the deer, pigeon, bear, and other game. The State law forbidding the poisoning of the streams has at one stroke ruined one of the principal methods of fishing formerly in vogue among the Cherokees. Moreover, it is claimed that the State tax on corporations is so high that the formerly flourishing cooperative companies, the gadugi, have been taxed out of existence. The gadugi existed in a time when a more universal prosperity existed among the Cherokees than that which exists today.

Even the white education instilled in the younger generation of Indians does not always take root. The college graduates of Haskell or Chilocco often return to their hillside farms and forget entirely their profession or trade learned while away at school.

In one line of effort, however, white influence has been an entire success. The commercial activities of the Cherokees have increased owing to the more frequent and numerous contacts with white demand for local products. An annual fair is held at Yellow Hill in September in which a complete display of products from Cherokee hands competes with a graphic display of sports and dances characteristic of the tribe for local and State interest. For agricultural products and Indian artifacts there has arisen a considerable demand and the interest in the dancing and the ball game on the part of the whites has led to the formation of Indian companies to travel and give exhibitions of native games and dances in white communities. Qualla itself forms an ideal "ethno-park."

POLITICAL UNITS

The economic units having been mentioned, there remains only the political units to be considered in closing this discussion. These units consist of the town and the band. The town is a unit only in elections and most of its functions are purely fictitious. The real political life resides in the band council and the chieftainship (Donaldson, 1890).

The Cherokee Council meets annually the first Monday in October. It consists of members elected from each of the six towns of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. Elections of the council members take place every 2 years on the first Thursday of September.

The Chief is elected on the same day every 4 years. Previous to the election there is a convention of delegates from all over the band, two delegates from each district or town. Each town chooses its delegates at a special meeting in the summer. At Big Cove a meeting is held the first Saturday in August at the schoolhouse and a regular organization of officers presides. This might be said to resemble the primaries held under the American party system.

The old council meets 60 days before the election at the town of Yellow Hill when summoned by the chief. It then passes a resolution to choose delegates from each town to the band convention. From two to six candidates may be making the rounds, stumping for office. Sixty days before the election the council also selects two judges to preside over the election.

The council decides questions having to do with land tenure and aid to the needy, the disposition of tribal funds, improvements for the public welfare, questions of membership in the tribe, and other problems. It meets for 2 or 3 days in early December, elects a marshal, and then transacts general business. Much of its time is taken up in discussions of the budget, the advisability of leasing lands for lumbering purposes, petitions to the Congress of the United States, solving pressing land disputes, and the like. The decisions on land disputes are a constant necessity. No tribesman possesses land in fee simple but only as a grant tenable during the lifetime and good behavior of the individual. The land reverts to the tribe at the death of the individual but is usually regranted to the heirs. Improvements are willed to the heirs.

The chief of the band has a position of great dignity analogous to the position of the Chief Executive of the United States. Before the present form of government was adopted by the Eastern Cherokees in 1870–75, there were chiefs in each settlement. There were, moreover, at that time several more towns than there are now among the Eastern Cherokees. There have been some 13 national chiefs among the Eastern Cherokees from 1870 to the present.

The chief, together with the vice chief, constitutes a sort of executive committee of the council, which latter is theoretically supreme. The chief has great dignity, however, and travels about the reservation deciding questions of boundaries, trespasses on land, etc. He can veto acts of the council, but his veto can be overridden by a two-thirds majority vote. The marshal enforces the decisions of the chief and the council.

The United States has long ago abolished the Indian agent among the Cherokees but has allowed an attorney to be retained by the tribe. The American Government has two departments of contact with the Cherokees; the schools and the charity work, both under the supervision of the Indian Bureau at Washington. A superintendent has charge over the schools and tribal affairs in general and can override decisions of both council and chief. He regulates the disposal of funds, the health and welfare activities of the American Government, and the like.

The school system consists of several day schools of four grades in the outlying towns and some eight grades at the main school in Yellow Hill. From here students leave for free educations at Haskell, Chilocco, and elsewhere in the west.

The influence of the State of North Carolina is but weakly felt. The administration of criminal law and the collection of some kinds of taxes seems to represent all that is at present actively affecting the Cherokees. In some years the Cherokees vote in national elections as registered citizens of the United States.

The band of Eastern Cherokees, in conclusion, is unified in the following ways: (1) Through possession of a local semiautonomous political organization into towns and band; (2) through the system of land tenure grants to persons judged as genuine Cherokees and members of the tribe, and (3) through the possession by most of the Cherokees of clan affiliation inherited through the mother, which affiliation automatically links the individual with the distinctive kinship system of the Cherokee Society.

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

PRINCIPAL TERMS USED

The accompanying charts outline the main kinship terms employed by the Cherokees. Figures 40, 41, and 42 are mostly terms of consanguinity while figure 43 includes the terms of affinity. It will be seen at once that the system is of the "classificatory" type common among the American Indian tribes in which relatives of near and remote propinquity are classed together.

In the grandparent's generation there are separate terms for "father's father," "mother's father," and "grandmother." In the par-

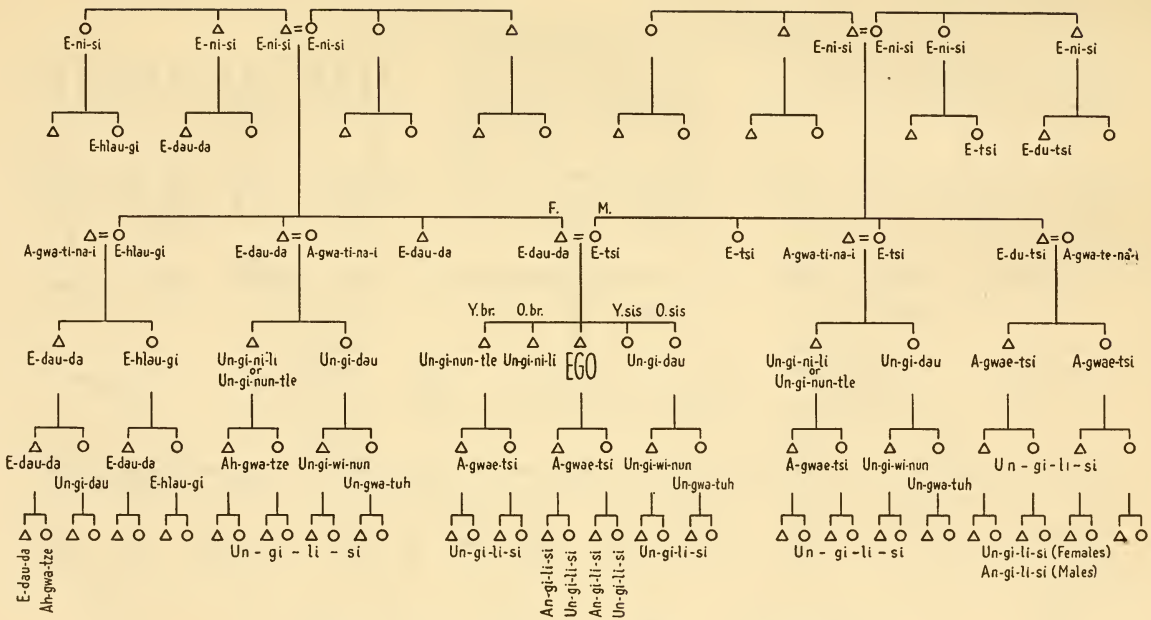


FIGURE 40.—Western Cherokee kinship: Male ego (after Morgan).

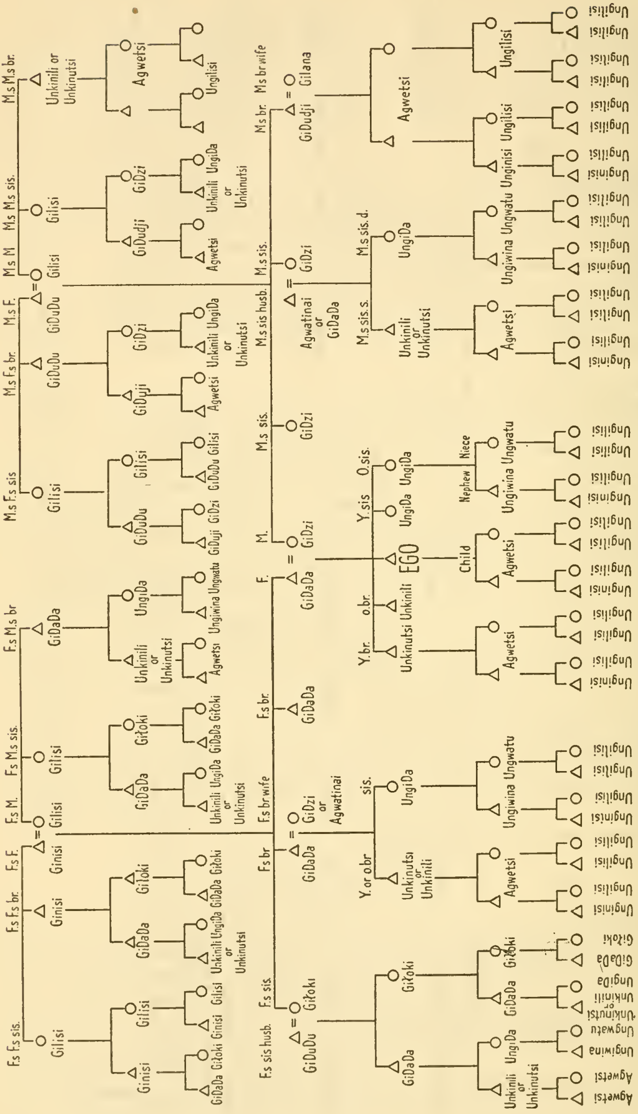


Figure 41.—Cherokee kinship consanguines: Male ego.

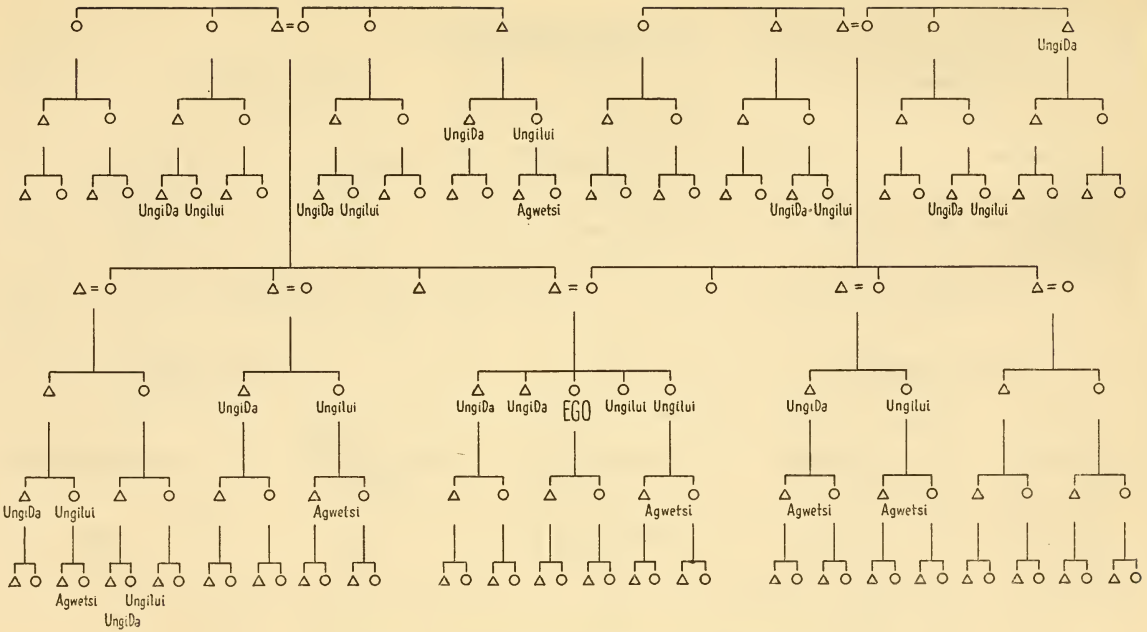


FIGURE 42.—Cherokee kinship consanguines: Female ego.

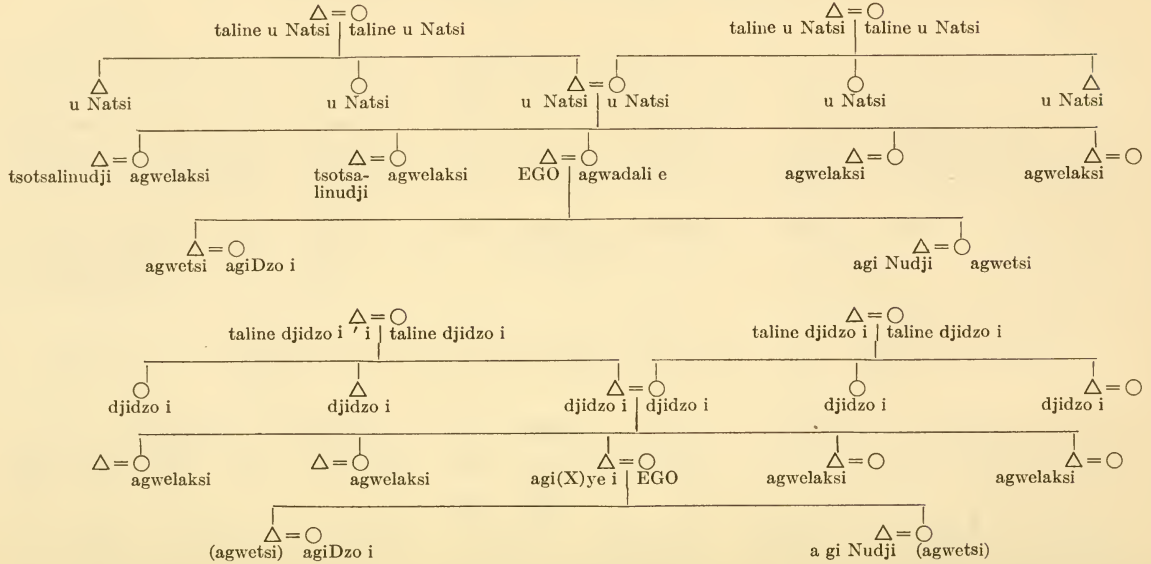


FIGURE 43.—Cherokee kinship affinities.

ent's generation there are distinct terms for "father," "mother," "father's sister," "mother's brother," and "mother's brother's wife." The father's sister's husband is classed as "grandfather" and the father's brother's wife and mother's sister's husband are classed as "step-parents." A single term is used for the wife's parents and their siblings and a single term is likewise used for the husband's parents and their siblings.

In ego's generation the male speaker distinguishes his older and younger brothers by distinct terms. The female speaker uses a single term for "brother" which when used by the male speaker means "sister." In ego's generation, also, the cross cousins are differentiated, the children of the father's sister being "father" and "father's sister," while the children of the mother's brother are "children." Parallel cousins are "brothers" and "sisters" and a single reciprocal term is used for brother's wife, sister's husband, wife's brother or sister, and husband's brother or sister.

In the children's generation, sex of the individual is not ordinarily distinguished except that a man distinguishes his sister's children as "nephew" and "niece" and the "son's wife" and "daughter's husband" are distinguished. In the grandchildren's generation, a general term is used which differs in consonantal quality for male grandchildren through a male child, on the one hand, and female grandchildren through a male child, or grandchildren through a female child, on the other. The children of nephew or niece, male speaking or female speaking, are "grandchildren."

Before analysing the separate terms we will list for convenience the prefixes used in the Cherokee kinship terms.

Prefixes Used in the Cherokee Kinship Terms

1. agi-, or gi-, agw-, ungi-, ungw-, meaning "my." Example: agiDaDa, agwetsi, unginutsi, ungwatu.
2. esta-, or tsa-, meaning "your." Example: tsaDaDa.
3. u-, uw-, meaning "her, his, its." Examples: ulisi, uwetsi.
4. di-, pluralizing prefix. Example: digwetsi.
5. tci-, dji-, tsi-, dzi-, pluralizers. Example: tcungilisi.
6. gini-, our (two of us). Example: giniDaDa.
7. iga-, ig-, oga-, odji-, odzi-, tadji-, ours (three of us). Example: igiDaDa.
8. oginı, yours and his. Example: oginiDaDa.
9. ogi-, your (pl.) and his. Example: ogiDaDa.
10. uni-, their (his and their). Example: uniDaDa.
11. ski-, your (sing.) and my. Example: skiDaDa.
12. skini-, your (pl.) and my. Example: skiniDaDa.
13. denda-, ana-, they are.
14. otsa-, ita-, we are. Example: otsalinudji.
15. isa-, you are.
16. weti-, old one. Example: wetiginisi.
17. taline-, second. Example: talinegiDaDa.

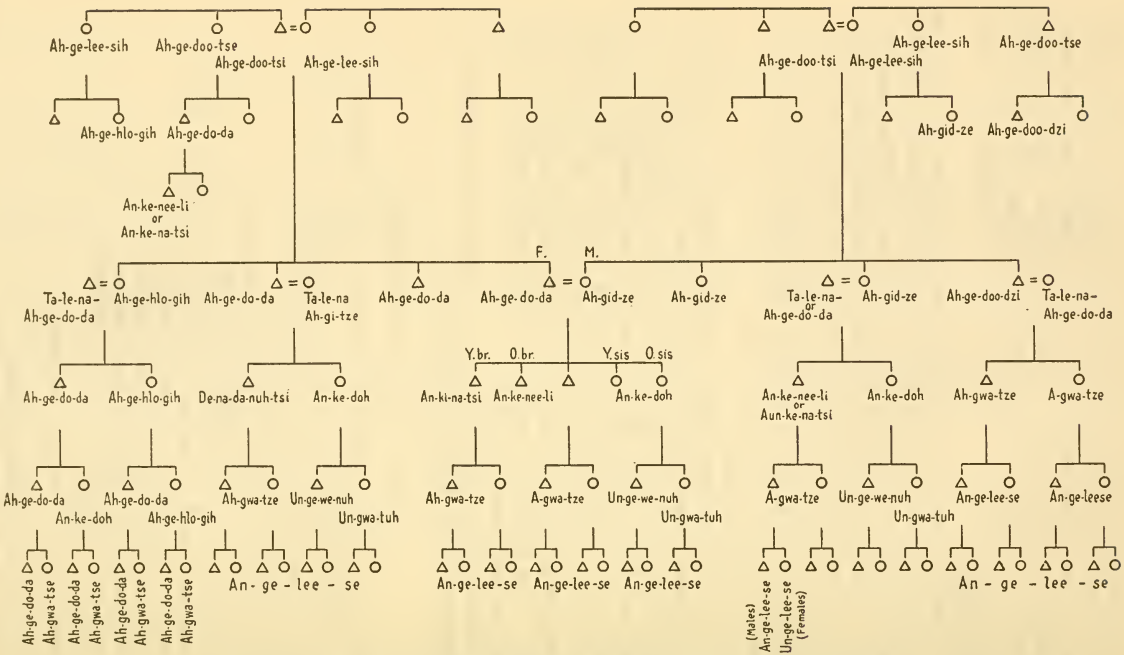


FIGURE 44.—Eastern Cherokee kinship consanguines: Male ego (after Morgan).

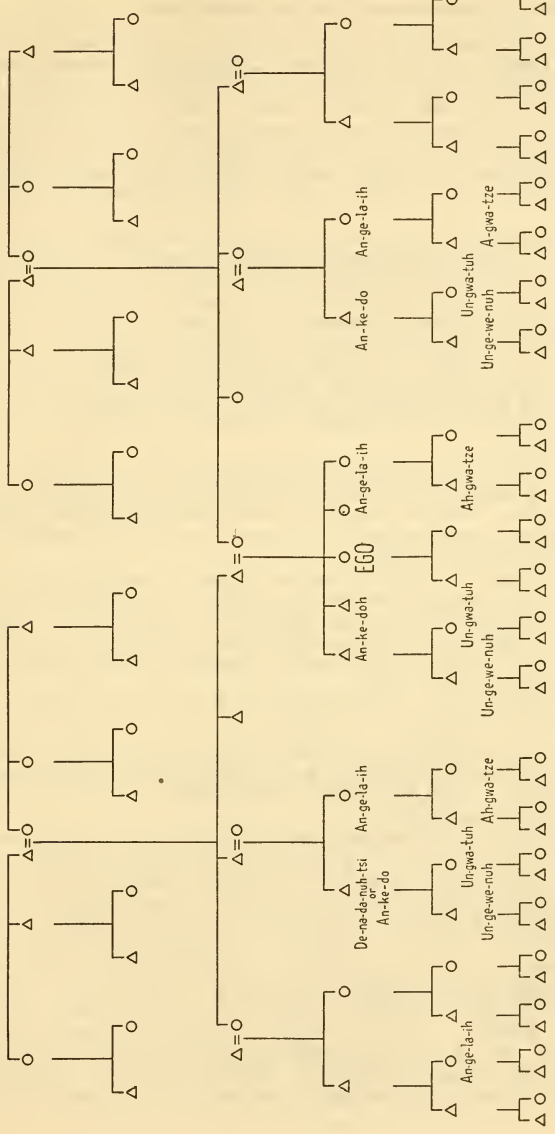


FIGURE 45.—Eastern Cherokee kinship consanguines: Female ego (after Morgan).

With these prefixes in mind it will be somewhat easier to place the principal terms as they occur in the list that follows:

The principal kinship terms of the Cherokee are the following: giDaDa (father), giloki (aunt), giDzi (mother), giDudji (uncle), agwetsi (child), ungiwina (nephew), ungwatu (niece), u Natsi (wife's parents), djiDzo i (husband's parents), agi Nudji (daughter's husband), agiDzo i (son's wife), agila Na (uncle's wife), giDuDiya (aunt's husband), ginisi (male paternal grandparent, male grandchild), gilisi (female grandparent, female or male grandchild), giDuDu (mother's father), ungiD*a* (sister, brother), unginutsi (younger brother), unginili (older brother), ungilu i (sister), and agwelaksi (relatives-in-law).

giD*a*D*a* ("Ah-ge-do-da" of Morgan): This term means "father" primarily. It is extended to father's brothers and to all male members of the father's clan except lineal ascendants of ego's father. This term is applied to father, father's brother, father's sister's son, father's sister's daughter's son, mother's sister's husband (along with the term agwatina i, or "stepparent"), father's father's brother's son, and father's father's father's brother's son's son.

Special uses are made of the father term in the following: giDaDa awina, "younger father" (father's younger brother), giDaDa ayuli, "older father" (father's older brother), giDaDa udanti, "gentle father," and giDaDa unagalu i, "cranky father" (the last two referring to distinguishing characteristics of the father's brothers).

Giloki ("Ah-ge-h lo -gih" or Morgan): This term means "father's sister" primarily. It is extended to all females of the father's clan except those lineally ascendant to him. This term is applied to father's sister, father's sister's daughter, father's sister's daughter's daughter, father's father's brother's daughter and father's mother's sister's daughter.

giDzi ("Ah-gid-ze" of Morgan): This term means "mother" primarily. It is extended to the mother's sisters and to the wife of any male member of the father's clan if she is of ego's clan. This term is applied to mother, father's sister's son's wife, mother's sister, mother's mother's sister's daughter, mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter, and father's brother's wife if she is of ego's clan.

giDudji ("Ah-gedoo-dzi" and "Ah-ge-doo-tsi" of Morgan): This term means "mother's brother" primarily. It is applied also to mother's mother's sister's son, and to mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's son. Various epithets are used to distinguish the mother's brothers such as udanti giDudji, "gentle uncle," unagalu i giDidji, "mad uncle," ulkanista giDudji, "cranky uncle," and udajati giDudji, "stingy uncle."

agwetsi ("Ah-gwa-tse" of Morgan): This term means "child" primarily, and is used by both sexes generally. It is extended to the child's parallel cousins and to anyone whose father is of ego's clan. This term is applied to one's son and daughter (male and female speaking), to a brother's son and daughter (male and female speaking), to a sister's son and daughter (by a female speaker), father's brother's daughter's child (female speaker), father's brother's son's child (f. sp.), mother's sister's son's child (m. and f. sp.), mother's sister's daughter's child (f. sp.), father's father's brother's son's son's child (m. and f. sp.), mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's child (f. sp.), mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter's child (f. sp.), mother's mother's brother's children (m. and f. sp.), etc. The absence of sex distinctions in the term agwetsi requires various supplementary terms. The term tcu 'tsa awina, "male child," and ge'yutsa, "female child," are used for children not yet at the age of puberty

(12–14 years). The term awinutca is used for young males from 12 to 20 years of age and the term atu(N) is likewise used for young women of this age. At 20 the boy becomes askaya, a "man," and the girl agehiyu, a "woman."

ungiwina ("Un-ge-we-nuh" of Morgan): This term means "nephew" primarily and is used only by the male speaker for sister's son, father's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's daughter's son, and mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son.

ungwatu ("Ungwa-tuh" of Morgan): This term means "niece" and is used by the male speaker only. It is applied to sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter's daughter, mother's sister's daughter's daughter, and mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter.

u Natsi ("Tse-na-tze of Morgan"): This term refers primarily to the wife's parents (male speaking). It is applied to wife's father, wife's mother, and their brothers and sisters, and to wife's grandfather and grandmother (and their brothers and sisters). This term seems to be closely related to the term for son-in-law, agi Nudji.

dji dzo i: This term refers primarily to the husband's parents and is used only by the female speaker. It is applied to the husband's father, husband's mother, husband's parent's siblings, husband's grandfather, and husband's grandmother.

agi Nudji ("Ah-ge-h na-tze" of Morgan): This term refers to the daughter's husband, brother's daughter's husband, sister's daughter's husband, and mother's brother's daughter's husband.

agi Dzo i ("Ah-ge-tzau-hi" of Morgan): This term refers to son's wife, brother's son's wife, sister's son's wife, and mother's brother's son's wife.

agila Na: This term refers to the mother's brother's wife or to the mother's mother's sister's son's wife.

giDuDiya: This term refers to the father's sister's husband and means "he becomes grandfather" or "he makes himself grandfather." Any husband of a giłoki is called giDuDiya or giDuDu.

ginisi ("Eni-si" of Morgan): This term refers to the father's father or son's son, primarily. It is applied to the following: Father's father, father's father's brother, father's father's brother's son, the father's mother's brother, son's son, brother's son's son, sister's son's son, father's brother's son's son's son, father's brother's daughter's son's son, mother's sister's son's son's son, mother's sister's daughter's son's son, mother's brother's son's son, and mother's brother's son's son's son.

gilisi ("An-ge-lee-see" of Morgan): This term refers primarily to female grandparents through the mother and to grandchildren through a daughter. It is applied to the following: Mother's mother, mother's mother's sister, mother's father's sister, mother's father's sister's daughter, daughter's children, son's daughter, brother's daughter's children, brother's son's daughter, sister's daughter's children, sister's son's daughter, mother's brother's son's daughter, mother's brother's daughter's children, mother's sister's daughter's children, mother's sister's son's daughter's children, mother's sister's son's son's daughter, father's brother's son's son's daughter, father's brother's daughter's daughter's children, father's brother's son's daughter's children, etc.

giDuDu ("Ah-gedoo-dze"(?) of Morgan): This term refers to mother's father or father's father's father. It is also applied to mother's father's brother, mother's mother's brother, and mother's father's sister's son. It is apparently a term meaning "grandfather" on the mother's side.

ungiDa ("An-ke-do(h)" of Morgan): This term means "sister" with the male speaker and is extended by him to father's brother's daughter and mother's sister's daughter. The same term is used by the female speaker for "brother" and is extended by her to the father's brother's son and mother's sister's son.

unkinu'tsi ("Aun-ke-na-tsi" of Morgan): This term means "younger brother" with the male speaker. It is extended to the father's brother's son younger than self, mother's sister's son younger than self, father's sister's son's son younger than self, and father's mother's brother's son younger than self. The term awinage'i, "he is younger," is also used for this relative.

unkinili ("An-ke-nee-lee" of Morgan): This term means "older brother" with the male speaker and is used for the same relatives as the above who are older than the speaker.

ungilu i ("An-ge-la-ih" of Morgan): This term means "sister" and is used by the female speaker for the following relatives: Sister, mother's sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter, father's sister's son's daughter, father's mother's brother's daughter, etc.

agwelaksi ("Squa-lo-sih" and "Ga-ya-loh-sih" of Morgan): This term refers primarily to relatives-in-law and is applied to the following: Wife's brother or sister, husband's brother or sister, sister's husband, brother's wife, and to affinities of like relatives. There are various supplementary terms used for particular persons in this relationship. astadali i ("Au-sda-li-gi" of Morgan) is used jokingly for father's brother's son's wife. asatlu i ("Au-su-dlun-hi" of Morgan) is used by the female speaker for her father's brother's daughter's husband and is a joking term. awadu i ("K-na-duh-hi" of Morgan), meaning "they are pretty," refers to husband's brother's wife (f. sp.) and to wife's brother's wife (m. sp.).

There are a number of other supplementary kinship terms of which the following are of importance:

agwati Na i ("A-gwa-ti-na-i" of Morgan) refers to "step-parent" and is applied primarily to the father's brother's wife and the mother's sister's husband and for genuine stepparents.

agi Nudji a is a term applied to the man who is courting one's daughter and is a prospective agi Nudji, or "son-in-law."

There are several terms used for siblings which are of considerable importance with reference to the solidarity of brothers and sisters in the individual family. The following are notable:

uda Nilige i, "he is older," is used for older brother.

awinage i, "he is younger," is used for the younger brother.

tsukinu'dji, is used by the younger brother with the meaning, "we are brothers."

tsukinili, is used by the older brother with the meaning, "we are brothers."

otsalinu'dji, "we are brothers and sisters," is used by siblings in referring to their common relationship together.

tsotsalinu'dji, "we are brothers," is applied to the wife's sister's husband.

In the husband-and-wife relationship there are a number of supplementary terms. The most notable are the following:

agwada iyusti, "like a wife," is applied to a woman with whom a man is keeping company but not living.

dji'ye i, "I'm holding her," is a term sometimes used for wife.

akstayu uski, "she's my cooker," is often used for wife.

owasulasu i, is applied to a widow or widower.

agi(X)ye i (husband), is often supplemented by such terms as ostine'li, "we are living inside together" (in a house), and utusane i, "the old man."

MORGAN'S SYSTEM

As may have been noted from the parenthetical inclusions, the kinship terms listed by L. H. Morgan in 1871 for the Cherokees differ somewhat from the present kinship terms.

From its incomplete character, so far as collateral lines are concerned, it is difficult to obtain a clear-cut pattern for kinship terms in the list furnished by Morgan in his tables. A complete comparison of this list of terms with the one just described (Long's) is therefore impossible. Enough can be adduced, however, to note two differences from the Long terminology. There is, first, the rather inconsequential differences in the morphological forms used for the same relative, such differences arising from alternation of prefixes, use of substitute words, and the like. Secondly, there are the differences arising from real usage, relatives being classified in a different pattern.

Differences of the latter category include two important instances: (1) the mother's mother's brother's son is called "mother's brother" in Morgan's terminology and "child" in Long's; and (2) the father's father's sister's daughter is called "father's sister" in Morgan's list and "grandmother" in our terminology.

In spite of the Cherokee tendency to equate the father's sister with the grandmother in behavior and terminological usage, it would seem that, in Morgan's terminology, there is a real asymmetry in the terms used for the father's and mother's cross cousins. This point is still further emphasized in that the paternal male cross cousin's male descendants are called "fathers" by ego. This fact leads one to suspect that Morgan's terminology may be to some extent "filled out" on a generation or other basis from analogy with other tribes, according to the logic of the compiler. The Long version, obtained at Big Cove in 1932, does not possess a perfectly symmetrical terminology, but it does allow of a lineage basis for the implied usage of preferential mating indicated in the pedigrees. Following the version of Morgan, it would be difficult to obtain a clear-cut lineage basis for preferential mating.

KINSHIP DISTINCTIONS

The kinship terms are always of some use to the people who possess them in the distinguishing of certain relatives toward whom specific behavior is due. The type of distinction made is best analyzed by comparing the native terms for relatives with our own English system as a yardstick.

The first and most obvious distinctions occurring in the Cherokee system are those of lineage and generation. The unilateral basis for the kinship grouping on a lineage line is perceptible in the identity of the terms applied to persons in a direct descent through females.

The giDaDa–giloki descent in the father's matrilineal lineage is indicative of a lineage distinction which is heightened by the application of the terms giDuDu (grandfather) and giDzi (mother) to persons marrying into this line. The gilisi-giDuDu descent in the mother's matrilineal lineage is likewise further distinguished by the application of the term agwetsi (children) to the issue of all of these persons. In this case, however, there is a difference in terminology for those generations above ego from those below.

TABLE 4.—*Comparative table of kinship terms of the Cherokee*

Eastern Cherokee		Western Cherokee
Long	Morgan	Morgan
1. ginisi		E-ni-si.
2. gilisi	An-ge-lee-sih.	
3. ungilisi	An-ge-lee-se	An-gi-li-si *or* Un-gi-li-si.
4. giDaDa	Ah-ge-do-da	E-dau-da.
5. giDzi	Ah-gid-ze	E-tsi.
6. agwetsi	Ah-gwa-tze	A-gwae-tsi.
7. unkinili	An-ke-nee-li	Un-gi-ni-li.
8. ungiDa	An-ke-do(h)	Un-gi-dau.
9. ungilu i	An-ge-la-ih	Un-gi-lun-i.
10.	Ah-ge-doo-tsi.	
11. unkinutsi	Aun-ke-na-tsi *or* An-ke-na-tsi	Un-gi-nun-tle *or* Un-gi-nun-tli.
12. otsalinudji	Tsa-ke-na-tsi *or* Tsan-ke-toh	An-tsa-li-nun-tli.
13. agiDzo i	Ah-ge-tzau-hi	E-tsau-hi.
14. agi nudji	A-ge-h -na-tzi	E-hua-tsi.
15. ungiwina	Un-ge-we-nuh	Un-gi-wi-nun.
16. ungwatu	Un-gwa-tuh	Un-gwa-dun.
17. taline giDzi	Ta-le-na-ah-gi-tze.	
18. agwati Na i		A-gwa-ti-na-i.
19.	De-na-da-nuh-tsi	Tsan-sda-da-nun-tli.
20. ostadali i	Ah-ke-tso-hi	Au-sda-dun-hi.
21. awadu i	E-na-duh-hi	Au-sda-li-gi.
22. asalu i *or* agwelakei	Ga-ya-loh-si *or* Squa-lo-sih	Au-sda-dun-hi *or* Au-sda-lau-si *or* Au-se-dlun-hi.
23. giloki	Ah-ge-h'lo-gih	E-hlau-gi.
24. taline giDaDa	Ta-le-na-ah-ge-do-da.	
25. giDudji	Ah-ge-doo-dzi *or* Ah-ge-doo-tsi *or* Ah-ge-doo-tse.	E-du-tsi.
26. agi(X)yehi	Ah-ge-he-a-hih	Ah-gi-ya-hi.
27. agwadali e	Ag-gwa-da-le-ih	Ah-gwa-da-li.
28. djï dzo i	Tse-na-tze	E-hua-tsi.
29. u Natsi	Tse-na-tze	E-dzau-hi.
30.		Si-da-na-lun.

In the mother's father's matrilineal lineage there is again a carrying of the giDuDu-gilisi descent from above to below ego's generation. In the father's father's matrilineal lineage the giDuDu–gilisi descent is again carried on from above to below ego's generation.

The distinctions of generation are most apparent in the terminology for immediate relatives and for siblings. As Lowie's terminology expresses it, this is a "bifurcate-merging" system in that one-half of the collaterals are merged with the lineal line. This is to say that the persons who are parallel cousins are "brothers" and "sisters," while cross cousins are given a different terminology. In the case of the Cherokee this terminology happens to take the line of a lineage basis; in the case of cross cousins through the

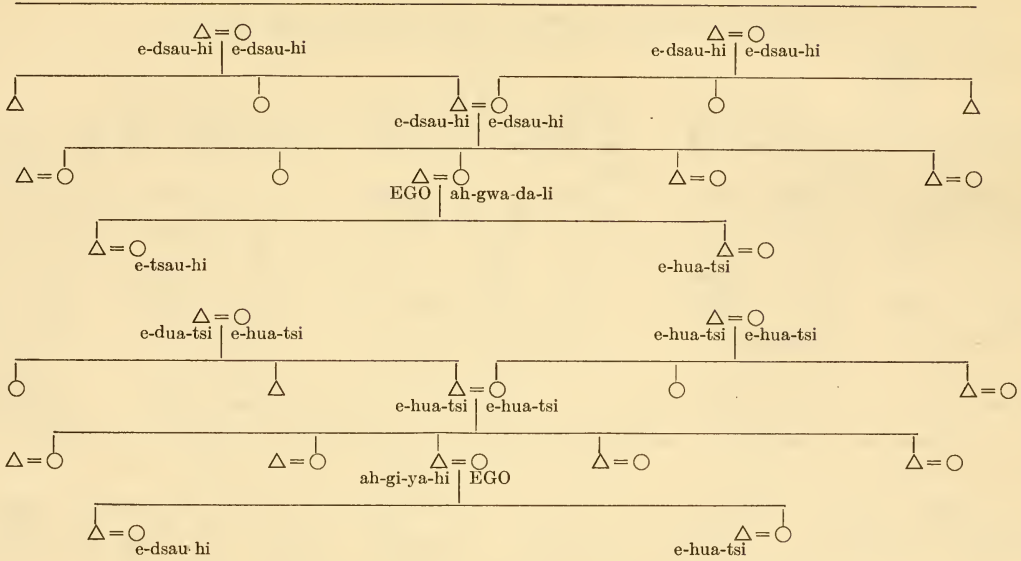


FIGURE 46.—Eastern Cherokee kinship affinities (after Morgan).

FIGURE 47.—Western Cherokee kinship consanguines: Male ego (after Morgan).

FIGURE 48.—Western Cherokee kinship consanguines: Female ego (after Morgan).

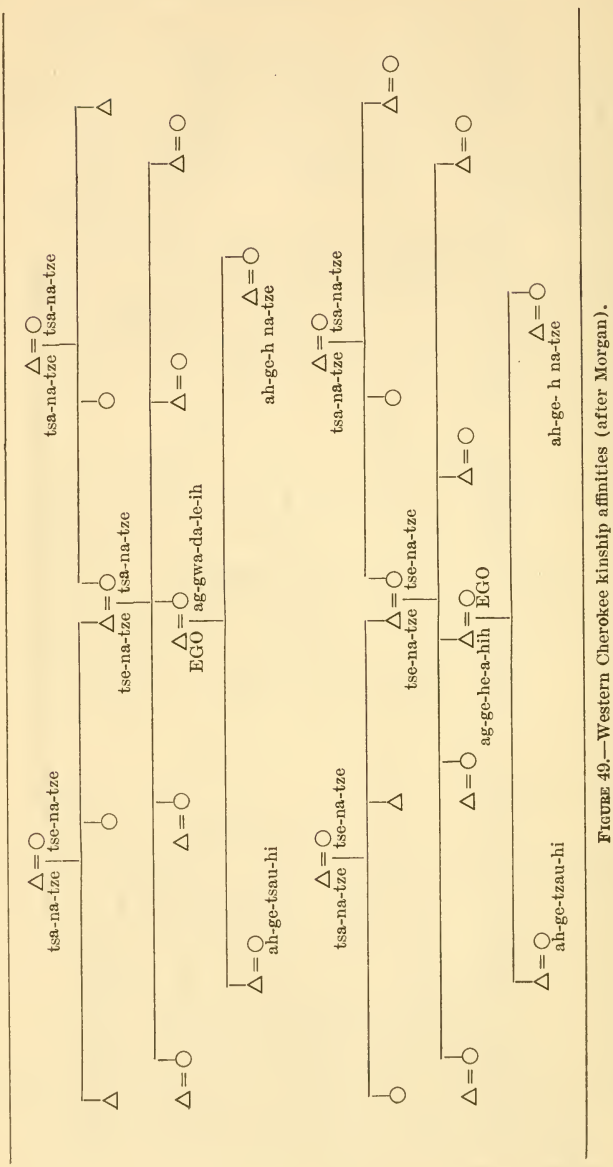


FIGURE 49.—Western Cherokee kinship affinities (after Morgan).

father the cousins are put in the father's matrilineal line, whereas in the case of cross cousins through the mother the descendant terms "child," "grandchild," etc., are used. Hence, generation can be said to be important so far as immediate siblings and parallel cousins are concerned. Also, the use of certain distinctions of superordination and subordination distinguishes the parental generation from the child's. The grandparent generation is alone distinguished throughout as "grandparents," the other generations being bisected by the lineage principle.

Two important types of relationships occur in the terminology, namely, the complementary reciprocal and the self-reciprocal. The complementary reciprocal terms are terms used between close relatives exclusively and are not used by others. Such terms are father-child, mother's brother-sister's child. The self-reciprocal terms consist in identical terms used between two relatives. Such would be grandmother-grandchild, brother-sister, etc. In the case of complementary reciprocal terminology, linkages of persons who must remain distinct for certain reasons are secured. In the self-reciprocal terminology a merging of social personalities is desired and to a certain extent obtained.[8]

Other factors entering into kinship distinctions are those of sex and age. The sex distinction is expressed in three principal ways: (1) Sex of the speaker, (2) sex of the person spoken to, and (3) sex of the person through whom the relationship exists, including relatives by affinity.

The distinction of the sex of the speaker is often made clear by implication. The male speaker calls his sister's children "nephew" and "niece," while the female speaker calls them "child," the husband and wife apply different specific terms to each other and each other's parents, and the male and female speakers use entirely different terms for brothers.

The distinction of the sex of the person spoken to is expressed in the following: Father and father's sister distinguished, mother and mother's brother distinguished, nephew and niece through sister distinguished by a man, grandfathers distinguished from grandmothers, husband and wife distinguished, and the use of the term giloki for any female member and of giDaDa for any male member of the father's clan.

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[8] The present writer has experimented with the use of the reciprocal terminology among a group of University of Chicago students engaged in a common vocational activity. In this case the term "John" was introduced and adopted among a dozen male persons as a sort of joking term for each other in direct address. The general result was a surprising increase in group solidarity and familiarities. A like solidarity was generated by the use of the terms "citizen" and "comrade" during the French and Russian Revolutions.

The distinction of the sex of the person through whom the relationship is traced is expressed in the following: The giloki or aunt is a person related through the father; the mother's brother is related through the mother, the mother's brother's wife is related through

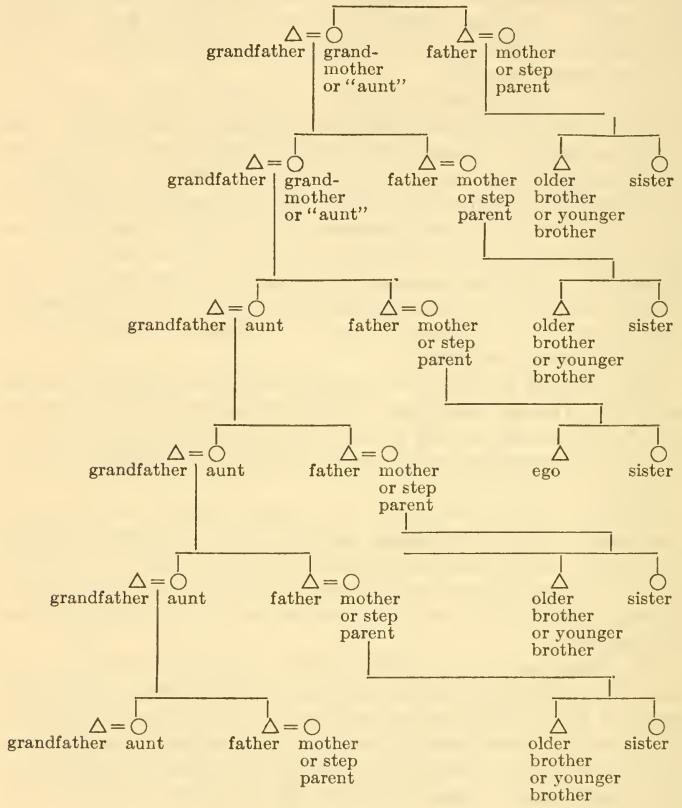

FIGURE 50.—Father's matrilineal line. 1, All women are "father's sisters" or "grandmothers," all men are "fathers." 2, All men marrying "father's sisters" are "grandfathers," all women marrying "fathers" are "mothers" or "step parents." 3, All children of "fathers" are "brothers" and "sisters". 4, The fathers clan and line is nonmarriageable.

the mother and brother, and the relationships through the wife are distinguished from the relationships through the husband.

With regard to the relative importance of the various sex distinctions the following may be said: Of some 28 kinship terms listed, the

distinction of sex of the person spoken to is omitted in 10, the distinction of the sex of the person through whom the relationship is traced is omitted in 12, and the distinction of the sex of the person speaking is omitted in 18. Hence, the order of importance of emphasis of distinctions is in the following order: (1) Sex of person addressed, (2) sex of person through whom relationship is traced, and (3) sex of the speaker.

The age of relatives is not distinguished as a rule except by supplementary terms such as "older" and "younger." In the case of brothers, however, the distinction of older male sibling from the younger is clearly marked in the terminology. This is a relationship of a complementary terminology and is to be explained on the basis of the function of the older brother in the family to protect and avenge the younger brother and to act to some extent like a father or uncle to him.

LINEAGES

The nature of the kinship system will be still more elaborated in a study of the charts which illustrate the lineage basis for the kinship reckoning (figs. 51–53). The grouping is partially on a vertical and partially on a horizontal basis and there is as much of an emphasis on the unilateral matrilineal descent as there is on the bilateral origin of the individual, so far as the terminology is concerned.[9]

In ego's father's matrilineal lineage all of the women are "father's sisters" or "grandmothers" and all of the men are "fathers" or "grandfathers." All men marrying women of the father's matrilineal lineage are "grandfathers" and the wives of "fathers" are "mothers" if of the same clan as ego, or "stepparents" if not of the same clan. Any child of a man of the father's clan is a "brother" or "sister."

In ego's mother's matrilineal lineage the women may be "grandmother" or "mothers" and "sister," "niece" (male speaking), or "child" (female speaking). The men are "grandfathers," "mother's brothers," "brothers," "nephew" (male speaking) and "child" (female speaking). All of the women who marry a "grandfather" are "grandmothers" and the women who marry a "mother's brother" are denoted by a special term. Any child of the mother's clan may be a "mother's brother," "mother," or "child."

In ego's mother's father's matrilineal lineage all of the men are called "grandfathers," the women are called "grandmothers." The rules of terminology for women marrying into this line are the same as in the case of ego's mother's matrilineal lineage above.

In ego's father's father's matrilineal lineage all of the males are "grandfathers" and the women "grandmothers." A man marrying

[9] The writer is indebted to Dr. Fred Eggan for the initial suggestion in drawing up these lineage charts.

into this line is a "grandfather"; a woman marrying into this line is a "grandmother."

The kinship terminology of the Cherokees extends the terms for relatives of close degree in the lineage to collateral and remoter rela-

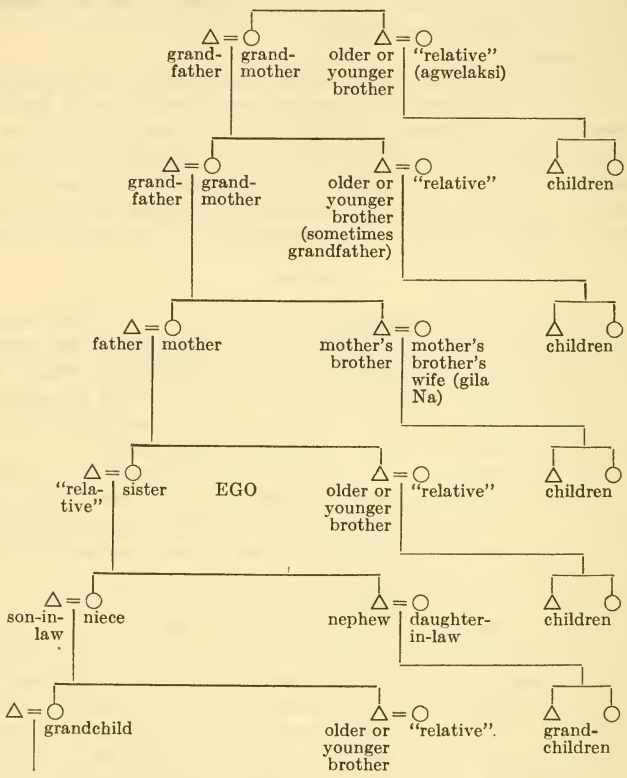

FIGURE 51.—Mother's matrilineal line. 1. All women are grandmothers, grandchildren, mothers, sisters, or nieces; all men are brothers, mother's brothers, nephews, or grandchildren. 2. Men marrying grandmothers are grandfathers, those marrying mothers are fathers, those marrying sisters are relatives, those marrying nieces are sons-in-law, women marrying brothers are relatives, those marrying mother's brothers are mother's brothers' wives; those marrying nephews are daughters-in-law. 3. Children of males of own lineage are children or grandchildren; children of females of own clan are nieces and nephews, etc. 4. Mother's matrilineal line is nonmarriageable.

tives. Qualificatory terms such as taline, "second," and weti, "far off," may be attached to the terms when the remoter relatives are designated. The range of the primary extensions of kinship in lineages may be considerable but it is still further extended by means of the clan system.

The clan extends the range of kinship almost to every one in the community. Every male in the father's clan is a "father" and every female is a "father's sister." Likewise every member of ego's clan is a "brother" or "sister" and any child of a "brother" is a "child" to ego. Every member of ego's father's father's clan or mother's father's clan is a "grandfather" or "grandmother." Any person whose father is of ego's father's clan is a "brother." In the ordinary Cherokee town averaging 300 persons, it is possible to discover relationships with almost

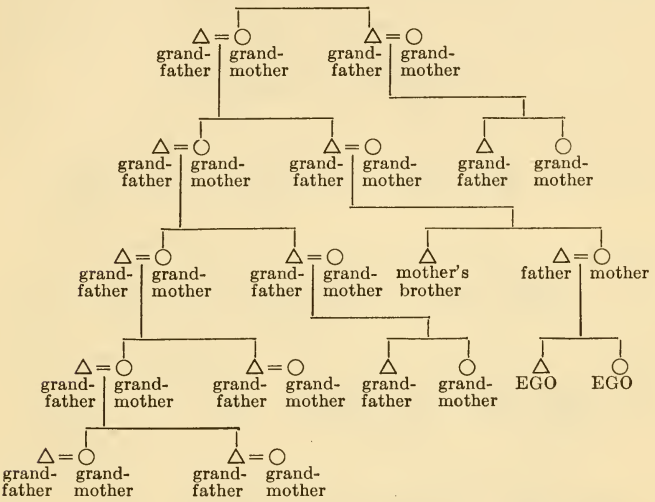

FIGURE 52.—Mother's father's matrilineal line. 1, All women are grandmothers; all men are grandfathers. 2, All men marrying grandmothers are grandfathers, all women marrying grandfathers are grandmothers. 3, All children of grandfathers (except own mother and her siblings) are grandfathers and grandmothers. 4, The mother's father's clan and line is marriageable.

everyone in the community since there are generally only 4 or 5 main clans predominant.

The configuration of Cherokee kinship relations is extended to the world of plants, animals, and inorganic elements and forces. The bears and other animals of the forest and the mountains are regarded as being organized into moieties, clans, and towns, and the magical "little people" of the wastelands live in a similar organization and dance and play ball just as the Cherokees do. Spirits designated as "father" and "mother's brother" are thought to send apoplexy. The maize in the fields is regarded as a "mother," the fire and the sun are "grandmother," while the moon is regarded as a powerful protecting "elder brother."

PREFERENTIAL MATING

When the author was first collecting pedigrees among the Cherokees, he was told by an informant that, "The Cherokees marry their 'grandmothers' (digilisi)." Since then the preponderance of the evidence collected has tended to substantiate this statement of a basic preferential mating principle.

The marriage preference principle stated in its simplest form is that the choice of one's mate is generally restricted to persons in

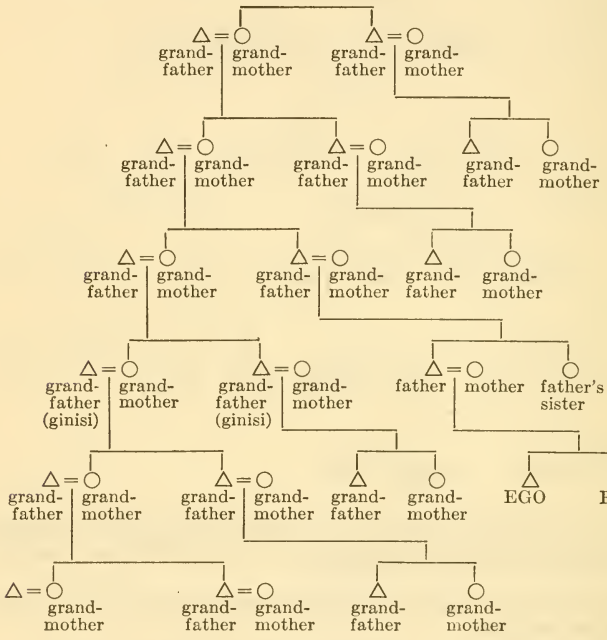

FIGURE 53.—Father's father's matrilineal line. 1, All women are grandmothers; all men are grandfathers (father's father distinguished by term "ginisi"). 2, All men marrying grandmothers are grandfathers; all women marrying grandfathers are grandmothers. 3, All children of grandfathers are grandmothers and grandfathers (except ego's father and his siblings). 4, Father's father's clan and line is marriageable.

one's father's father's clan or in one's mother's father's clan. The matrilineal lineage of the father's father and the mother's father, as we have seen in the section on the kinship system, contain only grandfathers (digiDuDu) and grandmothers (digilisi).

The evidence for preferential marriage can be divided into two parts, direct evidence and indirect evidence. Under direct evidence

can be listed the testimony of the pedigrees and the inherited clan affiliations. Under the classification of indirect evidence there exists the pedigree evidence of the children within given families preferring to marry certain clans, the statistics indicating a tendency for persons who marry more than once to marry into the same clan, the statistical evidence of a low incidence of marriage with one's own or one's father's clan, and, finally, the overwhelming evidence of the kinship usages.

First, as to the evidence from the pedigrees directly. It was exceedingly difficult to derive many cases showing marriages of the preferential type for the reason that families are always moving from one village to another and the informant's knowledge soon stops in these cases. Again, it is difficult for the informant to recall clan affiliations for more than two generations above his own and the determining of marriage preferences in the present day require a knowledge of the clan affiliations of the grandfathers on both sides of the union, a total of four persons who can be exceedingly elusive on occasions.

As may be seen from a glance at the accompanying list of clan marriages (below), recorded from the pedigrees of Big Cove, a random sampling of 35 unions gives the following results: Marriage with the grandparent or great-grandparent clan occurred in 29 cases, marriage with the father's clan occurred in 4 cases, and marriage with own clan in 2 cases. The marriages within the clan constitute about 6 percent (2 cases out of 35), and the marriages with the father's clan 11 percent (4 cases out of 35). The other 83 percent of the marriages are of the normal Cherokee type.

LIST OF SAMPLE CLAN MARRIAGES IN BIG COVE AREA

A. *Marriages according to the rule of preference*

1. J. W. (Twister) and M. T. (Deer). This marriage resulted from an acquaintanceship in which both respected Bird Clan. In addition, the man's father's father was Deer.
2. D. C. (Blue) and N. B. (Deer). The woman was of the man's father's father's clan.
3. C. B. C. (Wolf) and O. W. (Blue). Her mother's father was Wolf.
4. C. W. (Wolf) and N. T. (Deer). His mother's father was Deer.
5. J. L. (Paint) and A. (Wolf). Her mother's father was Paint.
6. C. L. (Wolf) and M. A. (no clan). Her father's father was Wolf.
7. W. W. L. (Wolf) and M. W. S. (Deer). Her father's father was Wolf. His father's father was Deer.
8. U. W. (Wolf) and M. W. S. (Deer). Her father respected Wolf. The man and the woman of this marriage both respected Blue.
9. U. S. (Wolf) and N. D. (Deer). Her father's father was Wolf. Both the man and the woman in this marriage respected Blue.
10. W. T. (Potato) and G. (Deer). His father's father was Deer.
11. A. B. (Deer) and S. P. (Blue). Her mother's father was Deer.

12. N. P. (Blue) and E. (Deer). His mother's father was Deer.
13. A. W. (Wolf) and A. R. (Blue). His mother's father was Blue.
14. J. L. (Deer) and C. P. (Blue). She and he respected Blue. His father's father was Deer.
15. S. S. (Wolf) and K. D. W. (Bird). Her mother's father was Wolf.
16. U. (Blue) and L. A. T. (Deer). Her mother's father was Blue. His father's father was Deer.
17. L. L. (Deer) and K. L. (Twister). His father's father was Twister.
18. C. D. (Blue) and O. W. (Wolf). Her mother's father was Blue.
19. C. D. (Wolf) and E. B. (Twister). Her father's father was Wolf. His grandmother's father was Twister.
20. C. B. W. (Twister) and R. D. (Wolf). His father's father was Wolf.
21. T. W. (Twister) and K. C. B. (Blue). Her mother's father was Twister.
22. O. C. (Wolf) and M. T. (Blue). Her mother's father was Wolf.
23. L. H. (Deer) and L. J. W. (Wolf). Her mother's father was Deer.
24. D. S. (Blue) and A. F. (Wolf). His mother's father was Wolf.
25. J. C. (Bird) and C. T. (Blue). Her father's father was Bird.
26. L. C. (Wolf) and E. B. (Paint). His mother's father was Paint.
27. L. C. (Wolf) and O. C. (Paint). His mother's father was Paint.
28. J. W. (Bird) and J. W. (Wolf). His father's father was Wolf.
29. W. D. (Blue) and E. W. (Bird). His father's father was Bird.

B. *Marriages of Outlaw Status*

1. J. D. (Blue) and E. W. (Wolf). This is a violation of rule because her father's clan was Blue.
2. J. W. (Wolf) and A. C. (Deer). This marriage is a violation of rule because her father's clan was Wolf.
3. F. S. (Deer) and L. D. (Blue). This marriage is a violation of the rule because her father's clan was Deer.
4. M. C. (Wolf) and S. A. L. (Deer). This marriage is a violation of rule because his father's clan is Deer.
5. L. S. (Deer) and O. C. B. (Deer). This marriage is outlaw because both are of the same clan. Both the man and the woman in this case respect Blue.
6. W. W. L. (Wolf) and A. E. W. (Wolf). Here again both are of the same clan.

The predominant factor governing marriage choices as shown by this list seems to be the membership in the grandfather's or great-grandfather's clan. Only in the case of the woman's mother's father's clan was there a slight predominance of one of the four possibilities over the others. Again, it is noticeable that, of the outlaw marriages with the father's clan, there were more on the part of the women than on the part of the men. Common respect for the clan seems to have led to acquaintanceship and marriage in several cases.

The preceding element to marriage is the familiarity relationship and in some cases extensive pedigree investigation is necessary in order to determine just how such a familiarity relationship can exist. Persons standing in the relation of giDuDu (grandfather-grandchild) or gilisi (grandmother-grandchild) to each other are always on familiar terms and capable of marital relation. Just such a cause

arises in the case of the marriage of J. T. (Potato) and L. W. (Wolf). According to the pedigree record, he should have married either Deer or Blue and she should have married either Deer or Twister. But the Deer Clan is giDuDu to both of them and such being the case they were placed in the relationship of familiarity to each other (and not being of the same clan as each other) were allowed to marry, as giDuDu to each other.

One favorable factor in the present pedigree studies is the fact that family names are now transmitted back through the male line for at least three generations in most cases. This is a valuable aid in determining the fathers whose clans are so important in the selection of a mate.

The pedigree showed among other things several cases of the sororate, at least one case of the levirate, and several examples of marriage by exchange and marriage of two or more brothers to two or more sisters. The pedigrees demonstrate also the practical necessity of determining the identity of the so-called "invisible man" in the case of illegitimate births in order for the child to develop a proper orientation in its kinship relations.

The mechanics of the pedigree allow for no alterations of the kinship behavior anywhere along the line. If there is a slip-up at any time this is bound to affect later generations. Therefore outlaw marriages tend to run in certain families and to cause increasing disruption as they proceed. There ensues a conflict of principles such as that in which one party married within his own clan because his father's father was of his own clan.

Some quite unexpected consistencies are brought out in the pedigrees. In one case a Cherokee man whose father was of Wolf Clan married a white woman of no clan. The woman bore him a daughter who was, of course, clanless since the clan is transmitted only through the mother. But the daughter followed true to the rules of the tribe and married a Cherokee man of the Wolf Clan. In a few cases a literal following out of the rules of preferential mating has taken the line of marrying an actual grandmother or person of the grandmother's generation. One man contracted marriage with a woman and later with his adopted daughter through her.

In summary of the pedigree situation, then, it is possible to say that actual evidence seems to point in a sprinkling of sample cases to a law of preferential mating with the grandfather's clan or the lineage of the father's father or mother's father of ego. This is the direct evidence adducible.

The limitations of the pedigree samples make some corborating evidence for preferential mating desirable and this is to be found in the incomplete pedigrees in connection with certain rules which seem

to inhere in them, together with census data as to relative numbers of clan members and, lastly, kinship usage.

The evidence from the incompleted pedigrees, i. e., pedigrees in which the clan affiliations of one or more of the four grandfathers of the two members of a union are not at all certain, can be characterized as the indication by choices of mate. These choices of mate by clan affiliations may be of two types, namely, (1) a preference may be shown by all of the children of a family for marrying persons of one or two clans, and (2) a preference may be shown by persons who marry more than once to marry persons of the same clan.

LIST OF CLAN CHOICES IN MATES IN BIG COVE

Clan of mother of family	*Clan choices of children*
1. Blue	Bird, Deer (2).
2. Deer	Wolf (2), Bird, Twister.
3. ———	Wolf (3), Twister, Potato.
4. Deer	Wolf (2), Deer, Bird.
5. Wolf	Twister (3), Paint (3), Blue, Potato, Deer.
6. Deer	Blue (5), Wolf (3), Twister (1).
7. Blue	Deer (3), Wolf (1).
8. Deer	Wolf (2), Potato (1), Twister (1).
9. Blue	Bird (2), Wolf (1).
10. Blue	Deer (2), Bird, Blue, Wolf.
11. Blue	Wolf (3), Potato, Blue.
12. Blue	Wolf, Deer.
13. Blue	Twister (2), Deer, Blue.
14. Deer	Deer, Blue, Twister.
15. ———	Deer (3), Potato (1).
16. Paint	Deer (2).
17. Deer	Bird, Deer.
18. ———	Bird (2), Wolf (2).
19. Twister	Twister (2), Paint (1).
20. Blue	Wolf (3), Deer.
21. Wolf	Deer (2), Blue (2), Wolf.
22. Twister	Deer, Wolf.
23. Twister	Deer (2), Blue, Wolf.
24. Deer	Twister (2), Wolf.
25. Deer	Wolf (3), Bird (3).
26. Bird	Wolf, Paint, Deer.

Seven of the families listed exhibited no clan preferences in the mates chosen by the children. Of the remaining 20 which seemed to exhibit a definite preference, some five were shown by additional data to be preferences which conflicted directly with the principles of nonmarriage with one's own or one's father's clans. The remaining 15 (about 60 percent of the cases) showed a definite preference in marriage for one or two clans. It is not entirely impossible to suppose that these two clans are the grandfathers' clans.

The remarriage of individuals shows even more definitely a tendency to select certain clans. An examination was made of 35 persons who

married more than once with the following results. One person married four times, and two of the mates were of the same clan. Six persons married three times and five of these six married persons of the same clan twice. Twenty-eight persons married twice and of these, nine married in the same clan both times. This appears to be a rather large percentage of repetition of choice.

Another line of indirect evidence, the average local numbers of clan members, shows a close correlation with the data just cited. The average local preponderance of two clans is about 58 percent as can be seen by comparing the local percentages mentioned in the section on the clan. The average percentage of marriages showing a definite choice in clan affiliations is about 60 percent. Here is an interesting correlation. This can be interpreted in three ways: (1) The local preponderance in clan numbers may have given rise to the marriage preferences, (2) the marriage choices may have given rise to the preponderances, and (3) both of these phenomena may be examples of an underlying principle.

The local preponderancies in clan numbers can hardly have given rise to the indicated marriage preferences for the following reason. An enumeration of the heads of households in Big Cove showed the following numbers of clan memberships: Deer, 19; Wolf, 18; Blue, 10; Bird, 9; Twister, 6; Paint, 1, and Potato, 1. On the basis of the relative clan numbers, a certain order of expected matings would occur if local concentration of clan numbers was the most important determining factor in marriage preferences. If a comparison of expected order of matings in terms of frequencies of occurrence of clan persons as based on local clan numbers were made with the actually observed order of frequency of matings and a fair amount of coincidence were shown, then it would seem justifiable to assume that chance local or geographic propinquity governed clan matings.[10] But such a coincidence does not occur as can be seen from the accompanying table.

ORDER OF FREQUENCY OF CLAN MATINGS

Expected order:	Observed order:
1. Deer-Wolf.	1. Deer-Wolf.
2. Deer-Blue.	2. Wolf-Blue.
3. Wolf-Blue.	3. Deer-Twister.
4. Deer-Bird.	4. Wolf-Bird.
5. Deer-Twister.	5. Deer-Blue.
6. Wolf-Bird.	6. Deer-Bird.
7. Wolf-Twister.	7. Wolf-Twister.
8. Blue-Bird.	8. Paint-Bird.
9. Blue-Twister.	9. Potato-Blue.

[10] Unless, of course, previous factors had interfered. None such were recorded, however.

It will be observed from this table that with the exception of the Deer-Wolf matings, which are unavoidably most numerous because of the immense local concentrations in numbers of these two clans, the observed order of matings does not in any way correspond with the expected order.

Another indication that geographic propinquity does not govern clan marriage preferences may be obtained from the relatively low percentage of marriage within the clan already cited, namely, 6 percent, and the similarily low percentage of marriage with the father's clan. If local number of clans governed clan marriage choices, then in some regions an immense amount of Wolf-Wolf matings would occur, and so on. The inevitable conclusion must be from this evidence that cultural factors operate to restrict and guide behavior rather than chance propinquity so far as marriage choices are concerned.

It is a difficult task to show that the marriage preferences indicated could have given rise to the local clan preponderancies. If clan marriages had been totally a chance series of permutations, it would perhaps be expected that the numbers of clan members would be locally and generally quite equal or roughly so. With only chance guiding marriages, the possibilities of selecting mates from any 2 of the 7 clans would be 29 out of 100. Instead, there occurs an average selection of 2 clans in marriage in 60 cases out of 100.

It is most likely that the local clan concentration and the marriage choices indicated are the expression of some common principle. This principle may be the formerly existing dual division of society into dual organizations. Two groups of clans may have existed, probably comprising four in each, and marriage regulations were possibly originally such that marriage only into the opposite moiety was allowed. The basis for this argument lies in the historical records showing that not only the ancient Cherokees but also the neighboring Creeks and other Southeastern tribes had a complete double system at one time involving the division into red and white groups of a basic eight-clan series. The Creeks still retain remnants of the moiety system but the Cherokees have lost it entirely. The ancient Cherokee double division and its functioning will be discussed more fully in the section on historical change.

It would be exceedingly desirable if the pedigrees would be able to show within given lineages that a balance was struck between marriages with the father's father's clan and marriages with the mother's father's clan but unfortunately the genealogies are not complete enough to show this definitely. It can be observed from the List of Sample Clan Marriage in Big Cove Area (p. 239–240) that there were six choices each of the man's father's father's clan, man's mother's

father's clan, and the woman's father's father's clan, while in the case of the woman's mother's father's clan there were nine choices. This latter number may or may not have been accidental and of no significance but the general purport of the sample seems to be that there is a remarkable degree of evenness in the numbers of selections from the four primary possibilities of a given union.

There is generally an active and a passive party in each case of preferential mating. The active party is the one whose grandfather's clan is the same as the passive party's clan. The passive party is the one who is "selected out," so to speak, by the active agency of the active party. There is apparently no correlation of active and passive parties with either of the sexes.

Preferential mating is carried on mainly by means of the clan mechanism. As has already been stated, four clans are important in the life of every individual, and it is the kinship restrictions and privileges attaching to one's behavior toward each of these four clans which determines the choice of a mate. Therefore, we can safely make the functional generalization that the Cherokee clan is primarily the regulating agent of preferential mating and the most important single manifestation of its structural basis. The clan is a structural mechanism whose rasion d'etre lies in the special principle of preferential mating.

The single clan is a unit possessed of intense social solidarity but, by means of a self-adjusting mechanism expressing itself through preferential mating, it allows of an exchange of constituent members in marriage between itself and other clans. Under present conditions there exist no relationships between clans as a whole. There exist only relationships between individual members of the clan and other clans as wholes. This situation was probably not always in existence, as historical evidence seems to indicate that formerly the clans were divided equally into two groups. If this was true, preferential mating was probably between these two segmentary groups. This, however, brings us into the problem of diachronic changes which will be discussed later.

FAMILIARITY AND RESPECT

As has been mentioned before, the problem of usages of privileged familiarity and respect involves the mechanism which leads to preferential mating. At an early age the Cherokee child learns that he may be familiar with some relatives and not with others. These two categories of relatives stand out as most important in his behavior throughout life.

The following relatives must be respected and never directly joked with: (1) First degree ascending generation persons (father, mother,

aunt, and uncle); (2) first degree descending generation (children, nephews, and nieces); (3) the respected relatives of one's familiar relatives (wife's parents, husband's parents); (5) the familiar relatives of one's respected relatives (son's wife, father's sister, father's clan, etc.); and (5) one's son's child or father's father.

The following relatives may be joked with: (1) One's siblings and their affinities (brothers and sisters and their wives and husbands); (2) cousins through the father's brother or mother's sister (parallel cousins); (3) one's whole clan except the mothers and mother's brothers; (4) most persons in the grandparent generation except own father's father; (5) reciprocally the grandchildren's generation can be joked with except the son's children; (6) one's own affinities and their siblings (spouses and their brothers and sisters); and (7) the familiar relatives of one's familiar relatives and the respected relatives of one's respected relatives (parents' parents and children's children) with exceptions above noted.

Respect and familiarity behavior may be extended in various ways. Ego may be forced to respect a man whose father is of the same clan as ego's father's father since that man is a "brother" to ego's father and hence is a "father" to ego. Ego may likewise set up relationships of familiarity at once with any man whose father is of the same clan as ego's father since that man is a "brother" to ego.

First, as to the privileged familiarity connected with preferential mating: It has already been mentioned that familiarity and respect are two fundamental poles of behavior in Cherokee society. The distinction seems to be correlated with the marriageability of lineages. The father's and mother's matrilineal lineages are not to be intermarried with nor (by extension) the clans correlated with these two lineages. The individual must always maintain an attitude of formal respect toward the father's matrilineal lineage and clan. With his mother's matrilineal lineage and clan he can maintain an attitude of familiarity with the men (except mother's brother and his own sons) but with the women he must maintain a certain reserve. On the other hand toward the persons whom he meets and finds to be in the matrilineal lineages and clans of his grandfathers he can maintain the utmost familiarity. They are giDuDu and gilisi to ego and he or she can marry the women or men of these lineages and clans.

Familiarities may be of three types, namely, intersexual, satirical, and indirect. Each of these types of familarity has a functional correlation with the preferential mating pattern.

Intersexual familiarities transpire between persons of different sex standing in the grandparent-grandchild relationship to each other. The most common occasions for the display of these familiarities is at the dance and while visiting. We shall mention those occurring at the dance as typical.

The young men convey various meanings to the young women by sign language with the hands or by scratching and tickling the hands of the girls in the dance circle. The various familiarities of the Friendship Dances are in particular occasions for the display of familiarity behavior—the men putting their hats on the heads of the women, placing their arms about their shoulders or necks, and other movements. In the Raccoon Dance the men pretend to rub grease on the women. In the Bear Dance the men pretend that they are bears and endeavor to scratch the women. In the Chicken Dance the women place one foot on one foot of their male partners. More violent and overt forms of familiarity take the form of feinted blows with the hands, tickling, and poking with the fingers, and in various obscene gestures in the Bear Dance and Bugah Dance.

All of these familiarities are limited to persons of the grandparent-grandchild relationship and the other persons present are relatives who cannot be joked with and who enjoy the fun in a vicarious fashion, so to speak. The end result of the familiarities is that the sexual relationship is established between young men and the young women with whom they are enabled by means of the familiarities to become acquainted. Acquaintanceships of the type leading to marriage are not likely to be developed between a young man and his giłoki (father's sister) or with his ungiDa (own sister).

Intersexual familiarities appear to have a special correlation with the dance as a vehicle of the display of the relationship. In this connection it is curious to note that the periodicity of the dances inclined them to correlate with the lunar cycle throughout the Southeastern area. Regular monthly dances were formerly held among the Cherokees and Creeks at the time of full moon only. There is a negative correlation of sexual familiarities with the periodic menstrual cycle. During the menstrual flow, great stress is laid on avoidance of relationships so far as the woman is concerned, and this sets up a barrier to intersexual familiarities. She cannot participate in the dance during this period. The husband-wife relationship of solidarity is set up from the intersexual familiarities. This acts to break up the former solidarity of the two families of orientation of the pair forming the new union. Thus a new family is born.

The second form of familiarity, the satirical type, is that which prevails between brothers in the main. In the Eagle Dance and in the Friendship Dance ego's clan brothers may twit him about his faults and misdeeds and indulge in various comments at his expense. The person who is addressed is made the butt of every joke and sly dig. This is also an incessant activity wherever two or three relatives of the correct relationship are gathered together and is accepted as the only forms of exchange of the social amenities between great numbers

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of persons. The principal feature to be noted in connection with this joking is the very obscene and coarse joking directed toward these men who attempt to marry their own giloki (father's sister). The person who indulges in this socially unwholesome marriage is made the butt of severe ridicule for the rest of his day. The satirical familiarities can, in this case, be seen to have the force of a satirical sanction of preserving the social system from violation of rule because few are the men able to stomach the ridicule thus self-imposed.

Another form of satirical familiarity, or at least familiarity used with the force of a satirical sanction, occurs in the case of the man who marries the father's sister. This person is said to "make himself grandfather" and he is the subject of a peculiar joke on the part of his wife's brother's sons and daughters. These latter gather together on an auspicious occasion when they can catch the father's sister's husband alone and ask him for tobacco, saying that they have diarrhea and need the tobacco to cure it. If the father's sister's husband refuses or has no tobacco on him, the children of his wife's brother have perfect right to set upon him, throw him to the ground, and then strike, kick, and otherwise maltreat him without resistance on his part.

This joke can be played only once by the same person on the same father's sister's husband but ego can play it on any one who marries a woman of his father's clan, otherwise he must respect persons of this relationship. The application of this ridicule sanction to the system of preferential mating can occur through the fact that the brothers and sisters of ego can plague him with this joke and get others to do so should ego decide to marry a woman of his father's clan. The threat of this joke has been known to actually deter men from such a violation of clan law.

The third form of familiarity, the indirect, is that which occurs between a father and mother and their children or between an uncle and his nephew or niece. This has been referred to in the section on preferential mating as one of the preceding elements to that event. Indirect familiarity between a father and mother and their children or between an uncle and his nephew or niece is allowed with preferential mating. The relation between the father and his son is typical.

At an early age in his son's life the father speaks to him about marriage. "You must marry my aunt," he tells the boy. The boy cannot understand at that time that it is the father's classificatory "aunt" who is meant and thinks only of the old and somewhat ugly person whom his father calls "aunt" in the home. This is hugely enjoyed by the father who is aware that sooner or later the boy will "catch on" to the joke. This enables the father, however, to

have a good deal of enjoyment at the expense of two relatives whom he cannot ordinarily joke, his father's sister and his own son. The point of this joke is that a respected relative is joked indirectly by ego about another respected relative. In this manner familiarity relations are implied between the two respected relatives. And so it turns out. Eventually the son finds that he can joke with and be entirely familiar with his father's giloki, who is gilisi to himself. It seems possible, then, to interpret the indirect joking of this type as correlated with preferential mating through its association with the embryonic stage of the grandparent-grandchild familiarity.

The kinship terminology of the Cherokees finds a natural complement in the general kinship behavior peculiar to the tribe. The behavior, however, must be kept separated from the terminology in order to discover the amount of correlation between the behavior and the terminology in the case of the individual relationships.

KINSHIP BEHAVIOR OF PAIRS

The kinship behavior is best analysed as a series of relationships between pairs of relatives. The most important relationships are the following: Father-son; mother-daughter; father-daughter; mother-son; husband-wife; brother-brother; brother-sister; sister-sister; father's sister-brother's child; mother's brother-sister's child; father's father-son's child; mother's father-daughter's child; grandmother-grandchild; wife's parents-daughter's husband; husband's parents-son's wife; and, lastly, the somewhat involved relation between husband's or wife's siblings and sibling's husbands or wives.

The father-son relationship (giDaDa-agwetsi).—Neither the father nor the mother differentiates the sex of the child in the terminology, yet behavior is conditioned somewhat by the sex of the child. The father jokes in an indirect fashion with his son but does nothing of the kind with his daughter. The father does not regard it as his duty to discipline the son since the latter is of the mother's clan and not his. The father, therefore, leaves to a considerable degree the upbringing of the son to the latter's mother's brother. Yet the father is very important in the boy's life. He aids and assists his son in obtaining skill in the crafts of life. Beyond that he always maintains a reserve and distant aloofness toward the son, as befits a person to be respected.

For the son the father is a skayegusta, which means a "road boss," "a chief," or "a person well dressed." The father is the representative of a clan or group of persons of the highest quality. The father must always be upheld in arguments with other persons, and it is impossible for a son to derogate or belittle his father in the slightest degree.

In joking with his "brothers," the son must never joke about his father's clan.

The father often jokes with his son about a third party, but the joking is kept on a strictly impersonal plane and as will be seen later develops into an important functional relationship. The father will joke with, and derogate his clan brothers and it will be the duty of his son to come to their defense.

So far as could be ascertained, the child does not differentiate in his behavior toward his real father and the numerous clan "fathers" with whom he is brought into relation. Toward all the attitude he must maintain is one of respect and exaltation.

Mother-daughter relationship (giDzi-agwetsi).—The somewhat stiff and formalized relationships existing between father and son prevail also between mother and daughter. The mother attempts to instruct the daughter in the arts of life, but the bonds of sympathy between the two are apparently not many. Most of the daughter's affection goes to the mother's mother, with whom relations of familiarity are maintained.

Father-daughter relationship (giDaDa-agwetsi).—Little could be ascertained as to the importance of this relationship. The father plays with his daughter when she is little but he maintains an aloof attitude later. The daughter in turn learns to respect and uphold her father and his clan.

Mother-son relationship (giDzi-agwetsi).—The mother is very important in the life of the son. It is she who first introduces him to the age-old lore of the tribe and starts him out in life. The mother must be respected and upheld by the son. Between the mother and son there can take place the same indirect joking as that which takes place between father and son, namely joking about a third party.

Husband-wife relationship (agi(x)yehi-agwadali e).—The relationship of husband and wife is held close by bonds of familiarity privileges. Various accessory epithets are used between the pair, the husband being referred to as "my supporter" or "he who lives with me," while the wife is called "the old woman," "my cooker," etc.

The sexual division of labor is somewhat marked, the woman doing the domestic work of cooking and laundering while the husband cultivates the fields or cuts wood for the fire. There are many cooperative labors such as hoeing and harvesting, in which the sexes join. In some fields of work the division of labor is very marked indeed; only the women make pottery, only the men carve wooden effigies or stone pipes. Certain games such as the ball game and bow and arrow games are reserved for the men exclusively. On the other hand certain dances are exclusively feminine.

There is an avoidance of sexual relations between husband and wife during the menstrual period and also in pregnancy but there is no segregation of the woman during these events.

Divorce is easy and frequent. The mode of separation depends upon the type of marital relationship involved. In those cases in which the husband has come to live with the wife at her home he simply leaves and does not return. The business of protecting the abandoned wife and her issue is then relegated to the woman's brothers. In other cases wherein the man and woman are living together away from relatives or with the man's relations, the woman picks up her belongings and goes back to her family.

The bonds of privileged familiarity which bind husband and wife together are described in the section on familiarity.

Older brother-younger brother relationship (unkinili-unkinutsi).—The relations between brothers are very close. There is a great amount of familiarity and privileged joking between them and brothers take a special pleasure in teasing each other before one another's children. The children must always defend their fathers in cases like this.

The older brother has the express function of protecting the younger brother and avenging any wrong done to him.

The older brother generally leaves the family household at an early date to set up his own home elsewhere. The youngest or younger brothers tend to stay at home and to take care of their parents. It is the younger sons who generally inherit the land tenures.

Brothers act as the moral censors of each other's behavior. If a man attempts to violate the law of clan exogamy or to marry someone of his father's clan, his brothers tease him and threaten a large number of practical jokes which are calculated to make the offender uncomfortable for the remainder of his life. There is no differentiation apparently between brothers who are sons of the same clan and real brothers so far as joking is concerned.

In the use of coarse and quite obscene joking between brothers, a tendency toward homosexual relationships characteristic of the Southeastern area is to be seen. Significantly enough, obscene joking is not extended to the sisters. Brothers often name each other's children and may joke each other by giving silly or ridiculous names to the children.

Brother-sister relationship (ungiDa–ungiDa).—The brother generally takes a protective attitude toward his sister. If his sister has been made pregnant, it is her brothers who take the initiative in accusing the so-called "invisible man" responsible. The accusation, if sustained by local opinion, leads to some sort of settlement on the part of the man responsible. If a sister has a number of children by "invisible men," her brothers will take the lead in building a house for her to live in and raise her children in.

Brothers act as moral censors to prevent their sister from marrying someone in her own clan or her father's clan. A sister who indulged in such an outlaw marriage would have to stand for a great amount of teasing, more than she would ordinarily have to endure.

Brothers cannot joke on sexual topics with their sisters. She can be joked in a mild fashion only.

The sexual division of labor separates brother and sister at an early age. The types of recreation and play of male and female children also differ immensely. Notwithstanding, if neither brother nor sister marries they may live together all of their lives in the parents' homestead. The solidarity of brothers and sisters is immense, so great, in fact, that a number of accessory cultural devices in the line of privileged familiarity have to be called into play in order to overcome it and provide for the development of a normal husband and wife solidarity.

Sister-sister relationship (ungilu i-ungilu i).—The older sister is not distinguished from the younger insofar as terminology is concerned as the brothers are distinguished. There is a greater amount of sister solidarity and identification with each other as sociological equivalents. There is still a tendency for a man to marry first one sister and later another younger sister of his wife. Polygamy would be more common, or at least more open, were it not for white laws.

The older sister acts to instruct her younger sibling of the same sex in many of the duties of the household and she also acts somewhat as a protector.

One sister may jokingly refer to the husband of the other sister as "my husband." Outside of these points no marked features appeared in the sister-sister relationship.

Father's sister-brother's child relationship (giłoki-agwetsi).—The paternal aunt is always accounted a person to whom the highest respect must be paid. She is just like a father. She protects and looks after her brother's offspring whenever necessary. She accounts her brother's children just as important as her own children. It is her function to name her brother's children, quite frequently. She will pick out a name such as her father's or her mother's for the child.

Mother's brother-sister's child relationship (gidu.dji-ungiwina or gidu.dji-ungwatu).—The mother's brother is, next to the father, the person regarded with the highest respect of all ego's male relatives. It is the mother's brother who acts to regulate the conduct of the growing boy and he teaches his sister's son much in the way of hunting lore and magical formulas. He also jokes with his sister's son in an indirect fashion about third parties just as the boy's father does. When his nephew or niece is sick, it is the mother's brother who attends

to them. The nephew or niece will be able to tell the mother's brother to do something and he will generally do it.

Father's father-son's child relationship (ginisi-ginisi).—The father's father can play with and tease his grandchild but the grandchild is not supposed to reciprocate. It is thought best for the grandchild to accept the indignities involved in the teasing because the paternal grandfather is a person of respect. Toward anyone else in the father's father's clan, however, it is quite the proper thing to exhibit behavior of the utmost familiarity.

Mother's father-daughter's child relationship (giDuDu-gilisi).—The mother's father can tease and joke with his daughter's child to his heart's content and the child is likewise free to tease and joke with the mother's father to any degree. It is in his grandfather's clan maternal or paternal that the boy finds the greatest amount of freedom and familiarity.

The husband of the paternal aunt, who is regarded as a giDuDu by ego, is the subject of a peculiarly ritualized joke on the part of his wife's brother's children. This is the tobacco joke to which full reference was made in the section on familiarity (p. 248).

Grandmother-grandchild relationship (gilisi-gilisi or gilisi-ginisi).—The great freedom prevailing between the mother's father and his daughter's children also exists between the grandmother both paternal and maternal, and their grandchildren. Joking is carried on all of the time and a great amount of familiarity is always present. The grandmother is the person who is remembered as having first borne her grandchild on her back and as the playmate of the grandchild. Yet some grandmothers are feared and an ugly old woman or grandmother is said to be a witch and the children are greatly afraid of her.

Wife's parents-daughter's husband relationship (tcinatsi-agi Nudji).—This is a relationship of mutual respect. One may joke mildly with a son-in-law but not in a really familiar manner. Ego must respect the mother- and father-in-law just as he does his or her own father or mother.

Husband's parents-son's wife relationship (djiDzo i-agiDzo i).—This is a relationship of mutual respect which is virtually the same as the preceding.

Mate's sibling-sibling's mate relationship (agwelaksi-agwelaksi).—The relations that ego bears to his wife's brothers and sisters or to her husband's brothers and sisters is invariably one of familiarity. There is reciprocal joking of a complicated and extensive nature between these relatives which is partly expressed in special terms for agwelaksi relations. The familarities involved have important implications and will be dealt with later.

GENERAL SOCIAL FEATURES

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

There are certain social features adhering to the individual life cycle, the dances, and the games of the Cherokee which merit attention in this description. First, on the life cycle.

The information available on the birth rites and early life of the Cherokee infant is rather scant. Frans Olbrechts has investigated this phase of Cherokee life and intends to publish considerable data on it in the future.[11]

The pregnant mother goes at each new moon to the waterside to pray. The conjurer laves her head, bosom, and face and prays with her. He then divines with beads on a cloth as to whether the child will live or not, and how long. In order to facilitate delivery and cleanse the system of the mother, various drinks are administered. Various taboos are laid on the pregnant mother as she is considered very dangerous. She must not prepare any meals nor go near growing crops or fishtraps. She must not eat a number of foods, must not wear certain articles of apparel, must not see a corpse or a mask. The pregnant woman's husband is likewise under various disabilities. He must dig no grave, not play in the ball game, and must accompany his wife in her various rites before delivery.

In parturition, four women attend. A conjurer may be present if the delivery is difficult and he resorts to various magical formulas to induce the child to be born. The placenta is disposed of by the father, who crosses two to four ridges and then buries the placenta deep in the ground. The next child will be born within a number of years corresponding to the number of ridges crossed. If the placenta were thrown away in the open, another child would be born almost any time.

The child is given a name some 4 or 7 days after birth, according to some accounts, by a prominent old woman of the community. From the field accounts of the present writer, the father's family is generally delegated with the task of selecting a name for the child. Sometimes the father's brother will select a ridiculous name as a joke for the child and the parents will be forced to accept it. Generally, however, the father's sister selects the name for the child. Later on in life new names may be acquired by the child, descriptive of its character or achievements.

When the child is 3 or 4 weeks old it is carried about sitting astride the mother's back. The grandmother has this function also and the term gilisi used for her means "she bears me on her back."

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[11] Parts of the following are from his Swimmer manuscript (Mooney and Olbrechts, 1932, pp. 116–131).

Certain children are raised to be "witches." These are given a special diet of a liquid potion of corn hominy for some days and then certain other medicines are administered and prayers said at the end of a given period. These children then grow up to be powerful magicians who can fly through the air and under the ground and assume any shape. They can wish anything and it immediately takes place. They are a terrible calamity to the community so they are generally sought after and slain in infancy. Twins are regarded as potential witches, also, whose abilities may be even more readily developed.

At the age of 4 or 5 the young boys make bows and arrows under the supervision of their fathers or elder brothers. Little girls of this age begin to assist in the household duties. The children also begin to participate in the dances at this age. Various games occupy the time of the children. Toy bows and arrows are used to shoot at crickets and apples in the trees. The game of hunter and deer is played. Other sports are indulged in, such as rolling stones down the mountains, and playing on toy musical instruments, and various athletic sports.

Instruction now begins to follow the line of the sexual division of labor. The boys are taught by the mother's brother various formulas for success in hunting and obtaining success in love affairs; the girls are taught to make baskets, pottery, and to perform various household tasks.

MARRIAGE AND ADULTHOOD

There are apparently no ceremonies connected with the initiation of the child into the adult group. Entrance into the adult status generally occurs automatically with the marriage relation. The direct mechanism involved in courtship will be described later in the discussion of familiarity and the dance. (See pp. 263–264.)

The young people meet at various places. The principal mode of acquaintanceship is the habit of visiting relatives. The mother and the father of the family are always taking the children around with them in their visits to relations. The friendship of the boy and girl may be still further developed at the dances, at the friendship dances, and the ball dance in particular.

A marriage may take place in various ways. The man may simply go to live at the house of the woman, and she may then bear him children. Afterward he may tire of the woman and leave for some other community. Or in other cases the man may take the woman to his own house, and she will stay there while their family is being raised. In still other cases the young couple may go out and found a homestead of their own on the mountain slopes.

There is little or no ceremony connected with the formation of a new family. The groom may give a wedding feast at his home for all

the relatives of his own and the bride. It is said that in the past a woman signified her acceptance of a young man's proposal of marriage by pounding up into flour and then baking into bread a sack of corn left at her door by him.

The age of consent in marriage is 15 for girls and 17 for boys. However, marriage earlier than these ages frequently occurs. Late marriages are by no means uncommon. Either these later marriages are generally of ugly persons unable to find a mate earlier in life or remarriages by conjurers. Late marriages and many of the early ones involve the use of love charms or magic to induce affection in a woman who is much desired.

After marriage the man farms, looks after the stock, cuts wood, hunts game, fishes in the river, or visits other villages. The woman does the household chores, looks after the children, cooks, sews, washes the clothes, and perhaps follows her husband around in his visits. In all public meetings, such as the ball game, dances, church services, and the like, the women always congregate by themselves apart from the men.

The man regards with great respect his wife's parents, and she does the same with his. The husband will never joke with or treat in a familiar manner the wife's parents, but he can treat with great jocularity any brother or sister of his wife. She likewise jokes with the brothers and sisters of her husband.

SICKNESS AND DEATH

As age creeps up, the number of diseases afflicting the individual begin to multiply and assume increased importance. Disease is regarded as being caused principally by malevolent conjurers or by nature spirits whose evil influence must be warded off by enlisting the aid of some powerful conjurer on the side of the patient. Later on in this paper some attention will be given to the theory of disease causation among the Cherokees and its social implications. (See pp. 294–297.)

When sickness comes to the family and its activities are so definitely crippled as to threaten its health and well-being, the local cooperative poor-aid society steps in and does the farming and housework of the family until the latter is on its feet again.

When death comes to the family, the local cooperative again functions, this time as an undertaking establishment. Mooney and Olbrechts (1932, pp. 131–144) have graphically described the death and burial of an important member of the Big Cove community.

Beyond a few miscellaneous tasks, relatives or immediate kin are not allowed to take any part in the funeral arrangements or burial of the deceased. The corpse is washed, dressed, and then lies in state for several days for all to come and get a last look. The friends of the family

watch the corpse day and night. The coffin, which has been prepared by the funeral society, is brought, and then the corpse is placed inside it and borne to the cemetery. An ordinary Christian burial service is generally held at the house of the deceased before burial. And so the life cycle is completed.

THE DANCE

The next general social feature is the dance. There are some 24 dances current or remembered among the Cherokeees of Big Cove. Some 8 of these have fallen into disuse. The following are the dances known: Ant, Ball, Bear, Beaver, Buffalo, Bugah, Chicken, Coat, Corn, Eagle, Friendship, Green Corn, Ground Hog, Horse, Knee Deep, Medicine, Partridge, Pheasant, Pigeon, Raccoon, Round, Snake, War, and "Woman Gathering Wood." The Ant, Buffalo, Chicken, Medicine, Pheasant, Pigeon, Raccoon, and War Dances have all lapsed from current use and are only half remembered. In Birdtown several additional dances are performed to which later reference will be made.

In most of the dances both men and women participate, but only men are allowed to lead and to do the singing for the dancers. A few dances are confined to one or the other sex.

Most dances are led by a singer who has a drum or gourd rattle in his hand and who may or may not participate in the motions of the dance. The rank and file of the dancers, who follow the leader in single file, may accompany the singing of their leader, or they may finish out his initial phrases, or they may reply in antiphony. A woman with tortoise-shell rattles fastened to her legs generally follows immediately after the leader and keeps time for his singing by shaking the rattles on her legs in rhythmic sequence.

The musical instruments used in the dance consist of (1) a groundhog skin drum, (2) one or more gourd rattles on short sticks, and (3) several tortoise-shell rattles bound about the legs of the woman leader.

Various ornamental and characteristic features are introduced in the dances, such as pine boughs, sticks, eagle-feather wands, pipes, masks, and robes of various kinds. Costumes of skins were said to have been used in the past but today, except for the masked Bugah Dance and the dances at the annual fair in imitation buckskin, the plain overalls of everyday life are worn.

The dances are usually held at night. Certain dances are given only in the early part of the evening and others are relegated to the hours after midnight. The evening dances are the Eagle, Bugah, Beaver, "Woman gathering Wood," and Pigeon. The Friendship Dances may continue all night as may also the Ball dances. The general order of the evening dances is for a Bugah Dance to precede an Eagle Dance after which may come a Friendship Dance. Or perhaps a Pigeon Dance may start off the evening followed by a

Beaver and then a Bugah Dance. If the Eagle Dance was scheduled, the Pigeon Dance would be left out, or vice versa. The Bugah Dance, again, will almost always contain a Bear Dance given by its masked performers.

Somewhat after midnight, at about 2 o'clock in the morning, there commences another series of dances known as tcudale Nuda or "different dances." These are also called uskwiniye'da or "every kind," from the word for a general store. These dances generally run in about the following order: Coat, Ground Hog, Corn, Knee Deep, Buffalo, Ant, Quail, Chicken, Snake, Raccoon, Bear, Horse, and, finally, the Round Dance after full daylight has come.

Dances may be given in the daytime. The Green Corn Dance is given at any time during the day but is never ended until after dark. After a morning Round Dance as mentioned above, the new day may be started with another Eagle Dance or perhaps by a game of women's football.

Some dances should be given only at certain seasons. In the recent past if the Eagle, Bugah, or Snake Dance were given in the summer, snake bite or cold weather would be sure to follow. The proper time for these dances is the frosty season from November to March. It is thought that the disappearance of the old-time conjurers may have something to do with the fact that these dances can now be given with impunity in the summer. As we shall see in the section on culture change (p. 367), a regular annual cycle of dances used to be held monthly throughout the year among the Cherokees. Of this cycle but little evidence is available now.

Although dances can, in the main, be held either out of doors or in the house, the majority are now held indoors. Sometimes a regular periodic round is made of all the houses in the neighborhood, each weekly or biweekly dance being held at a different house. At Big Cove, during the writer's visit there, all of the dances were held at a convenient house in the valley flats.

The number of song accompaniments to a given dance may range from 1 to 14 but the average is about 4. A song consists of an individual melody sung with a series of more or less meaningless words or syllables, consisting of terms for obsolete towns and places, unintelligible onomatopoetic phrases, and the like. In the Friendship Dances considerable scope may be given to the improvising of syllables and melodies and in the course of several hours as many as 40 or 50 songs may be sung. In the main the syllables and the accompanying melodies seem to be somewhat stereotyped except that vowel quality of the syllables seems to vary in the numerous repetitions. The average duration of a single dance with its 4 songs and their repetitions may be from a quarter to a half an hour.

A roughly alternate order of slow and fast melodies seems to be maintained, with the faster tempos seeming to predominate toward the end of the dance. The steps used in dancing do not vary perceptibly from dance to dance and consist of simple rhythmic walking steps in time with the drum or rattle. In fast time a sort of quick hopping motion develops. In the Bugah Dance any kind of a step may be allowed. Much dancing is done with the upper parts of the body, especially the arms, shoulder, and head.

All kinds of conventionalized and naturalistic motions accompany the dances. Except in the cases of the Green Corn Dance and the Ball Dance, most of the dances have lost all significance in connection with outside activities or occurrences. True, hunting methods and habits of various animals are simulated as well as the movements of sowing seed and tillage of the soil. But these motions are incidental and apparently lost in a maze of other less explicable movements. The basic motif of the dances as they are at present performed seems to be the social one of a good time and making acquaintances.

Clapping of the hands is a common feature of the Friendship Dances. This action expresses the joy and happiness being experienced by the participants. Bears are thought to clap their hands when pleased. The enjoyment of the dance was so great in the past that whenever some family had lost a member by death the rest of the neighbors would give a dance to make them forget their sorrow.

SPECIFIC DANCES

In the Friendship Dances the young people get acquainted. There is a great amount of teasing and joking of relatives occurring at these dances in particular. The young men will scratch the young girls' hands with their fingernails, slap them or feint blows at them, poke at them, or otherwise tease these familiar relatives. For the older people the word "Friendship," attaching to these dances, signifies the renewal of the pleasures of their youthful experiences in love and social intercourse.

In the Eagle Dance and in the Friendship Dance the leader or principal performer can tell a story as he dances. He may perhaps recount his conquests over women or his acquiring of great wealth. He will never fail to get in some jibes at his joking relatives while he sings.

The gotogwaski, or "caller," is the organizer of a dance occasion and it is he who calls off the names of those who are to lead each song step. At the end of a song he shouts out words of encouragement and applause. He always endeavors to pick the best and strongest singers as leaders. The leader starts to walk around in a circle singing his song and followed at first only by one or two old men. Other men join

the circle and then the woman with rattles on her legs and finally a vast number of girls, boys, men, and women are circling around at a faster and faster rate. After the song ends the whole group makes a wild dash for the door and fresh air.

Since the dances of the Cherokees are of extreme importance in the social integration of the tribe, it will be in point to briefly mention the outstanding characteristics of the remembered dances, especially those whose social function seems more strikingly important than others.

The Ant Dance (daksu dali) consisted of a snakelike procession in single file, the participants moving about like a colony of ants. Both men and women participate but the men do all of the singing and the singing leader dances with a gourd rattle in his hand. The leader sings about the ants and says that their grandmothers are flying.

The Ball Dance (dundje-la Nuni) is performed in two parts, one by the men and the other by the women.[12] The men go to water both before and after a ball game. The men's dance consists of a procession of the players about the fire, racquet in hand, singing some four songs. The singing leader has a gourd rattle in his hand and dances at the head of the line. Simultaneously with the men's ball dance, or perhaps in its intermissions, the women give their dance. The details of this dance are very important and are worth considering at some length.

A male singer seats himself facing the town which the team is to play against and takes his drum in his hands while the seven women dancers line up in a row behind him. Then, as the drummer begins to sing, the women dance forward and backward. Only the first and last songs are danced, the others consist in merely singing to the accompaniment of the leader. After each song the drummer will give some derogatory remarks about his familiar clansmen in the opponent town, saying that their town is bound to lose in the coming game. Then the women may likewise make up jokes about their clans-persons in the opponent town. After one drummer is tired, another will take his place and joke his fellow clansmen of his own clan in the opponent town. This magical rite concludes with the whole group "going to water" for certain lavations and purifications. This joking of the opponent town has the apparent effect of magically weakening the opponent town and causing them to lose the coming game. This is one of the most striking correlations of magical potency with relations of familiarity imbedded in the kinship system to be found.[13] Fuller reference to the possible significance of this rite in connection with

[12] The Ball Dance has been described by various authors, of which Mooney's description in his article on The Cherokee Ball Play (1890, pp. 105–132) is perhaps the best. This dance dates back at least 100 years.

[13] No previous mention has ever been made of this joking in the numerous references on the Ball Game. Mooney, in the article previously referred to, mentions the "conjuring" which goes on at the Ball Dance.

other magical establishments of familiarity will be made in the discussion on integration and extension of social principles to magic and myth.

The Bear Dance (yo na) is an important dance given after midnight.[14] Men and women both take part in this dance, which requires the use of gourd and tortoise-shell rattles. The general course is a spiral motion by a group in single file about the fire or pot or whatever can be made to serve as the center of revolution. Various obscene familiarities are indulged in between relatives in this dance, especially between the men and the women. The words of the songs refer to the bear's habits.

The Beaver Dance (doya) is mimetic of the beaver hunt.[15] Each dancer carries a small stick about 2 feet long, and this stick is flourished in various manners. The principal feature of this dance is an animal skin, meant to represent the beaver, which is pulled back and forth on a series of strings and which the dancers attempt to hit. Missing the skin affords immense amusement to the participants and spectators alike and this is consequently a favorite dance.

The Buffalo Dance is hardly remembered.[16] Masks and skins were said to have been used in this dance, which was mimetic of the hunt of buffalo.

The Bugah Dance (tsunagaduli) is a masked dance of particular social importance. The name is of obscure origin but the actors in the dance are called Bogeys or sometimes Buggers.[17] Considerable paraphernalia and preparation are necessary for this dance. From 6 to 12 masks made of gourd, wood, or pasteboard are collected beforehand in the neighborhood as well as 6 or 10 gourd rattles and a ground-hog skin drum. From all of the women present one man, the organizer, collects shawls, wraps, or sweaters to clothe the bogeys in.

Six men seat themselves at one side of the room, a drummer or leader with five assistant music makers holding gourd rattles. These persons are known as dininogiski, "callers," whose function it is to sing and call the bogeys. When the callers have completed their sixth song, the bogeys enter one by one, concealed by masks and various wrap-around materials, and hobbling in various comical positions and with odd motions. They wear the strangest make-ups and endeavor to do everything in a topsy-turvy manner.

There are seven of the bogeys and as the seventh song is played they dance in a circle about the room and endeavor to scare those children who are ungilisi or digiDuDu relatives to them. They also

[14] Mentioned by Timberlake (1929, pp. 102 ff.).

[15] Described by J. P. Evans in Payne MSS., vol. 6, Sketches of Cherokee Characteristics, 1836.

[16] Mooney (1900, pp. 352, 485) mentions it in an Iroquois myth.

[17] J. P. Evans (1836, in Payne MSS., vol. 6, Sketches of Cherokee Characteristics) describes this dance as part of the Eagle Dance.

tease the grown-ups who are their familiar relatives. The relatives and spectators in the room enjoy this game of guessing which of their familiar relatives the teaser is.

At the end of the seventh song the bogeys seat themselves in a comical fashion and with clumsy gestures on a log at one side of the room. The interpreter or organizer, meanwhile, is asked by the head caller to put some questions to the bogeys. The first question is generally, "What is your name?" or, "Where do you come from?" The interpreter then goes up to the first bogey and repeats the question to him. To this the bogey gives a whispered reply and the name he gives himself is always either ludicrous or obsence. He gives as his place of origin some remote or fanciful locality. He may joke a familiar relative in a neighboring town by giving his name. After the initial questions are over, the first bogey gets up ludicrously and clowns in a dance all his own. During the dance the music maker or chief caller calls the name of the bogey over and over again and the bogey goes through motions and gestures appropriate to the name which he has given himself. The steps of this solo dance are utterly unlike any other Cherokee dance and consist of a series of heavy hops in rhythmic time. When the first bogey is through, the whole thing is gone over again with the next one and so on down the line.

Following this the interpreter asks the bogeys to do a bear dance together. This is done and then the audience joins in with the bogeys. As the dance proceeds the bogeys tease their familiar relatives, especially the women, in obscene and ridiculous ways. After this dance the bogeys leave and go to some remote field where they remove their disguise and slip home without being recognized. After the bogeys are gone, the audience generally begins a friendship dance.

The Bugah Dance is one of the most extremely used occasions for the display of the joking and privileged familiarity relationships between relatives. The bogeys may even tease and joke each other if they are in the correct relationship. The crazy movements of the Bugah solo dance may imitate everything except the motions of white peoples' dances. The bogeys themselves may imitate white people, negroes, or joking relatives.

The next dance, the Chicken Dance (sata'ga) has not been given for some time in Big Cove. The principal feature of this dance consisted of the woman resting one of her feet on the foot of her male partner in the dance, and hopping with the other foot. This dance was said to have been the cause of much jealousy and fights. The Chicken Dance is possibly mimetic of a bird habit.

The Coat Dance (gasule'na) is apparently of little significance, now. In the older days the men were said to have bought their brides

with buckskin coats as payment and in this dance some motions are made of covering or "claiming" a woman with the coat.

The Corn Dance (se'lu) is apparently mimetic of the actions of planting corn. The women were said to have done the planting and the men to have followed with the hoe to cover the seeds with earth. The term adan wisi, "they are going to plant corn," is possibly allied with the dance called "Yontonwisas" by Mooney (1900, pp. 365–367) and may be the Corn Dance.

In the Corn Dance the men cup their hands as if they were pouring corn grains into the aprons of the women and then the women reciprocate in giving the corn to the men. Various other arm movements take place between the sexes in this dance.

The Eagle Dance (tsugi'dali) is probably the most important and most revered of the Cherokee Dances.[18] The eagles were said to have gathered together and teased each other just as men do in the Eagle Dance. The Eagle Dance used to be held in the fall or winter when the eagles were killed but now it is held at any time. In addition to its function as a celebration of the killing of an eagle, the Eagle Dance has several subordinate elements such as the Scalp Dance which celebrates victory in war (Mooney, 1900, p. 496), and the Peace Pipe Dance which celebrates the conclusion of peace. The chief function of the Eagle Dance at the present time is the celebration of victory in the Ball Game.

In its present-day performance, all of the elements of the Eagle Dance are somewhat mixed together. The Scalp Dance is a solo dance in which the young man can dance and tell his story, vaunting his bravery before the women or other men. He derogates the deeds of his clan brothers and joking relatives, saying that they are cowards and of no value to the tribe. When the derogated relative's chance comes, he in turn derogates the former singer.

The rather elaborate ceremonial involved in killing and propitiating the eagle which preceded the Eagle Dance has been described by Mooney. At present, dances can be given without killing an eagle. There are, in all probability, totemic values attaching to the Eagle.

The Friendship Dances (dl'sti) are a mixed assemblage of a large number of dances whose primary significance is shared in common, namely the social intercourse which is necessary for the young people in order that they may find husbands and wives among potential relatives.

The familiarities of the Friendship Dances consist of such actions as the men placing their hats on the heads of their female partners, putting their coats around them, putting their arms around their shoulders and necks, and performing various overhand movements with them and

[18] Mooney, 1900, pp. 281–283. The Eagles were formerly killed only by a professional "eagle killer" like the deer and wolf.

others. These are the dances for getting acquainted and all of the motions of the dance are designed, or appear to be designed, to break down shyness and reserve on the part of the young people. This reserve is broken through, however, strictly along the line of the familiarity relationship with specific relatives. It is impossible, or in general improbable, that a young man will tease or joke with a woman of his father's clan, or even of his own clan. On the other hand if he finds a "grandmother" (gilisi) or a "grandfather" (giDuDu, ginisi) he can tease them to the extreme. It is most likely that he will tease the women rather than the men as privileged familiarities between men are reserved for other occasions. At the dance a man must find a wife and there is only one way to find a wife and that is to select her out of the group of women with whom he can carry on relations of familiarity.

The typical Friendship Dance begins with a few of the older men moving around in a circle about the room.[19] The woman with the tortoise-shell rattles on her legs joins in the circle and then come the older women followed by the younger men and women. Round and round the circle goes, gradually picking up speed and volume as more join and none leave the magic ring of dancing humanity. Finally the crowd becames too great for the one small room, the heat and sweat becomes too much, the dust too choking, and so with a final whoop all rush forth into the open air.

Aside from certain features, such as a stygian smell of old tobacco permeating the air and the constant spitting, the Friendship Dance is one of the most fascinating features of Cherokee life. This dance holds a gripping power as great as any opera in our own society, for its drama and music are the prime expression of the socially significant facts of Cherokee existence. In the renewal of their old-time mating memories the older people find their chief consolation as age advances. In the sex glamor of the occasion the young people find their chief recreation. In the general cheerfulness of the atmosphere generated those who mourn for deceased relatives may find forgetfulness.

The Green Corn Dance (agohundi) is an all-day dance which takes place in September after "Roasting Ear's Time."[20] The name given to this dance refers to a town where, according to tradition, this dance was given especially well. This occasion has no direct connection with the Corn Dance, except that the latter celebrates the planting of the corn, while the Green Corn Dance celebrates the harvest.

The Green Corn Dance is really a composite of several other dances. First, there is an all-day dance by the men in which guns are fired at intervals of half an hour to make the noise considered essential to this

[19] J. P. Evans (Payne MSS, vol. 6, Sketches of Cherokee Characteristics) describes Friendship Dance in 1836.

[20] This dance is described by Butrick as the third in his Annual Series of Festivals.. (See Payne Mss., vol. 1.) It is widespread among the tribes of the Southeastern area.

dance. Secondly, there are three evening dances—a Grandmother Dance by the men, a Meal Dance by the women, and a Trail-Making Dance by both sexes.

The all-day dance is the essential celebration of the completely successful harvest. The Grandmother and the Meal Dances are mimetic of the preparation of the corn meal by the women and grandmothers, and the Trail-Making Dance, as its name implies, mimics the activities of fixing up the trail for next year. After the dancing is over, a big feast is held in the evening, and everyone eats in great plenty of the fruits of the harvest.

Now follow three dances of no great social importance. The Groundhog Dance (ogonu) is not of any great importance now.[21] The motions of the dance are highly conventionalized and not significant. The Horse Dance (sogwili) is imitative of the marching and prancing movements of the horse. The dancers move slowly back and forth in a row, occasionally giving a kick as a horse will do. The Knee Deep Dance (dustu) is a short dance named after a little frog which appears in March in the part of the Spring known as "Knee-deep time."

The Medicine Dance (egwa nuwati) appears to have virtually disappeared. It is of considerable significance, however, in connection with the familiarity relationship. This dance appears to have been held after the leaves had fallen into the streams in October.[22] This mixture of the virtues of the leaves with the water caused the people to believe that the river was a gigantic medicine pot whose boiling was evinced in the eddying and foaming of the water. So this became "Great Medicine" time, the period in which life renewal and protection from all disease could be secured by bathing in the stream.

A mixing of actual medicine in pots occurred at this time also. While the pot boiled all night, the women and men used to dance to keep awake, and then in the morning they went to bathe in the stream for purification. The long hours of the night used to be passed in joking each other's "grandfathers" (digiDuDu) and "grandmothers" (digilisi). This joking became the main feature of the dance. The women were said to have taken the initiative in joking the men at this dance. If the men were shy, the women would catch them and force them to dance.

The Partridge or Quail Dance (k.gwe) is a dance somewhat resembling the Horse Dance and supposed to be initiative of the movements of the quail.

Similarly of little importance, the Pheasant Dance (tadisti) has completely vanished but it is remembered that the drumming of the

[21] Origin myth for this dance is given by Mooney (1900, pp. 279, 452).

[22] This dance is a remnant of the 4th Great Annual Festival described by Butrick in Payne Mss., vol. 1.

pheasant was imitated during the course of the dance (Mooney, 1900, p. 290).

The Pigeon Dance (wayi) was an important dance in the past and numerous efforts are made to revive it from time to time. The actions seem to be mimetic of the stalking and capture of a flock of pigeons by a sparrowhawk. One strong man represents the hawk and he is painted red on the face, wears feathers, and is naked to the waist. He carries a buckskin in one hand and stands in a dark corner awaiting the line of dancers representing pigeons. As they pass him he swoops down and captures one with the buckskin. He then retires to his corner only to swoop down on another one and so on.

The Raccoon Dance (kuli) is also lapsing. It was mimetic of the capture of the raccoon in the tree where he has taken refuge. Some of the motions of the dance indicate joking of the women by the men as in the Bear Dance. The men pretend to rub the grease of the raccoon on the women, the grease being an adorning feature.

The Round Dance (ade'yohi) is a farewell dance which finishes an all-night series of different dances. It is said that this dance refers to the people having to go around the mountains in going home. The first half is a women's dance but the men join in the second half.

The Snakelike Dance, inadiyusti, consists of spiralings by the line of dancers about the fire.

The War Dance (daNowehi) has not been given for a long time. It was said to have consisted of various military deployments backward and forward and about the fire, all imitative of the scouting and engagement of actual warfare. There was a magical significance attaching to this dance since it determined which warrior would come back safely of those who went to war.

The Woman Gathering Wood Dance (adohuna) was once regarded as preliminary to all the other dances. It is apparently mimetic of, or at least connected with, the women's gathering wood to feed the fire. The movements are mostly back and forth movements by a row of women, the men taking no part.

This list concludes the series of dances known in the village of Big Cove. In this area the old-time methods of dancing have been remembered and carried on the longest, by universal testimony. Nevertheless, a considerable interest in dancing and periodic indulgence in the characteristic Cherokee dances was found at Birdtown. Several additional dances are known in Birdtown which seem to be lacking in Big Cove. These are: The Witch Dance (skili), in which the performers imitate goggles on their eyes with the use of their fingers; The Gagoyi Dance ("curled up," or "twisted") whose evolutions resemble the Ant Dance; and the Parched Corn Dance (gawicida itcu), which was an additional part of the Green Corn Dance.

TABLE 5.—*Dances of the Cherokees*

Name	Number of songs	Given in evening	Given after midnight	Instrument			Function and significance
				Gourd	Tortoise shell	Drum	
1. Ant	1		×	×	×		Imitative of ant colonies.
2. Ball	4 and 13	×	×	×		×	Magical attainment of victory in ball game.
3. Bear	7		×	×	×		Imitative of animal habits. Occasion for familiarities between sexes.
4. Beaver	4	×				×	Imitative of beaver hunt.
5. Buffalo [1]	2+				×	×	Imitative of buffalo.
6. Bugah	7	×		×		×	Imitative of buffoons. Occasion for privileged familiarities.
7. Chicken	1+		×	×	×		Imitative of bird habits. Occasion for privileged familiarities between sexes.
8. Coat	4		×	×	×		Imitative of taking a wife by paying a coat.
9. Corn	4		×	×	×		Imitative of corn planting.
10. Eagle	14	×		×		×	Combination of various dances commemorating victory. Joking between men.
11. Friendship	44+	×	×	×	×		Many dances all designed to promote familiarities between sexes.
12. Green Corn	7			×	×		Celebrates the harvest of corn and composed of several dances.
13. Ground Hog	4+		×	×	×		Imitative of hunting ground hog.
14. Horse	7		×		×	×	Imitative of horse movements.
15. Knee Deep	2		×	×	×		Imitative of knee-deep frog of spring.
16. Medicine [1]	4	×	×			×	Renewing health. Occasion for familiarities between sexes.
17. Partridge	1		×	×	×		Imitative of quail movements.
18. Pheasant [1]	1+						Imitative of pheasants.
19. Pigeon	3+	×		×	×		Imitative of hawks hunting pigeons.
20. Raccoon	2		×	×	×		Imitative of hunting raccoon. Familiarities between sexes.
21. Round	4		×		×	×	A woman's dance which culminates in all-night dance at daylight.
22. Snakelike	2		×	×	×		Imitative of snake.
23. War [1]	2+					×	Magical protection and movements of war.
24. Wood-Gathering	7	×			×	×	Imitative of woman gathering wood for fire. Begins a series of dances.

[1] Extinct.

The main features of the Cherokee dances are presented in table 5 (p. 267) in summary form. It will be seen from the data presented just how tremendously important the social motive is in the dances and how they play a most characteristic role as the vehicles of privileged familiarity between relatives. The analysis of this function will be presented in the section on social integration (p. 309).

THE BALL GAME

Similar to the dances in social importance are the sports. The chief sports or games among the Eastern Cherokee consist of the following: Cherokee ball; women's football game; basket game; "arrows"; matches of various kinds such as archery, rock casting, pitching of stones, and match hunts; various children's sports and others. In this discussion attention will be devoted only to those games which have social significance.

The first and most important of all Cherokee sports is the ball game.[23] This game, apparently a local version of an Indian game almost continental in its range of distribution, has a special importance in Cherokee culture as a basic form of organization of town units in opposition to each other.

The dantelidahi, or "captain," organizes his team from the available young men of the town and may have as many as 20 players enrolled. In the actual playing only 12 are allowed to participate. There are appointed two "drivers" to separate the players in the scrimmages and keep the game going. As a rule each town has its team play three games a year. Summer is the ball game season.

The way of arranging a match is for the captain of one team to send out two messengers to a rival town challenging them to a game. The rival town appoints two men to receive the challenge and to accept it. Then the rival captains get busy and search for the best conjurer available in order that as strong a magical power as possible can be brought in to aid in winning. Extraordinary measures are sometimes resorted to in order to secure a good conjurer. The whole community may turn out to hoe the fields or perform work on the conjurer's fields in order to show their good will and regard for the conjurer's powers.

The conjurer prays and divines what the future has in store by a special technique. If he finds that the opponents are stronger than the home team, he takes measures to strengthen the latter. These measures consist of "scratchings," prayers, going to the river and bathing at stated intervals, and the dance for the 4th night before the day of the game. The players must fast and abstain from their wives during

[23] Described by Timberlake, 1929, p. 102; Bartram, 1853, p. 299; Haywood, 1823, p. 286; Butrick in Payne Mss., vol. 4; Evans in Payne Mss., vol. 6, pp. 17–25; Lanman, 1849, pp. 100 ff.; Mooney, 1900 (already cited in connection with Ball Dance); and Culin, 1907, pp. 574–588.

the latter part of their period of training. The captain of the team "calls" the leaders of the nightly ball dances. In the magical rites for strengthening, the conjurer especially looks after the ayeli anakstone i, or "center knockers," for these are the men who jump in the center when the ball is first tossed up at the beginning of the game and this event is important in deciding which side first gets the ball.

Before the game bets are placed by players and spectators alike on the probable outcome. These bets, generally wearing apparel or more often money, are thrown in a pile and two men, one from each side, are appointed to watch them. Sharp sticks are stuck into the ground to register the bets.

The game is played between two goals, generally trees. The touching of the opponents' goal with the ball in hand by a player of the other side constitutes a score of one. Twelve scores win the game. The ball, a small golf-ball-sized object, is tossed into the air by one of the drivers and is then batted back and forth with racquets until someone catches it in his hand and runs to the opposite goal. If two players start wrestling for the ball, a foul is declared and the ball is tossed up again for a fresh start. The manner of playing is extremely rough and injuries are frequent, especially since the players are dressed only in the equivalent of a pair of trunks. After the game, the players are ceremonially scratched and retire for supper, the bets being allotted out to the winners. Seven days after the game, the winners hold an Eagle or Victory Dance to celebrate. Great stress is laid on magical power as the sole determinant of the winning or losing of games. The games, in fact, resolve themselves into a rivalry of conjurers in opposing towns rather than into any rivalry of teams. Hence, the magical rites surrounding the game are extensive and esoteric.

OTHER GAMES

The game of Cherokee football was a form of social opposition between the sexes. It was played by a team of from 10 to 15 women matched against 10 or 15 men. Usually the women were given one strong man on their side for additional assistance. Each team was organized by a manager. The small groups comprising these teams were drawn from the same neighborhood. One side would challenge the other and the challenger had the privilege of kicking off. As in the ball game, scoring consisted in getting the ball to the enemy goal by fair means or foul and 12 scores counted a game. The ball used was the size of a baseball and was made of buckskin or cloth. An interesting phase of this game was the betting. The men generally bet a deer and the women bet bread. If the men were beaten they had to hunt and prepare a deer for a feast. If

the women were beaten they had to prepare bread for a feast. This was generally chestnut or walnut bread.

The Cherokee basket game is a "parlor game" (Culin, 1907). It is used in the family circle to while away the long winter evenings. The dice are 6 beans cut in half, the one side showing the black husk and the other the white interior. Sometimes 6 pieces of wood or 6 grains of corn colored black on one side were used. The dice are shaken in a shallow basket (4 inches deep by a foot square) and if 1 bean of a given color comes up it counts 1, if none comes up it counts 2 for the player. From a pile of from 18 to 24 beans kept as counters the corresponding number according to the score are put in front of the player. As soon as the counters are exhausted in the main pile, it becomes a contest between the players' piles and generally dwindles down into a contest between two. After the center pile is exhausted, 2 or 3 beans are taken from each player and this generally eliminates the weaker players. Most of the time 2 or 3 beans of a color come up and the player cries, "konigit! (nothing)" and passes the basket on to another. If he scores, however, he gets another trial. Two partners may play against 2 others in this game and the women play against the men. Betting in the game as in the football game consists in the men betting a deer, squirrel, or rabbit against the women's bread. Today money is bet.

A sport current until the last few years was the grapevine pulling contest. This consisted in a contest between four to six men on one side and several women with one strong man on the other. The stronger side had to pull their opponents over a predetermined course in order to win. As in other sports, the women would bet bread and the men some form of game.

Until very recently the Cherokees of Big Cove used to have match hunts at Thanksgiving and New Year's. A manager was appointed and he would round up all of his recruits from one side of the river and the opponents would be collected from the other bank. One side challenged the other and the losers had to cook the feast on the holiday after the hunt. The score was determined by the total number of animals shot.

In reference to children's sports, one trait to be noted is the absolute separation of girls' from boys' sports. The boys play at hunting and athletic contests, the girls play at housekeeping or the like.

Running through Cherokee sports in general, then, are the following elements: Opposition and separation of the sexes, opposition of towns and conjurer groups, betting of goods and money, and the influence of magic.

With the description of sports and their social features, the survey of the formal aspects of Cherokee society has been completed. In the first place some of the features of the social units and their interrelationships were observed; secondly, the kinship system was sketched in order to properly set forth certain basic features of the Cherokee social organization; and thirdly, general descriptive features of social importance, such as the life cycle of the individual and the dances and the sports of the people, were rapidly noted.

INTEGRATION OF THE PRESENT SOCIETY

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE PRESENT-DAY TRAITS

The first part of this paper, Description of the Present Society, has sketched for us the outlines of Cherokee society as it exists today. Much has been said about the externals of the social structure but less has been mentioned concerning the interrelations and functions of the various traits. So the purpose of this second part will be to try to relate the various structures which have previously been described.

FUNCTIONING OF THE FAMILY

Here and there in the foregoing discussion some hints have been given concerning the fundamental role of kinship in Cherokee society. In particular the regulations which surround and conduce to preferential mating have been stressed as basic to an understanding of the other parts of the system. What to make of the material now that we have it before us is the question.

First, there is the domestic family which occupies the individual household. The individuals making up the family may be said to be held together in certain ways and kept apart in certain ways. The ways in which the family is held together in a working social mechanism will be entitled phases of social solidarity and the ways in which the individual members are kept apart, social opposition.

The individual man is very close to his brothers in social position. He can take the place of a brother in many ways and from the viewpoint of the outside world is hardly distinguishable from him. So likewise in the case of the individual woman there is little to distinguish her from her sisters to the view of outsiders. This identity for social purposes of brothers and sisters can be spoken of as social equivalence. Brothers are socially equivalent, then, and so are sisters while, to a certain extent, brothers and sisters together are equivalent in Cherokee society. There are many reciprocal privileges and obligations between these children of common parents which are exclusive to them and which bind them together in a type of common unity.

Solidarity within the individual Cherokee domestic family takes on the character of a series of solidarities of the various primary pairs. The solidarity of husband and wife is manifested in the following ways:

1. In their common attitude of respect toward each other's parental generation.

2. In their shared attitude toward their children's generation.

3. In the fact that the familiarity relationship always exists as a medium of contact between them except on those extraordinary occasions on which taboos must be enforced. These latter will be mentioned in the section on magical extensions of social principles. (See pp. 299–300.)

4. Reciprocity in marriage involves an exchange in the marriage feast and is symbolized in the women's betting of bread against the meat bet by the men in several of the games.

5. Pregnancy and menstrual taboos imposed upon the wife are extended to her husband in restriction of his contacts with other persons.

The solidarity of parent and child is manifested in the following ways:

1. The indirect joking relationship allows some degree of good fellowship between the parental and the children's generations.

2. Protection is afforded to the children by the parents, and the children who stay at home and take care of the old folks are the ones who obtain the property by inheritance.

3. The child must render a respect to his mother and father and he must in particular defend his father's clan against all aspersions from without.

The solidarity of brothers and sisters is manifested in the following ways:

1. The terminology expresses group consciousness clearly in this case. There exist not only terms for "brothers and sisters" in general but also terms for "brothers" and for "sisters" taken collectively. The terminology between brothers and sisters is reciprocal, each calling the other by the same term.

2. In certain inheritance customs whereby a man's oldest sister's son inherits a position as chief or some like office (no longer practised).

3. In the intense solidarity within the clan extensions of the brother and sister relationship. All clan brothers and sisters are regarded as being of one blood and of a common identity.

4. In the solidarity of the parental generation within itself, the father with father's brother, the mother with mother's sister, etc.

Of the three primary relationships just cited the strongest in solidarity would appear to be the brother-sister bond, the next stronger would be the husband-wife bond (which is a form of the grandfather-grandchild relationship), and the weakest relationship is that between parent and child.

The rather firmly entrenched solidarity of the individual family can thus be seen to be made up of individual pair solidarities between which there can be—and often are—conflicts. Particularly strategic in this regard is the conflict tendency between the brother-sister bond and the husband-wife bond. For, in the course of each individual's life, he or she is taken out of his or her brother-sister group and merged with his or her grandparental clan group at the time of marriage. This act can be looked upon both as setting up barriers

of opposition within the formerly intact ego generation and as serving to unite ego's and the grandparental generation in a new bond of solidarity through the connecting link of ego's marriage.

Residence may or may not add to family solidarity. The typical Cherokee household consists of the family nucleus, the husband, wife, and children, together with parts or wholes of other families. The wife's relatives are often found in the household, such as her sister, mother, brother, or her maternal aunts and uncles. Residence may have once been matrilocal but it is now patrilocal in the main. A man whose wife has died may go to live with his own sister, especially if she be widowed. Often the children marry and continue to reside for a considerable time in the parental household.

The original husband, wife, and child triangle is connected by bonds of inheritance and marriage with other similar family nuclei. The husband is not only connected with his brothers, the wife with her sisters, but also both are connected by the ties already mentioned with their own siblings of the opposite sex, the husband with his sister, the wife with her brother. Thus ego comes into relation with two important individuals of the parental generation, his father's sister and his mother's brother. The father's sister is not connected with ego by any too strong a bond of solidarity. He must respect her, it is true, but he is uncertain as to whether to behave toward her as a grandmother or as a father. His uncertainty, perhaps, finds release in joking with the man she marries, as mentioned in the section on privileged familiarity. The mother's brother, also, is respected, but, due to his possession of the same clan as ego, he tends to be regarded as a sort of older brother.

Other similarly disjointed sections of solidarity are carried over in the relationships which ego bears toward the mates of his siblings and vice versa with the siblings of his mate. These relationships are more or less combinations of brother-sister relationship with grandfather-grandchild relationship with the predominance of the weight tending in the latter direction.

Familiarity relationships of rather extreme teasing unite ego with these relatives. He regards his brother's wife as his wife. The woman regards a husband's sister as a "wife" to her husband.

TABLE 6.—*Cherokee kinship*

Factors illustrated	Type 1 relationships	Type 2 relationships	Type 3 relationships
1. Basic relationship	Parent-child (Y)	Brother-sister (X)	Grandparent-grandchild (X).
2. Underlying principle	Opposition between contiguous generations	Clan equivalence and generational solidarity	Alternate generation solidarity.
3. Secondary pairs of consanguines	1. Father-child (Y) 2. Mother-child (X). 3. Father's sister-brother's child (Y). 4. Mother's brother-sister's child (Y).	1. Older brother-younger brother (Y) 2. Sister-sister (X).	1. Paternal grandfather-grandchild (X). 2. Grandmother-grandchild (X). 3. Maternal grandfather-grandchild (Y).
4. Secondary pairs of affines	1. Husband's parents-son's wife (Y) 2. Wife's parents-daughter's husband (Y). 3. Mother's brother's wife-husband's sister's child (Y). 4. Father's sister's husband-wife's brother's child (Y).		1. Husband-wife. 2. Mate's sibling-sibling's mate. 3. Grandchild's mate-mate's grandparents.
5. Predominant attitudes within pairs.	Respect and indirect familiarity	Satirical familiarity	Sexual familiarity.
6. Lineages traced	Two, father's matrilineal and own	One, own matrilineal	Two, father's father's matrilineal and mother's father's.
7. Terminology [1]	Complementary reciprocal in main	Self reciprocal in main	Self reciprocal in main.
8. Behavior	Asymmetrical	Symmetrical	Symmetrical.
9. Functioning	Superordination-subordination	Satirical sanctions	Clan reciprocity and preferential mating.
10. Direction of classification	Vertical	Horizontal	Vertical and horizontal.

[1] Self reciprocal, X; complementary reciprocal, Y.

The accompanying table shows the basic Cherokee relationships and the principles which underlie their solidarities (table 6). The parent-child relationship is a vertical one in which the barrier of opposition between contiguous generations seems to outweigh every other element. The brother-sister relationship, on the other hand, is a horizontal one in which the bond of clan equivalence or solidarity within the individual generation seems to outweigh every other element. The grandparent-grandchild relationship is a vertical one like the first but after the occurrence of marriage it becomes, in the form of the husband-wife relationship, a species of horizontal grouping. This is expressed in the mate's siblings-sibling's mates' relationship just mentioned.

All three of the primary relationships are built up with the matrilineal lineage in the background. The solidarity of the matrilineal lineage is immense and is perhaps the most stable fact in Cherokee kinship. This solidarity of the matrilineal lineage is the situation which underlies the sister-brother equivalence and solidarity. The father-child and the grandfather-grandchild relationships are possessed of solidarity only so far as they touch on the continuity and the stability of the matrilineal lineage. The matrilineal lineage, it must be reemphasized, holds together the whole system, both in its vertical and in its horizontal aspects.

It will be seen from the table of the Cherokee kinship system (table 6) that each family contains within itself the seeds for its own reproduction and replacement through the translation of the grandparent-grandchild relationship into the husband-wife relationship. The importance of the chief relationships within the life cycle of the single individual can be expressed in the following order from infancy to age: (1) Child to parent, (2) brother to sister (or vice versa), (3) grandchild to grandparent, (4) husband to wife (or vice versa), (5) parent to child, and (6) grandparent to grandchild. The family of orientation includes the first three relations as the most important, and the family of procreation the last three (orientation referring to the family into which one is born and procreation the family created by one's own marriage). It will be seen that an equating of the relationships of the first three in the family of orientation with the last three in the family of procreation places the husband-wife relationship in the second as the equivalent of the brother-sister relationship of the first. This would seem to indicate that the solidarity of ego's family of procreation was inversely proportional to the solidarity of ego's family of orientation.

It is certainly true that the solidarity of the original family of procreation will tend to resist the development of opposition barriers occasioned by the marriage of its individual members. Therefore,

a considerable degree of solidarity is generated at all contacts with the "outstander." This is manifested in the cases in which genitor or biologically true father tends to become separated from pater or social father. When a woman has a child through her relations with several men, it is her brothers and sisters who take the lead in pointing out the man whom they think is the father. How this is determined is not clear, but to have the finger of accusation pointed at one is a serious thing because it involves responsibility for the child's economic welfare and bringing up. In case the accused man cannot be reached, the brothers of the woman will build her a house in which she may bring up her family.

Factors of social opposition operate most frequently along the lines of generation, sex, age, and lineage within the family. These act to make breaches in the social solidarity of the family and to help bring about the dissolution of the individual family after the agencies of death and marriage have enacted their role.

The breach between the parental generation and the generation of age is marked by the superordination-subordination relationship. The generation that is going out transmits by way of the authority relation the cultural heritage to the generation that is coming in. This same relationship is extended to the clan and matrilineal lineage of the father so that a factor of social opposition is interposed with a whole group of relatives who come under this classification, as well as with the whole of at least one clan or social segment. The respect relationship to the father, however, is extended also to the father's father himself but not to the father's father's clan.

The factor of the sexual division enters into the list of social opposition forces in several places. The sexual dichotomy operates between persons within a generation and between persons of different generations, but its strongest manifestation lies in the distinction of relatives through the father from relatives through the mother. The mother and her sister are equivalent in terminology and behavior but the mother's brother is distinct in terminology and in behavior. The same is true of the father in his relation to his brothers and to his sisters. These various sex distinctions in the terminology and behavior have been mentioned in the descriptive section on kinship distinctions so we will not dwell on them here. The chief point to remember is that relatives through the father are more to be respected than relatives through the mother.

Age as a factor of social distinction has already been mentioned in the same section. The older brother is invested with a considerable degree of the social superordination of the father, and the younger brother must take a subordinate position as the protected one. The age distinction applied to brothers are extended to cousins and other "brothers."

FUNCTIONING OF THE CLAN

The role of the clan in preferential mating has to a considerable extent been indicated by the implications in the discussion on the role of the domestic family. Preferential mating is really an affair between an individual and persons belonging to specific clans or a clan-individual relationship. The configurations already established in the domestic family are extended to the whole clans which happen to include the persons standing in certain familial relations to age.

The clan is the exogamous social unit and is also a reciprocity mechanism. The severity of the ancient laws against marrying within the clan have been relaxed, but a survey of present-day marriages shows that there are still very few marriages of this type. And with good reason, for it does not take much inquiry into the mechanics of the Cherokee kinship system to show that marriage within one's own clan would play havoc with the elaborate mechanism of reciprocity set up by the clan to deal with disturbances in balance of numbers caused by deaths, births, and marriages.

The nature of the reciprocity between clans can best be shown by an hypothetical example, in which the balance of losses and gains is struck in a typical manner. In the accompanying diagram (fig. 54) four clans are involved and some dozen individuals serve as actors in the drama. The following are the steps involved in the process:

1. The original solidarity of clan I of ego's paternal grandfather was broken by the loss of the grandfather X when he married ego's paternal grandmother Y of clan II. X was "lost" in the sense that he went to live with his wife's people and no longer hunted with, or fought in company with, his own clanspeople.

2. Ego's father A was brought up as an integral member of clan II, but he ought to marry back into his father's clan to redress the original loss of his father to that clan. But the incest regulations will not allow him to marry into his father's clan. In consequence of this he marries ego's mother B of clan III with a consequent loss of one member to clan II.

3. Ego (male) is brought up in his mother's household as an integral member of clan III. But the father of ego is reminded throughout his life of the loss suffered by clan I (through the marriage of ego's grandfather X to ego's grandmother Y of clan II), by the attitude of extreme respect and solicitation which he is compelled to maintain toward clan I. His whole demeanor throughout life toward clan I was as if he owed it something, and circumstances are made to appear as if an exchange had been only half completed.

The only way out of this impasse and to render justice to the original clan I, which has given one of its members and received nothing in return, is for ego's father A to give ego of clan III to a woman of clan I in marriage and by this act complete the exchange. The way in which this is brought about is by the indirect joking relationship which exists between ego's father, A, and ego. A takes advantage of this privilege and jokes in an indirect fashion with ego. "You must marry my aunt," he says to ego. At first ego does not understand that it is his

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Balance of gains and losses:

I−1	IV−1
II+1	III+1
II−1	
III+1	
I+1	III−1
III−1	IV+1

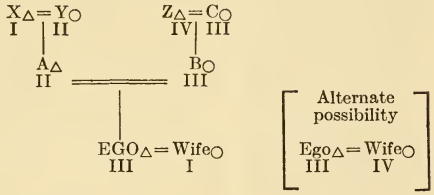

FIGURE 54.—Balance of marriage exchanges between clans. Key: Roman numerals refer to clans; =, the marriage relationship; △, ○, conventional male and female symbols; capitals refer to lineal ascendants of ego.

father's paternal aunt's clan (I) into which he must marry. He thinks only of the old and ugly woman whom his father calls "aunt" (giłoki) and whom he (ego) calls "grandmother." In time ego overcomes his shyness after continuous joking by his father on this subject and begins to joke with this "grandmother" whom his father tells him to marry. In time he will meet a girl of his own generation who is "grandmother" to him and belonging to clan I, and he will marry her after becoming acquainted through privileged familiarity. Then the exchange is completed, and clan I has been recompensed for the loss of ego's grandfather X through X's marriage.

Ego's father, A, does not concern himself about the loss occasioned to his own clan II by his marriage to ego's mother, B, of clan III. Ego's respect for clan II will remind ego that he should instruct his own children to marry into clan II and recompense the balance with that clan. This process can thus be seen to run on indefinitely in the agnatic line and to act as a principle of reciprocity between clans preserving the balance which is upset by the marriages of the male members of the clans.

In the same way as the foregoing the mother, B, of ego respects ego's maternal grandfather, Z, because her father's clan, IV, has suffered a loss by the marriage of Z to C of clan III, her own clan. So she will compete with ego's father, A, in joking with her son indirectly and tells ego that he must marry her paternal aunt, of clan IV. Ego may then become familiar with this class of gilisi ("grandmothers") and marry into clan IV. This will complete another exchange. In the normal family of four or five brothers and sisters ego ordinarily possesses, some half will marry into the father's father's clan and the other half into the mother's father's clan. Thus the balance is preserved. The sister of ego will likewise marry into her father's father's or mother's father's clan but the element of compensation is not so apparent here, since the children follow their mother's line and not the father's. In this case a restatement may be needed in broader principles and the marriage of a woman be regarded as part of a still wider principle of balance or reciprocity in which both patri- and matrilineal lineages are satisfied in exchange.

Regarding those persons of his own generation with whom ego may actually marry, the following may be said: The clan affiliation is the prime consideration in marriage, not the actual lineage. Theoretically, in his own generation ego can marry either (1) father's father's sister's daughter's daughter, (2) mother's father's sister's daughter's daughter, or (3) mother's mother's brother's children's daughter. Two persons of opposite sex and different clans may both be giDuDu ("grandchildren") to the same clan and may, in the absence of other modifying factors, be giDuDu to each other and so marry each other.

FUNCTIONING OF THE DANCES

The role that the Cherokee dances play in the drama of preferential mating is in some points quite clear and in other respects obscure. It is fairly certain that the chief occasions of social contacts with privileged familiarities ripening into marriages of the preferential type is the dance. But the time of appearance and staging of the dances involves other less understood relationships.

The dances originally occurred at intervals which appear to have corresponded with the cyclic ebb and flow of the tides of human desire for contacts with fellow humans. One of the most clearly recognizable of these cyclic tides of feeling in Cherokee Society are those connected with the female menstrual period. Regularly the male is seized with feelings of extreme revulsion and a desire for avoidance of the menstruating female. This feeling takes the form of strict monthly taboos and restrictions on the latter which find reflection not only in customs but also in the magical prayers of the Cherokees and even their myths. Anciently the Cherokee, as well as other Southeastern Indians, held monthly dances to celebrate the periodic social purification from uncleannesses of the whole community (see third part of this paper, The Former Society). The primary significance of the dance of that period was in connection with the ritual sanctions of purification. At the present time the dances have lost this regularity and ritual significance but retained its function of bringing men and women together after separation.

The dance today is an expression of neighborhood solidarity in which the whole family participates. Participation in the dance puts the individual in rapport with the rest of the community. Those who have offended others have their sins pointed out to them by satirical references in the dance. This act on the part of clan brothers functions as a satirical sanction to correct faults and purge differences from the community. The reuniting of families, who have lost a member by death, with the rest of the community is done through the functioning of the dance also. Therefore, the dance with its ritual sanctions acted as the primary channel for familiarity behavior of the socially approved modes.

FUNCTIONS OF THE KINSHIP USAGES

Kinship usages merit particular notice as a contributing factor to the system of preferential mating. Of these usages the most important is privileged familiarity.

Privileged familiarity among the Cherokees does not root itself in any one specific function, nor does it arise from any one particular

principle. Rather than existing as a unitary phenomenon, it seems to stem from a series of kinship usages with varying implications.[24]

Privileged familiarity is, of course, the logical antithesis of the avoidance relationship. Between absolute avoidance and extreme familiarity there is a whole gamut of relations between pairs of relatives. We generalize the opposite poles of behavior as approach and avoidance. Among the Cherokees absolute avoidance is rare and is confined to magical taboo situations wherein direct kinship considerations are of minor import. But the modified form of avoidance known as respect is a characteristic trait of Cherokee kinship usages. Respect is used in this discussion in the sense of that type of behavior which channelizes within certain sharply limited areas the contacts between a pair of relatives. Privileged familiarity, on the other hand, is understood as that behavior between persons which is utterly unrestricted in its freedom and allows of contacts of all descriptions.

Privileged familiarity between two persons in the Cherokee kinship system is not distinguishable from the so-called joking relationships. Where the pranks and raillery between relatives exist in a stereotyped form which can be recognized on any occasion as a definite cultural trait, we can speak of them as joking relationships. These are never more than condensations of amorphous familiarities within constant forms. Needless to say, joking relationships, as understood here, shade over into the respect relationships. Such a case occurs in the case of indirect joking between father and son and in joking with the man who marries the father's sister.

There are at least five types of present-day joking among the Cherokees. These are the following:

1. Mutually derogatory joking between clan brothers before each other's children.
2. Joking by maltreatment of the man who marries the father's sister.
3. Joking with grandparents or with grandchildren through teasing or derogation.
4. Joking of a son by his father concerning the father's paternal aunt.
5. Gentle joking of the mother's brother and daughter's husband.

From these examples it can be seen that the joking relationship exists in varying contexts and even appears between relatives who should be ordinarily respectful to each other. Joking appears from these examples to be allied with potentiality of sexual relations, social sanctions, and social opposition.

First, as to potential sexual relations. It has been shown in the section on preferential mating that the relationship of alternate generation clans to the individual ego is one of teasing and familiarity. It

[24] The Cherokees, as the present writer encountered them, were a cheerful people much given to fun making. Ziegler and Grosscup in 1883, however, found the Cherokees "incapable of joking" (cf. Ziegler and Grosscup, 1883, pp. 5–42).

has also been noted that obscenities and sexual references abound in this type of familiarity so obtrusively that their meaning is only too clear. Of course, the obscenities occur not only between persons of the opposite sex, but also between men. This implies some sort of homosexual tendencies latent in the culture—a fact noted for the Southeastern area in general by Swanton.

Potentiality of sexual relationships appears in the joking between siblings' spouses and spouse's siblings. Joking expressions are used for these relatives which imply this potentiality. The wife of a brother is called "wife," and like expressions occur. Sibling's mates, it must be remembered, are one's own potential mates because they are presumably in the alternate generation relationship to one's self as well as one's siblings.

The social sanctions are involved in the joking relationship through the fact that joking between clan brothers is typically functional in the sense of a ridicule sanction to cause persons who are erring to repent and "toe the mark." Every fault of the other person is held up to view, and a return volley from him of the same kind of humor is invited. This type of joking enforces the solidarity of the clan because the children of the jokers are compelled to speak up and to defend their fathers, who are thus engaged in twitting each other. It is to be noted in this connection that joking occurs between all types of brothers among the Cherokees and not merely between brothers whose fathers are of the same clan as among the Crow.

The indirect joking between parent and child is allied with social opposition. As has been stated in the section on kinship principles, the parental generation is in a position of social opposition to the generation of ego. Between ego and all persons of the parental generation the relationships are not reciprocal, and the joking by the father of the son is an expression of the social opposition between them. This joking cannot be direct because it is not truly reciprocal. Neither is the joking of the father's sister's husband reciprocal. This man has no comeback when his wife's brother's children attack him. Likewise to the father-son joking, the mother's brother in joking with his sister's children jokes about some third party in a clan which is familiar to the person joked.

In the father-son joking two objects are achieved: (1) The father is enabled to joke with his son whom he cannot ordinarily be familiar with; (2) he can have a bit of fun at the expense of his own father's clan, which he must ordinarily respect. The son attempts a feeble kind of reciprocal joking and tells his father that he should not have married into so unworthy a clan as his own.

In the joking with the father's sister's husband the following functional relationship is involved: The father's sister's position with ref-

erence to ego is uncertain. She has qualities of the father, father's mother, and own mother combined. She is of the ascendant generation, and, in the case of the male ego, of a different sex. She is always of a different clan from ego. It can be seen that she is separated from ego by opposition barriers. She cannot be joked, as she is of the father's clan. Therefore, the uncertainty of the relationship centers on the man who marries her and is of a different clan from the father's. This man can be joked with by the tobacco joke. This joke is nonreciprocal on the part of the recipient and can be only indulged in once between the same two parties.

Opposition and privileged familiarity are again allied in the joking of the ball dance. The joking against the opponents consists in a man joking with his fellow clansmen in the enemy town in the absence of the persons joked. This weakens the opponents by setting up a magical channel of familiarity as we shall see later in the section on magical extensions. This joking may be against the opponent town as a whole as well as against the fellow clansmen.

At this point it seems desirable to reemphasize a connection which has already been mentioned several times in passing, namely, the association of dancing with privileged familiarity. Undoubtedly, the behavior of privileged familiarity occurs in all of the activities of everyday life among the Cherokees, such as visiting, cooperative labors, festal occasions, the ball game, and the like. Its fullest expression, however, takes place on these periodic occasions wherein social intercourse is foremost in the minds of the participants, which are the dances.

The functional significance of the dance with reference to privileged familiarity can be stated, then, as follows: The dances are the principal means by which privileged familiarity between relatives brings about acquaintanceships which eventually ripen into matings of the preferential type. Not only do the familiarities of the sexual type find their best expression in the dances but also the familiarities of the ridicule sanction type also seem to be brought out in fullest form on these occasions. These occur in the Eagle and Friendship Dances as already noted.

SOCIAL SANCTIONS

The social obligations expressed reciprocally between relatives find their extended counterpart in the social sanctions of the wider integrations of culture. The social sanctions act as means of social control within the group and also to control the relations of members of opposition groups.

Diffuse sanctions are those loosely organized means of control which reside in public opinion. In the case of the Cherokees, this type of sanction operates mainly within the boundaries of the clan. The function of moral reprobation for certain types of violation of established

usages is performed by one's clan brothers. The mechanism involved consists of an extensive use of ridicule in connection with the so-called satirical sanction. Jokes of this type between clan brothers are always being made. One member will twit another about his achievements and abilities, and the other will reply. Any violation of the principle of preferential mating such as marrying into the father's clan or even with one's own clan becomes the material for endless joking by one's clan brothers.

Diffuse sanctions of wider type are often shared with white people. Thus it is held that association with negroes or the possession of negro blood is somewhat of a stigma, belief in the Christian deity is a requisite for holding office in the band government, and other opinions are shared with the southern mountain whites.

The sanctions of an organized nature are somewhat divided in their appearance, some occurring in connection with direct white influence such as the state and county government, and others occurring as age-old ritual sanctions inherited from the past. The ritual sanctions will be mentioned more fully in the section on Political Change (p. 365).

Premial sanctions are to be found in the rewards offered for the best products of home make in the annual fair and the stimulus likewise accorded to the winners in the dance contests and ball game matches. The betting which takes place in many of the games and contests of the different forms of sport offers a sort of premial sanction for certain conduct.

The retaliatory sanction functions today through the medium of the conjurer. The actual mode of action in this case consists in the employment of magical forces to cause severe disease and even death in opposition groups. This form of sanction will be discussed more fully in the section on magical extensions of social principles. Likewise the formerly wider and more important forms of the sanction principle as they appeared in such organized retaliatory measures as blood revenge and war will be postponed for discussion in the section on Political Change.

Infractions of social usage of today may be divided into private and public delicts. The private delicts consist of cases between individuals while public delicts concern society and individuals. Such present-day private delicts as murder, theft, and adultery, now punishable only by the white man's laws, were once accounted public delicts requiring clan revenge. Accusation of a man for contributing to illegitimacy in birth may be brought forward and used as grounds for support of the child according to the State law but this is not often successfully proved. The influence of white laws in this and other respects is resisted by the Cherokees and the solidarity of the

tribe appears in a feeling of collective responsibility to see that no member of the tribe shall be convicted of a crime on the testimony of a fellow tribesman.

Some of the more public delicts, however, are efficiently dealt with by the State laws. Such is the case with public intoxication which, on conviction, carries a penalty of a period of forced labor in road building with the chain gang. White sanctions are apparently in the full way of adoption, but many of the old sanctions connected with the segmentary divisions of society and their maintenance die but slowly. The satirical sanctions may be expected to last as long as the clan.

Social sanction mechanisms of a ritual type appear in certain of the dances. The ancient Medicine Dance or Physic Dance involved a cleansing or purification at an all-night affair at which the physic was drunk freely. This type of dance was current on the reservation until quite recently and may be regarded as truly a section of the contemporary culture.

Going to water occurred anciently and still occurs with some of the dances such as the Ball Dance. This allied a purification function with the participation in the dance. It was thought that when some person was weak and the conjurer was conjuring in an effort to divine a further life ahead of that person, an all-night dance in which no one went to sleep would help the cause of the weak person.

In the case of a death in a family, the final act in the reuniting of the bereaved family with the rest of the town was the giving of a dance in which the persons who had been mourning would turn their faces upward and laugh again. In this way the plaguing spirit of the dead one would be cleansed from the mind of the mourner and he or she would not be in danger of dying also.

MAGICAL FORMULAS OR PRAYERS

James Mooney and Frans Olbrechts have brought to the attention of the world some of the extensive and important lore of the Cherokee conjurers as it is expressed in the sacred formulas or prayers. The manuscripts of these prayers were originally written in the characters of the Sequoyah syllabary and in the western dialect of Cherokee by the conjurers for their own use. They are of uncertain age and often refer to situations of an antique period.

Each written prayer consists generally of two parts. The first part consists of directions for a practical bringing about of certain results, such as the use of herbs and hot applications to cure specific diseases. The second part consists of a magical invocation or spell designed to bring to bear the supernatural forces which will effect desired results. The formulas have to do with every question of concern in

everyday Cherokee life, such as the curing of disease, success in love affairs, obtaining good crops, and protection from evil spells. The conjurers who employ the prayers are a class of shamans or medicine men who operate as individual practitioners.[25]

The comparative folklore student, Frazer, has classified the forms of Cherokee magic as varieties of contagious or homeopathic magic including both under the category of sympathetic magic. He understands sympathetic magic to be the operation of one magical force upon another, either directly through contagion (contagious magic) or through the homeopathic effect of a cause-and-event sequence (homeopathic magic). Contagious magic is exemplified in the practice of eating animals whose qualities are desired to be added to one's self. Homeopathic magic is exemplified in the belief that to dream of a snake bite results in the real symptoms of snake bite and requires the cure for a real snake bite. Frazer (1922–25) also finds other types of universal traits, such as the propitiation of animals, an annual expulsion of evils, and the invocation of vegetation spirits.

The points adduced by Frazer from Cherokee culture show that the cultural inheritance of the tribe is capable of analysis on a comparative basis with the rest of the world. It will be of advantage, however, if some attempt were made to relate these magical elements in a functional way with the social principles in Cherokee culture.

Before proceeding to make this correlation in the case of some important traits, it might be worth while to note that Mooney (1900, pp. 250–252), whose interests were rather sharply limited to the field of folklore, contributed some remarkable functional connections within this field between medical and magical practices and the mythological complex associated with these. He pointed out such valuable connections, for example, as that between the theory of blood revenge on the part of animals and the causes ascribed to certain diseases such as rheumatism, the mythological explanations for certain dances, and others. He was inclined to attribute most of Cherokee magical practice to a half mystical "theory of resemblances" in which like properties in objects were used as a basis of treatment in medicine by homeopathy and in taboos of possibly harmful objects and persons.

FUNCTIONS OF THE FORMULAS

From the viewpoint of the present study, the Cherokee prayers can be said to bear important functional relations to the other parts of Cherokee social organization. The elementary principles of opposition, reciprocity, and solidarity appears constantly in the wording of

[25] Mooney collected 7 manuscript series of formulas in his field work, comprising several hundred in all. The present writer examined 193 formulas while in the field and made synoptic notes on them.

the formulas. The principle of rivalry or opposition appears in the theory of the origin of the world constructed by the conjurers. According to the account which is to be pieced together from the disjointed sections recorded in the different prayers and myths, the world was created by the conjurers and the present condition of things is a direct result of the struggle for power between conjurers. Each conjurer endeavors to obtain mastery over all the others by fair means or foul. It has already been made clear that the ball game consists largely in a struggle between the powers of conjurers in neighboring villages. In the ball dance a magical familiarity weakens the fellow clansmen in the other village. But, even in the ball game, the principal weapon in conjurer rivalry is the magic weakening of the other side by means of formula repetition. The chief powers that a conjurer uses in his struggles with rivals are disease and death. In order to work his magic, the conjurer often takes the form of a witch, man killer, a raven, owl, or a flash of blue light. These are the forms for which the average Cherokee native is most frequently on the lookout. One of the characteristic states produced by magical incantation in the formulas is that of being blue or lonesome. This consists in a state of isolation inflicted on an individual during which no one will have anything to do with him. Left in this state for very long, he pines away and dies.

The principle of reciprocity appears in the formulas in several aspects. In the first place, the recital of a prayer or formula on the part of the conjurer requires some sort of recompense to him, ugistati, which is generally some garment, handkerchief, deerskin, moccasin, or cloth. This payment is more necessary in the medical than in the other formulas as a rule. There is another form of reciprocity in the balancing of collaborators against antagonists in the struggle against disease. For each ailment caused by a definite animal there is a corresponding plant remedy and animal enemy of the disease cause. There is reciprocity also in the form of ritual sanctions which appear in the formulas. The state of uncleanness incurred by the violations of taboos requires certain balancing acts to remedy the dysphoria, such acts as "going to water" and various additional taboos. The retaliatory sanctions incurred by the killing of animals and causing them to seek blood revenge on human beings as a result can only be avoided by compensatory acts or prayers. Such is especially the case with such sacred or totemic animals as the deer, bear, wolf, and eagle.

The principle of social solidarity appears to be exemplified in the attractive medicine of the formulas. As we shall see in the ensuing discussion, attraction forces are used to establish solidarity with beneficent forces and with desired objects such as women, wild game, plants, and the like. Some of the sacred formulas mention clan and kinship affiliations. These references, when they occur, appear to re-

inforce the principles already adduced concerning kinship structure, and also furnish links in function between the formulas and the social groups.

LOVE FORMULAS

After this general mention, the easiest approach to the functional comprehension of the sacred Cherokee formulas lies in a detailed consideration of certain of the main types of formulas. One of the most important of Mooney's classes of sacred formulas is that group having to do with "living humanity" (Yu we hi), a euphemism for love charms. The accompanying formula taken from Mooney's published list is an example of this type of magic and demonstrates effectively its social function.

CONCERNING LIVING HUMANITY (LOVE)

Kû! Listen! In Alahi'yĭ you repose, O Terrible Woman, O you have drawn near to hearken. There in Elahiyĭ you are at rest, O White Woman. No one is ever lonely when with you. You are most beautiful. Instantly and at once you have rendered me a white man. No one is ever lonely when with me. Now you have made the path white for me. It shall never be dreary. Now you have put me into it. It shall never become blue. You have brought down to me from above the white road. There in mid-earth (mid-surface) you have placed me. I shall stand erect upon the earth. No one is ever lonely when with me. I am very handsome. You have put me into the white house. I shall be in as it moves about and no one with me shall ever be lonely. Verily, I shall never become blue. Instantly you have caused it to be so with me.

And now there is Elahiyĭ you have rendered the woman blue. Now you have made the path blue for her. Let her be completely veiled in loneliness. Put her into the blue road. And now bring her down. Place her standing upon the earth. Where her feet are now and wherever she may go, let loneliness leave its mark upon her. Let her be marked out for loneliness where she stands.

Ha! I belong to the (Wolf) Clan, that one alone which was allotted into for you. No one is ever lonely with me. I am handsome. Let her put her soul [into] the very center of my soul, never to turn away. Grant that in the midst of men she shall never think of them. I belong to the one clan alone which was allotted for you when the seven clans were established.

Where (other) men live it is lonely. They are very loathesome. The common polecat has made them so like himself that they are fit only for his company. They have become mere refuse. They are very loathesome. The common opossum has made them so like himself that they are fit only to be with him. They are very loathesome. Even the crow has made them so like himself that they are fit only for his company. They are very loathesome. The miserable rain-crow has made them so like himself that they are fit only to be with him.

The seven clans all alike make one feel very lonely in their company. They are not even good looking. They go about clothed with mere refuse. They even go about covered with dung. But I—I was ordained to be a white man. I stand with my face toward the Sun Land. No one is ever lonely with me. I am very handsome. I shall certainly never become blue. I am covered by

the everlasting white house wherever I go. No one is ever lonely with me. Your soul has come into the very center of my soul, never to turn away. I . . . take your soul. Sgĕ! [Mooney, 1891, pp. 376–377.]

In the first paragraph a solidarity with certain benevolent spirits between himself and themselves is asserted by the reciter of the formula, and a preliminary statement of the reciter's own attractiveness and charm is made. The second paragraph sets up barriers of avoidance between the woman whom the reciter desires to conquer and the rest of the world of humanity. Blueness and loneliness are to be her lot until she recognizes her true interest, which is with the reciter of the charm. In the third paragraph the reciter begins to set up a bond of familiarity between himself and the woman desired. He names himself and his clan and reminds her that she has been alloted to his clan in marriage from the beginning of the world, and that he alone of that clan is suitable for her as a mate. The indication of a preferential mating with a given clan seems quite convincing from this paragraph. The fourth paragraph creates a barrier of avoidance between the reciter and the rest of humanity. The rest of mankind are compared to noxious animals and are made repulsive and loathesome. The fifth paragraph ends the prayer in a reiteration of the assertions of the first paragraph, the charms and attractiveness of the reciter, and ends with a statement of solidarity by identification, with the woman of his choice.

It can be seen from a perusal of the accompanying love formula that several of the active principles already discovered in the social organization are also involved here.

1. Social solidarity by means of attraction magic is evoked through an identification of the reciter's personality with the personality of the desired woman or with the helpful supernatural essence.

2. Familiarity with one's rivals is used as a means of derogating them and elevating one's self, a common practice as we have seen in the joking between clan brothers in the Friendship and Eagle Dances.

3. Social opposition barriers by means of forces of repulsion or avoidance are set up between the desired woman and all possible rivals in the world and she is made very lonely and blue. In such a state a person is avoided by everyone and he or she soon pines away and dies. Opposition forces are set up between the reciter of the formula and his rivals as he compares the last to noxious creatures and repulsive elements.

4. A predestined or predetermined marriage prescription with certain clans seems to be intimated. The intense jealousy of other men of his own clan on the part of the reciter would seem to indicate his realization of their strong position as possible rivals.

The use of attraction medicine is most frequently during the night. A young man sings his attraction song in a low voice about midnight while facing in the direction of the girl's house. She will then dream about him and become lonesome for him unless she has fortified herself, on going to bed, with counter spells. The next time she meets the

young man she is irresistibly drawn toward him. She will then become attached to him by strong and permanent bonds. Thus a strong man and wife solidarity is set up through the agency of the love charms. No man among the Cherokees need be long without a wife with such powerful magic at his disposal.

After he has gained a wife, however, his labors are not over. He must retain her only by constant spells, especially if she be at all attractive and liable to be subject to the magical spells of male rivals. In order to retain a wife, the man must affirm the solidarity existing between himself and his wife in a magical formula and anoint her breast, while she is sleeping, with his spittle.[26] In this rite he magically unites the essences of his wife's soul and his own soul in a bond of great solidarity and repels rivals by likening them to noxious creatures.

Sometimes, in spite of the man's best efforts, the woman will be attracted away from him by the superior magic of his rival. To remedy this and recall the woman he uses a prayer reaffirming his attractiveness and, allying himself with the goddess of fire, he reasserts the solidarity of the woman with himself.

The rival who is endeavoring to detach a man from a woman makes use of negative love prayers. These are of two types: (1) Designed to separate a man and wife preparatory to uniting the wife with himself through his own attractiveness, and (2) to render a man unattractive so that no woman will want him.[27] In the case of separation of a man and wife, each is likened unto a noxious animal and a repulsion is set up between the conjugal pair. The wife will then leave her husband or vice versa, unless counterspells are resorted to by one or the other of the two. In the spells for rendering a man unattractive it is generally the purpose to render more humble some young man who is proud and boastful of his accomplishments with women. When he is rendered unattractive no one will speak with him, joke with him, or dance with him.

In some cases a man's love spells designed to attract a given women fail to move her. The man's love then turns to hatred and a desire for revenge. He may practice a spell of unattractiveness on her and by making her similar to some noxious animal make her lonesome and repulsive to all men. Or he may continue to ply her with love spells and finally succeed in making her fall foolishly in love with him and go through many undignified acts to show her passion. Thus he attains revenge on her.

The young man who wants to be popular resorts to various charms to enhance his attractiveness at the dance and to make his voice as

[26] Mooney, 1891, pp. 380–91. Formula for retaining a wife.
[27] Mooney, 1891, pp. 381–382. Formula for Separation of Lovers.

singer liked by the people. He may also want to increase his popularity in the council. In order to do this he identifies himself with the sun or some other great magical personality while decorating himself with red paint (wodi).[28] Ugly men often have to resort to these spells in order to attract a girl for a wife. The attraction force of the caller or the singer at the dance has the effect of acting as a power for social cohesion, bringing more people to the dance and consequently increasing group familiarity. For people will always want to dance with the attractive man and joke with him. Hence, the Cherokee feels keenly the necessity for this social attribute. The prayers affirm an attractiveness of the reciter with all of the seven clans, and even the respect clan. Attractiveness is also desired when visiting in a strange village. Therefore, a formula exists to enable a person to establish friendly relations on a visit.

DISEASE FORMULAS

Next to the love formulas in importance, if not equal with them, are those designed to cure and remove disease. Mooney (1891, pp. 367–368) gives a technical term for a class of diseases in the Cherokee nosology which are particularly important from a functional standpoint, the Tsundayeligaktanuhi diseases. This term he defines as "the enthusiastic outburst of sociability when two old friends meet," really meaning, he says, "an ordeal." It can be seen that a euphemism is herein employed for a very dangerous type of disease, which is often the result of the concentrated hate and revenge arising from quarrels between persons.

Mooney does not explain why he calls these "ordeal diseases" beyond mentioning that these may be sent to a man by a friend or even by his parents in order to test his endurance and knowledge of counterspells. At a later date Olbrechts [29] encountered the same type of disease which he terms ayeligogi, or "simulators." These diseases resemble other diseases in their symptoms but ordinary treatment utterly fails in these cases. To follow ordinary diagnoses in these cases is highly dangerous because the diseases are of a totally different nature. It is said that two parties often wage battles of weeks or months in which they pester each other with various ayeligogi diseases. Olbrechts, however, finds himself unable to confirm Mooney's data concerning friends and relatives sending each other these diseases "as a joke" to mutually test their knowledge and aptitude to ward off such attacks.

It might be said that what appears here is an example of the magical establishment of a privileged familiarity as a basis for disease

[28] Mooney, 1891, p. 379. Formula in Preparation for a Dance.

[29] Mooney and Olbrechts, 1932, pp. 33–34. In some cases ordinary diseases may simulate a "simulator" disease (ibid., pp. 250–251).

transmission between persons or groups in social opposition. Disease can be regarded as in its essence a condition in which a magical channel of familiarity allows a harmful agent to be sent from a sorcerer to his victim. In order to check this familiarity, a series of avoidances or taboos must be set up between the two objects or persons involved. The person who is sick or unclean must be avoided and must in turn avoid certain acts and certain foods until he is well.

THIS IS THE MEDICINE (IF) SIMULATORS HAVE MADE IT RESEMBLE IT

(I. e., a Real Sickness)

Now, then! Yellow Dog, thou wizard, thou art staying toward where the sun land is. Thou wizard, nothing is overlooked (by thee).

Maybe it is a ghost that has caused it, or maybe it is the Purple Man that has caused it. But it has been said falsely—it is merely the Simulator who has made it resemble it (a real sickness).

But now its track has been found. It has been undone, and not for a night (but forever). It shall bury itself into thy stomachs. They have made thee filled; it has become so again. It is the very thing thou eatest. He has put the important thing under him, (but now) relief has been caused.

This is to treat (them) with, (and) which has to be given them to drink. Pine (tops) should be boiled. And beads, white and black, one of each (should be used with it). [Olbrechts, 1932, pp. 187–188.] [80]

We have already seen how the magical familiarity set up by the singer at the ball dance in joking with the opponent town weakens that town and its ball team just as a disease weakens a person. Likewise in this connection it might be noted that the conjurer called in to treat a disease establishes a magical familiarity with the causal agent of the disorder by belittling it. A regular scale of depreciation exists. A disease caused by a rattlesnake, a really dangerous creature, is referred to a frog or some other insignificant animal (Mooney, 1891, p. 352).

The flow of menstrual blood at periodic intervals sets up a magical familiarity dangerous to all who come into contact with it. A female in the state of menstruation must be avoided (Mooney and Olbrechts, 1932, p. 34). One must not eat anything cooked by her, or touch any object that she has touched, or even walk along a trail over which she has traveled. She must not be allowed to wade in the river near where the fish traps are set or she will spoil the catch. If she should walk through the cornfield, she will stunt and injure the crops. Even the husband of a woman in this condition is, by virtue of his relationship to her, compelled to avoid other people.

The violation of taboos or compulsory magical avoidances, whether such violation be voluntary or involuntary, will lead to the establish-

[80] Mooney and Olbrechts also give three other examples of this type of disease (1932, pp. 172–173, 256–257, and 216–217).

ment of harmful channels of familiarity with the causal agents of disease. To urinate in the river or spit in the fire constitutes breaches in taboo which inevitably result in disease. To dream of being bitten by a rattlesnake is sufficient to set up the symptoms of an actual snake bite.

In the case of omens as in others, the bad effects of those are only to be averted by the establishment of avoidance relationships with the causal agents. If a dog barks for a long time it is a sign that the inmates of the house may die. To avert this effect the master of the house says, "You die first!" which makes an exchange and avoids the evil consequences of the omen. Formerly, it is said, the dog was killed on these occasions.

In every case of disease there are friendly agents and enemy agents. The purpose of the magical formulas to cure disease is to attract the friendly agents and repel or expel the enemy agents. The friendly or helpful agents are attracted by channels of familiarity and identification being set up between them and the patient. The enemy agents are expelled and kept at a distance by avoidance formulas and with the help of the friendly agents, which latter are generally the natural enemies of the creature causing the disease. Mooney and Olbrechts (1932, pp. 44–50) give an extensive list of disease agents and curers, enumerating in addition all of the collaborators and the antagonists of the patient in each disease. This seems to bring out the fact that in the causation and cure of disease opposition forces between two social groups are constantly at work. In one disease the seven fairy clans are said to be playing ball in the stomach of the patient, which gives rise to the symptoms.

The antagonism of the unfriendly agents to mankind is explained as due to the operation of the law of blood revenge. The ghosts of those animals who have been slain by the human hunter warn their friends of their own species that they must avenge their deaths on mankind. When a deer is killed the hunter must take special precautions to prevent the deer ghost from following him into camp for if it does rheumatism will strike him down. Therefore, a special avoidance prayer is pronounced and a fire is built by the hunter on the trail in back of him to stop the deer ghost. Like precautions must be taken in the slaying of an eagle or a wolf, both of which operations were formerly the function of a special conjurer versed in these protection prayers.

The retaliatory sanction of blood revenge is not the only sanction entering into the theory of disease. Some very obvious sanctions are present also. The man who leaves his wife and children for another woman may become subject to a disease manifesting itself as extreme sore throat. As we have seen, the violation of ritual

sanctions surrounding certain acts compels a cleansing in order to reestablish the avoidance and original freedom from the disease.

Various purificatory rites must be gone through by the patient in order to rid himself of the elements of the disease. These consist of sweatbaths, bleeding, scratching, vomiting, and going to water for lavations. In order to help out these procedures, it is also necessary for him to avoid certain foods and the opposite sex. To impart the qualities of the friendly agents to the patient, decoctions of herbs are rubbed or blown on him generally at sacred intervals of from four to seven times.

The most extreme and hurtful phases of disease are those that arise in connection with the opposition between human and human or between human and supernatural forces. The ordinary native must be constantly on the lookout for plotters, witches, sorcerers, and conjurers possessed of extensive and very evil powers. When sickness attacks a person, the first inference is always that a conjurer or conjuring spirit has launched an attack on the patient which must be answered by a strong counterattack on the part of the patient and his friends. Among other devices designed to ward off the evil effects are those formulas which render the enemy conjurer confused, or make him forget what he is doing, or even make him become actually friendly instead of hostile. A confused state can be induced in the enemy conjurer by identifying him with animals such as the rabbit, which hops about witlessly. He can be separated from his powers and be put into a black fog in which he forgets all of his repertoire of magical powers. Attraction magic is sometimes so strong in its effects that the conjurer can be brought around to a friendly attitude by it.

Needless to say, all of the deaths and diseases attributed to the conjurer are due either to secondary rationalizations of preexisting disorders or to the fears aroused by the discovery that a plotter is actually using his magic to one's detriment.

The use of death-producing formulas to bring about the killing of a person gives rise to certain questions.[31] We cannot, in our own culture, begin to appreciate the enormous force that ritual sanctions have in determining the course of events within small communities such as the villages of the Eastern Cherokees. The violation of some simple taboo, or the accidental encountering of some slight ill omen, may give rise to a weakened constitutional condition which becomes ready prey to the superstitious imaginations of those who are in attendance. All of the old persons of the neighborhood are regarded with suspi-

[31] See Mooney (1891, pp. 391–395) for characteristic death-producing formula with the use of beads and spittle.

cion as being possible witches anxious to acquire by magic some of the life of the sick man to add to their own span. There is the added possibility of clan or family revenge. The whole problem of social opposition magic resulting in deaths remains awaiting further investigation.

The best specific against disease known to the Cherokees is the use of protection prayers and prayers for long life. Divinations are constantly being made to ascertain the probable future length of life reserved for each person in the community and, where there is any danger of a person's dying in the immediate future, measures are taken to counteract the danger.

It has just been mentioned above that the motive of theft enters largely into the calculations of the natives in attributing reasons for the activities of witches and wizards. The conjurer and disease producer are always hovering around the sick bed in order to add some life to their own span of existence. As we shall see presently, the motive of theft is strong also in the myths. This motivation of theft would seem to tie up with the personal delicts punishable by certain of the social sanctions.

There are two classes of particularly dangerous causers of disease. These are the man killers and the witches (Mooney and Olbrechts, 1932, pp. 29–33). The man killers are to be feared only when their anger has been incurred through some violation of taboo, or a joke, and some act of familiarity has established a channel of force with them. They seem to be some type of male spirit whose disease-producing activities against human beings are definitely exact and for specific reasons. These can be counteracted by the proper spells. On the other hand, the activities of the witches are far more nefarious. They are naturally of a base, mean disposition, and are always attacking human beings on every and any occasion. They seem to be identified with old persons in the community, male or female. Formerly, as we shall see later, the crime of witchcraft was one of the most serious charges possible among the Cherokees.[32]

To summarize this discussion on the Cherokee theory of disease, it may be said that, according to the evidence, disease is thought to be the result of the violation of social sanctions or as simply a form of social opposition between humans or between humans and supernatural forces. It is necessary to combat diseases, then, through the reestablishment of the broken taboos, or to impose new ones so that the social sanctions can be restored and social well-being regained. The opposition of the witches and evil forces must be overcome by the establishment of solidarities between the patient and the natural antagonists

[32] Especially the bringing about of a death by magical means. See Mooney (1891, pp. 391–395).

of the causal agents of the disease. The retaliatory sanction of blood revenge on the part of offended animal ghosts must be satisfied or averted by magical processes.

OTHER FORMULAS

The same forces of attraction and repulsion which are invoked in Disease and Love Magic are also to be found in the magical formulas devoted to other purposes. When the hunter goes after bear, deer, or fowl he uses certain prayers to attract the game to where he can shoot it. These prayers have a magical attraction effect and are sung in a low-pitched voice. When animal traps, such as bear traps, otter traps, raccoon traps, squirrel traps, rabbit traps, and bird snares, are set out they must be accompanied with certain spells to assure their success in attracting the game. In all hunters' formulas the fire is the chief deity appealed to, although the great terrestrial hunter, Kanadi (called sometimes "the river"), is also helpful. Both of these beings are full of attraction for the game, and the hunter endeavors to identify himself with them. The following is a typical hunter's formula from Mooney:

CONCERNING HUNTING

Give me the wind. Give me the breeze. Yû! O Great Terrestrial Hunter, I come to the edge of your spittle where you repose. Let your stomach cover itself; let it be covered with leaves. Let it cover itself at a single bend, and may you never be satisfied.

And you, O Ancient Red, may you hover above my breast while I sleep. Now let good (dreams?) develop; let my experience be propitious. Ha! Now let my little trails be directed, as they lie down in various directions (?). Let the leaves be covered with the clotted blood, and may it never cease to be so. You two (the Water and the Fire) shall bury it in your stomachs. Yû! [Mooney, 1891, pp. 369–370.]

In the case of formulas designed to attract fish every device is used to cause the fish to move toward the fishhook or into the fishtrap. The fishhook may be anointed with spittle after certain leaves have been chewed which exercise an attraction power. The prayer is often directed to the fish to travel over his water trails to the trap. The following is a specimen from Mooney:

THIS IS FOR CATCHING LARGE FISH

Listen! Now you settlements have drawn near to hearken. Where you have gathered in the foam you are moving about as one. You Blue Cat and the others, I have come to offer you freely the white food. Let the paths from every direction recognize each other. Our spittle shall be in agreement. Let them (your and my spittle) be together as we go about. They (the fish) have become a prey, and there shall be no loneliness. Your spittle has become agreeable. I am called .... Yû! [Mooney, 1891, p. 374.]

The gathering of medicinal herbs such as ginseng requires the recital of certain attraction formulas to attract the gatherer to the place wherein the ginseng is growing most abundantly. Here, as in the other cases of economic ceremonies, no luck greets the hunter who neglects the sacred formula.

Allied to the economic formulas are those devoted to finding out lost things and for divining other events. A pebble, straw, bread ball, or brown stone is suspended on a string, and the direction of its swinging will indicate the position of the lost object. The diviner repeats the following:

I HAVE LOST SOMETHING

Listen! Ha! Now you have drawn near to hearken, O Brown Rock; you never lie about anything. Ha! Now I am about to seek for it. I have lost a hog, and now tell me about where I shall find it. For is it not mine? My name is .... [Mooney, 1891, p. 386.]

Weather-control formulas are resorted to principally in order to prevent bad wind storms, to induce rain after a drought, or to stop rain after a prolonged period of it. A typical wind-averting formula given by Mooney compares the storm to an eager husband pursuing his wife. The reciter of the formula averts the storm, telling it that the wife has gone in some other direction. Here again the social relationship is applied to explain a natural phenomenon.

Some of the formulas are concerned with forms of social opposition such as war and ball play. The war formulas are in the main forgotten and only a few survive.[33] Their general tenor is a theme involving confusion of the enemy in the black fog and the likening of the reciter of the formula to some small bird which is able to dodge shots with ease. The ball play formulas have to do with the strengthening of ball players when they go to water for purification through ritual sanctions (Mooney, 1891, pp. 396–397). The home team is compared to swift animals and identified with them; the enemy team is identified with slow and clumsy animals. This weakens the opponents and strengthens the home team. There is, in general, a close resemblance between the ritual sanctions surrounding war and the ball play.

One element occurring in the formulas which clearly reflect actual social relationships is kinship. Such is one of the formulas described by Mooney as "To Make Children Jump Down." It is designed to assist in childbirth, and runs as follows:

[33] Mooney (1891, pp. 388–391) gives an example. The present author's informant possessed two war formulas in 1932.

THIS IS TO MAKE CHILDREN JUMP DOWN

Listen! You little man, get up now at once. There comes an old woman. The horrible [old thing] is coming, only a little way off. Listen! Quick! Get your bed and let us run away. Yû!

Listen! You little woman, get up now at once. There comes your grandfather. The horrible old fellow is coming only a little way off. Listen! Quick! Get your bed and let us run away. Yû! [Mooney, 1891, p. 363.]

This formula is described by Mooney as an expression of kinship usages. The male child is frightened into being born sooner by being told that its grandmother is coming and is only a short distance away. This seems to be related to the idea that the male child is often frightened by an old grandmother telling him that he will have to marry her when he grows up, shriveled and ugly though she may be. This is, of course, the indirect joking of the son by his father in a new guise. In the same manner the girl child is told that the maternal grandfather is coming. This person is a privileged character in the community so far as teasing the children is concerned and is greatly feared by them. Thus it can be seen that the joking relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is employed in a magical rite for expediting a speedy childbirth.

In general there seems to be some connection with magical powers and old persons or grandparents. As we shall see below, the most powerful forces in Cherokee cosmology, the fire and the sun, are regarded as grandparents. The fire is given a variety of names in the formulas, "ancient red," "ancient white," "grandmother," etc. This element is a powerful and magical grandmother and one dare not be familiar with it as one is with the human grandmother. Any lack of respect for the fire will result in immediate disease. If one spits on the fire his teeth are going to fall out, if he urinates on the fire worms will attack his bladder. In this case, as in others, disease is looked upon as the operation of a sanction mechanism. The fire is invoked to protect her grandchildren in the house and bits of charcoal are tied about the necks of the children so that their magical grandmother will look after them and not allow them to become lost. Grandmother fire is the old woman gathering wood after which one of the present-day Cherokee dances is named. When a sacred new fire is kindled it is very powerful and may be used in witchcraft to cause the death of an enemy. Ritual sanctions are closely tied up with the kindling of the magical new fire. It must be constantly fed on a special diet of liver, otherwise it will become dangerous and "go after" its owner, and cause illness. Existing in the same way as fire, but not looming to such importance in the relationship with humans, is the grandmother sun. She is appealed to in various rites for love attraction and the cure of certain diseases.

The moon is regarded as a strongly protecting elder brother or sometimes as a maternal grandfather. He is the especial protector of ball players just as the fire is of the hunter. He has a strong influence over women and is appealed to by the young man who is painting up in preparation for the dance.

There is one other important relative in the magical kinship system of the Cherokees. This is agawe'la, "the old woman of the corn," who is also regarded as a mother. Various myths and rites cluster about this figure whose importance in the past was undoubtedly much greater than now.

Certain other beings are related to the Cherokees in the manner of human beings although their exact relationship status is vague. Such beings are the man of the Whirlwind, the Rain-maker (agandiski), the Cloud People who often come to visit humans, the Red Man of Lightning, the Thunder Men, the Snow Man, the Hot and Cold Weather Men, the Rainbow Man, Hail Man, Frost Man, Waterfall Man, and last but not least, the Long Man of the River. One must always respect these persons and never joke with them.

Certain unexplained relationships occur in the invocation of spirits which cure apoplectic fits. Two of the spirits so invoked are "my father" and "my mother's brother." Evidently there is a linking in function of these two male ascendant generation persons in some manner not now remembered.

Regarding the relationships existing between the persons who send diseases on each other, it is difficult to speak accurately. Mooney mentions that the ayeligogi diseases might be sent by one's parents in order to test one's aptitude to ward off attacks of magical disease. It is also possible that clan revenge may still function as a retaliatory sanction by way of the magical disease route. It is certain that personal revenge functions by this means. Magical relatives such as the fire or the river send diseases for slights and insults. Conjurers send diseases to each other when in rivalry over a woman.

The linking of one's clan with one's personal name occurs in the love formulas in particular. In these prayers, as we have noted, the woman is reminded that, of all the seven clans,[34] she is destined to marry only into the clan of the reciter.

In summary, it will be seen that the kinship relations appear to be reflected to some extent in the magical formulas, especially those formulas which have to do with disease and love motives, and occasionally in others.

[34] The totemic aspects of the Cherokee clans, to which previous reference has been made, are unclear. The number of sacred and taboo animals was anciently quite large. At the present time there is no definitely expressed relationship between groups and totemic objects. See Frazer (1922–1925, vol. 3, pp. 182–195) for a negative view in Cherokee totemism.

MYTHOLOGY AND ITS FUNCTION

One element remaining in Cherokee culture capable of being closely connected with the social structure is the mythology. The mythical lore of the Cherokees has to do primarily with explanations of the present world in terms of happenings in the past. Most of the events recounted in the myths relate the adventures of various animal deities in the usual fashion of North American Indian and other primitive folklore. Much of this material could be paralleled, if not duplicated, by corresponding stories from the other tribes of the Southeastern area of the United States.[35]

The animal species are pictured as organized into a society resembling that of the Cherokees themselves and as being possessed of town houses, towns, trails, and the like. The animals of today live in clans, each species being a single clan, and these clans are pictured as frequently meeting together in council to decide on important enterprises. Yet the animals of today are not as great as those of the past, who appear to have been powerful conjurers in disguise. The clan councils administer penal sanctions and enforce social control among the various animal species. Yet the most important features of the latter-day culture of the Cherokees, such as fire and tobacco, are represented as having been obtained by stealing on the part of various animals at the behest of their clan councils. When certain animals were punished for their misdeeds the characteristic marks survive until now. Stealing of wives and other booty was an early characteristic of the Cherokees and one that seems best reflected in the myths. Some of the animals appear not only great conjurers, but also as great tricksters of the type of the practical joker among relatives today. The rabbit, in particular, is an expert trickster and few are the creatures who escape his pranks. The animals' clans are perpetually at war with human beings as has been mentioned before in the discussion on the theory of disease. This war amounts to a conflict involving blood revenge for all of the animals slain by man, either as game or crushed as worms heedlessly beneath the tread of human feet.

The extensive collection of Cherokee tales made by Mooney was classified by him under seven groups, namely: Cosmogonic, quadruped, bird, snake-fish-insect, wonder stories, historical traditions, and miscellaneous (the last being mainly explanations of topographical designations). This classification is based on the formal subject matter of the myths rather than on the story themes contained in them. For the purposes of a functional study such as this, the internal relationships between the characters in the myths are of more importance than

[35] Mooney (1900, pt. 1) must be read at least in part before attempting to understand the generalizations derived in this discussion. Lack of space forbids the inclusion of even some of the shorter myths in this discussion.

the actual animals involved. It is possible to conceive the social relationships described in the myths as types of the actual relationships to be found among the Cherokees themselves. It is in projection of various types of human relationships into the animal and mythological world that value inheres in the myths in a functional interpretation.

TABLE 7.—*Elements in Cherokee myths*

Title of myth	Explanatory	Trickster	Amatory	Kinship	Theft	Revenge	Corresponding myth in Mooney's list (1900)
1. Otter and the Rabbit		×					Myth 17, p. 267.
2. The Crane	×	×					
3. The first Elk	×		×				
4. Marriage of the Corn and Bean	×		×				
5. The Lion and the Rabbit		×					
6. The Bear's Short Tail	×	×					
7. The Great Leach	×					×	Myth 77, p. 329.
8. The Woman of the Corn [1]	×			×			Myth 3, p. 242.
9. Stonecoat	×					×	Myth 67, p. 319.
10. The Bear Clan	×			×			Myth 75, p. 325.
11. Turkeys and the Rabbit	×	×					Myth 19, p. 269.
12. Rabbit and the Mink	×	×					Myth 16, p. 266.
13. How the Deer got his Horns	×	×			×		Myth 26, p. 275.
14. Terrapin's whistle	×	×			×		Myth 40, p. 289.
15. The Beaver Wife			×				Myth 83, p. 343(?)
16. The man who married the thunder's sister.			×				Myth 84, p. 345.
17. Story of Oconaluftee	×		×	×			
18. Creation of man [2]							
19. Isayi and the thunder boy	×	×					Myth 63, p. 311.
Summary of number of occurrences of element.	15	9	5	3	2	2	

[1] This myth appears in the Payne Manuscripts also.
[2] This myth appears in the Payne Manuscripts and elsewhere.

Table 7 (above) consists of an enumeration of the elements in a group of some 19 myths collected by the writer at Big Cove in 1932.[32] The explanatory element looms as the largest single factor in this random sampling. The explanatory element, however, involves several subordinate elements which constitute the means of explanation. These subordinate elements are those important social relationships such as jokester trickery, revenge, love, and family relationships.

The jokester-trickster element consists of practical jokes played on each other by the animal actors of the mythical drama. The rabbit is the type trickster of the Southeastern woodlands and in the Cherokee myths he tricks the otter, 'possum, turkeys, wolf, flint, and the deer. He is in turn tricked by the terrapin and the deer. Other animals also play tricks. The wolves, in particular, are very gullible and are tricked not only by the rabbit but also by the terrapin and

[32] This series of myths is still in manuscript but will appear later as part of a formal study of Cherokee ethnology by the present writer.

the ground hog. The terrapin is also gullible for he is tricked by the turkey and the partridge.

The trickery and practical jokes between the animals are quite frequently reciprocated, one animal returning with interest the tricks of the other. The favorite mode of trickery is for one jokester to lure another into a situation in which the latter is made to appear ridiculous and loses something of value. In this way the bear loses his tail, the otter his coat, the deer his sharp teeth, and the 'possum his furry tail.

The trickster element is closely similar to the joking between relatives which, as we have seen, is so important in the social structure. The joking of the myths is not between close relatives, it is true, but the forms of the relationship are such that one is forceably reminded of the joking between kinfolk. In this connection we should recall the famous tobacco joke between the man who marries the father's sister and the children of the wife's brother.

Closely allied to the trickster element is the motive of theft. Theft of souls and life span plays an important part in explaining the motives of witches, as we have already seen in the formulas. In the mythology the important culture elements possessed in later times by the Cherokees, such as fire and tobacco, are represented as having been stolen by the great animals of the past from some far country. In the trickster myths subterfuges are used by the deer to steal the rabbit's horns and the quail to steal the terrapin's whistle. In this connection it would be pertinent to note that the Cherokees were formerly a predatory mountain people given to swooping down on the lowland tribes of the east and south in search of booty and perhaps wives.

Revenge appears in the myths as a life for a life principle in the killing of Stonecoat and of the monster leech. Many of the historical and animal myths of Mooney's list involve revenge motives. It is possible to see in the revenge motive a connecting point with the blood revenge or retaliatory sanctions of the earlier Cherokees. Even today the principle of rivalry and revenge is predominant in the relations between the conjurers. Struggle for power and for women leads to injury and revenge on the part of the various parties involved in the magical rivalry of conjuring.

The amatory element appears in the myths in several guises. Some of the animals are seeking after wives and go through various adventures in their search. The love element appears in other cases in which explanations of present-day conditions are made. This resembles the love element appearing in the sacred formulas but no special indication of preferential mating occurs in the myths. Likewise the kinship element appears in several of the explanatory myths and al-

ways in a rather generalized form without important connections with the kinship structure described in this paper.

The Cherokee myths, then, can be said to represent, under the guise of a predominantly explanatory element, a series of social relationships which are also found to underlie the social structure of the tribe. These social relationships unite the myths with the rest of Cherokee culture in a functional relationship. The myths express the rationalized explanations of the existing world in terms of familiar social mechanisms known or recognized by all of the persons in the tribe, both the raconteur and the listeners in this case.

The various usages which constitute the core of Cherokee social organization at the present time have now been reviewed in their functional aspects as part of a complicated interarticulating mechanism for the perpetuation of the clans through preferential mating. Each type of institution and usage was shown to have a definite role in connection with the system as a whole and to serve as supporting links in the chain of events leading from one point in the community and individual life cycle back to a similar point in the cycle. This set of usages can be said to constitute a specific social pattern for the Cherokees.

SUMMARY OF THE PRESENT-DAY CULTURE

The important points to be derived from the foregoing discussion of the Functions of the Present-Day Traits have to do almost entirely with the problem of preferential mating and the kinship usages that surround it. An attempt will now be made to generalize and to summarize in brief fashion the functional relationships just presented under the headings of social opposition, social solidarity, and social reciprocity.

SOCIAL OPPOSITION

The principle of social opposition always involves by implication some degree of the inverse principle of social solidarity, and since the two phenomena are so closely allied in appearance they will be treated here together.

We have already discussed the appearance of social opposition within the individual Cherokee family and shown how the principle appears in the relationship of contiguous generations, older to younger siblings, in the nonreciprocal nature of some pair relationships, and in the sexual dichotomy. It remains for us here to sketch the outlines of social opposition as it occurs in nonkinship groups either as an extension from kinship or as an analogous phenomenon to that occurring within kinship relations.

The organized opposition between groups occurs in its clearest form in the sports, particularly in the ball game. In the ball game the opposition involves a rivalry not only of the teams and the towns

but also of the conjurers in the rival towns and the fellow clansmen in the two localities. The rivalry between the conjurers was discussed in the section on extensions in social opposition. The opposition between clan brothers, already noted in several contexts, is of great significance for the participants in the game because it has a magical influence over the outcome of the game. One singer in the ball dance will look toward the enemy town and say, "Your town is no good. Your team is going to lose the game." Thus he weakens the opponents, even though they are out of sight and hearing from him.

The opposition involved in the ball game is very intense. A regular melee occupies the greater part of the game and the number of serious injuries incurred is quite large. Yet the fighting is all accepted in good spirit as part of the fun of the game.

A different type of social opposition develops in the woman's football game, the vine-pulling game, and the basket game. In these sports the women are generally aligned against the men. In each game the stakes are constituted by the products most characteristically associated with each sex's daily activities. If the men lose they are compelled to hunt for squirrel, rabbit, or some other game for a feast. If the women lose they are compelled to bake bread and beans for a feast. This sexual dichotomy appears in other contexts as, for example, in the tendency of the women and men to congregate in separate groups at all public gatherings and the relegation of some of the dances to either one or the other sex.

Another, somewhat artificial, form of town opposition develops in the competition for prizes at the annual fair. This is especially a phase of the competition of dance teams from Birdtown and Big Cove. A regular feud has developed between these two towns with reference to the excellence of their respective dance teams.

At the annual Thanksgiving Day match hunt in Big Cove two opposition groups are always involved, one from one side of the river and the other from the opposite bank. The losers are forced to do the work of preparing the dinner. This form of competing opposition was formerly common in all of the Cherokee towns.

Since war has disappeared, the greatest form of social opposition without the Cherokee group has disappeared. The Indians have retained, however, a strong measure of group solidarity and resistance to white laws as we saw in the section on the economic situation (pp. 213–214). The opposition is not organized but represents a spontaneous nonparticipation feeling of separation from the surrounding white world.

In summarizing the main points of social opposition, then, it can be said to be found in various forms of intertown and intersex

rivalries, but that its most manifest social function is in connection with the maintenance of the peculiar features inherent in the preferential mating of relatives.

SOCIAL SOLIDARITY AND RECIPROCITY

Turning to the principle of social solidarity, we find that it also stems largely from a kinship base and by extensions becomes more widespread in its manifestations. The solidarity of the individual town is maintained by the local organization of ball and dance teams, the commonly shared councilman, and farm organizations. A more effective solidarity is that of the local neighborhood. This is manifested in the mutual aid societies, the local cooperative enterprises, and the dance groups. There are two typical dance groups which come to the fore in this connection, the group meeting in Raven in Big Cove and the Adams Creek group meeting in Birdtown.

Social solidarity within Cherokee society can be said to be maintained by various interlocking groups. The segmentary groups such as the family, lineage, and clan are the primary manifestations of group solidarity. These have never been broken down by white culture although they have been greatly modified. Secondly, there are the groups founded on social reciprocity, the gadugi, poor aid societies, and local cooperative enterprises. These are aboriginally remnantal organizations which function but feebly today and seem to be destined to soon disappear. Thirdly, there are groups whose solidarity is founded on their function as agents for maintaining the social sanctions. These are the town organizations and the Governmental system of the Band itself. These last have completely lost their aboriginal flavor and appear to be some sort of copy of the institutions of the white man.

The most outstanding example of reciprocity in Cherokee culture is the reciprocity between clans in connection with the system of preferential mating whereby the balance of loss and gain is maintained. This is but one of several important manifestations of this principle, however.

The balancing of complementary forces is apparent in the marriage relationship, in the forms of economic exchange of goods and services prevalent in Cherokee society, and in the cooperative enterprises. The process of evening up of social exchanges is a well-marked fact. The mutual assistance of husband and wife within the household is a primary manifestation of reciprocity. The man of the family performs the operations of hunting, fishing, fuel gathering, and land cultivation. The woman of the family attends to the household duties of cooking, mending, washing, and child rearing. The reciprocity of this arrangement is recognized by a symbolism

in ritual among the Cherokee, the man being identified with meat and game while the woman is identified with corn and bean food or bread. Therefore, in all games between the sexes the women bet bread and the men bet meat.

Reciprocity in exchange of goods and services appears in clear form in the various local or neighborhood cooperative enterprises. The gadugi is a company organized for the purpose of mutual exchange of services and earning of money. Mutual aid between neighbors often takes the form of helping in the digging of each other's potatoes and helping each other in the harvesting. The poor aid society functions as a form of mutual aid among neighbors when sickness or death disables one of the families. Payment for these services is, of course, expected, either in kind or in return services. Sometimes a group in a neighborhood will go together to build a house for some poor person or build a footbridge for common use.

A more extensive type of reciprocity occurs in the cooperation of a whole town in helping out the cultivation and improvement of some particular conjurer's farm in order to secure in return his aid to conjure for the ball game and obtain a magical success.

Reciprocity in the form of true economic exchange consists of the changing of land, improvements, and goods. Land use is acquired by the individual in a number of ways—homesteading, inheritance, purchase, swapping, or renting.

The theory of homesteading expresses an economic exchange of reciprocity although, perhaps, the practice does not entirely live up to the ideal. According to the principle of the laws, the Band grants the use of a homestead to a member of the Tribe who is a proved Cherokee and who promises to improve the land by building a house on it and cultivating it. In some cases, however, improvement of the land is very slight and squatter sovereignty is far from unknown.

The theory of inheritance involves another type of ideal reciprocity. A person who acquires a claim of land by homesteading acquires only the use of the land, not the ownership. But all improvements made on the land are owned outright so that ownership land becomes de facto if not in law. Theoretically, the homestead is willed to that person who "takes care" of its original owner in his last days. Generally this implies that ultimogeniture, or youngest son inheritance, prevails and so it is in the main. However, almost any relative, and even a perfect stranger can take care of the aged owner of a homestead and thus acquire the land at his demise. There is an exchange, then, of "taking care" for a land tenure. One might well ask, "What becomes of the other children of the family?" The answer is that they go out either to stake out new homesteads for themselves or leave the reservation.

Outright purchase is a common form of acquiring land improvements and tenures. This is the means by which the more thrifty "white Indians" have been able to acquire huge holdings in Big Cove, Wolftown, and Birdtown. As these people advance, the native Cherokee is pushed farther and farther up the slopes toward the inhospitable tablelands and mountain ridges. The reciprocity of the buying and selling of land lies, of course, in the exchange of land for cash.

Swapping is a fairly common form of exchanging homesteads. In some cases one native will want to move to another town and he is able to find some other family that wants to move to his own town. In many cases owners desire to move nearer to relatives or to higher land away from the white settlements. Swapping is carried on not only in land, but also even more extensively in mobile goods such as household articles, written prayers, and the like.

Quite a number of the Cherokee families rent their land from other fellow tribesmen. In this case a money rent is paid as a rule. All improvements made by renters are held to belong to the original owner, not the renter. This is a reciprocity of exchange for use.

The relations of the Cherokee to the white Government are an example of economic semidependence owing to lack of full reciprocity of the relationship. The average Cherokee family does little more than provide itself with a mean type of shelter, a small margin of corn and bean food, and scant fuel. Articles of apparel such as shoes, sweaters, and the like are often supplied by the white Government. In addition to the supplying of life necessities, the white Government also supplies educational, health, and agricultural services. In return the Cherokees render little beside some native products such as old-time artifacts and native dances and entertainment at the annual fair.

The segmentary organizations of the Cherokee are permeated throughout with the principle of reciprocity. The effects of the dual organization of the aboriginal society will be discussed in the section on Political Change. The relationships of the various kinship pairs involve different kinds and degrees of reciprocity. The terminology reflects the differences between the less reciprocal (nonreciprocal terms) and the more or less completely reciprocal (self-reciprocal terms) relationships as we have seen in the section on kinship integration. In general, it may be stated that relationships with persons of one's own or the alternate generation are reciprocal and that relations with the contiguous (parental or children's) generations is nonreciprocal. Reciprocity appears in the symbolism of certain of the dances. In the Corn Dance the cooperative labors of the two sexes in planting are symbolized in various motions. In the Green Corn Dance there are certain dances performed by one or the other sex which symbolize

their respective labors in the harvest. In the Coat Dance the coat denotes the trading of a cloth payment for a bride.

Summarizing the manifestations of reciprocity, then, its primary forms can be said to lie in the exchange between clans in marriage, in cooperative societies, in economic exchange, and in the relations between kinship pairs. Through the agency of its function in clan-marriage exchange, reciprocity is tied up with the important nuclear complex in Cherokee society consisting of preferential mating, privileged familiarity, and the like. Through economic exchange, moreover, reciprocity is allied with social opposition between rival groups such as men and women, town and town, etc. The solidarity of groups is also bound up with group sanctions and reciprocity.

SOCIAL INTEGRATION

By way of summary of this discussion on functions, it can be stated that the meaning of Cherokee social institutions and structures is to be sought in a series of principles or agents which, taken together with a set of special principles associated with this particular area or tribe, constitute the basis of the present-day functioning society. The active agents in Cherokee society today consist of social opposition, social solidarity (both opposition and solidarity being possibly different facets of the same thing), social reciprocity, and social sanctions. Upon these is overlain a series of special principles such as preferential mating, privileged familiarities, and the segmentary divisions. Preferential mating is by far the most important of these.

The kinship system of the Cherokees involves a series of social solidarities and social oppositions. The solidarities are built up from equivalence of brothers and equivalence within the clan and these are articulated with the opposition of parental generation to ego's generation to produce a mechanism allowing for preferential mating. The solidarities and oppositions within the individual family are extended to the social structure as a whole.

There are three main types of pair relationships among the Cherokees and these are (1) parent-child, (2) brother-sister, and (3) grandparent-grandchild. The perpetuation of a complicated system such as the Cherokee depends upon its ability to adapt itself to the changes arising from the deaths, marriages, and births of its individual members. Provision for these necessary occurrences is made in the preferential mating system through the fact that lineages are kept in close contact with each other. Marriage is made an interlineage affair and death is provided for by the production of new family groups. The generation of new families is brought about through a mechanism consisting of (1) privileged familiarity of satirical, intersexual, and indirect types; (2) a reciprocal arrangement between clans for ex-

changes in marriage of their respective members; (3) a definite system of preference in mating by individuals for certain clans; and (4) the enforcing power of certain strong social sanctions.

The system of preferential mating prevailing among the Cherokees is probably the most important and pivotal item in the entire integration. It is effected through the agency of that exogamous segmentary group, the clan. The special principle of preferential mating among the Cherokees allows marriage only with persons who are in the clans of ego's father's father or mother's father. This is to say marriage is allowed only with the mother's father's matrilineal lineage and its corresponding clan, or with the father's father's matrilineal lineage or clan. It is forbidden to marry into one's own matrilineal lineage or clan, and the same taboo exists with reference to one's father's matrilineal lineage and clan. Thus, it can be seen that Cherokee kinship lays stress on four lineages in tracing descent.

Closely allied with the special principle of preferential mating is the special principle of privileged familiarity between certain relatives. Limited to its two main aspects, privileged familiarity can be said to be that form of close contact between relatives which functions as a means of establishing marital relationships through intersexual interchange and in promoting clan solidarity and conformity through the satirical sanction.

Reciprocity in marriage between clans is established through the marriage with one's grandfather's clan which has lost a member through the previous marriage of one of its male members into ego's father's or mother's clan. The return or exchange marriage is effected through the agency of one's father or mother whose indirect familiarities are correlated with ego's later marital inclinations.

Social opposition appears in its most organized form in Cherokee sports. These forms of opposition may be a possible development and extension of opposition within the immediate family and clan. Social opposition within the family operates to prevent marriage with the father's clan through the barrier of parental generation superordination (plus sexual barriers in case of female ego), and with the mother's clan through the same former barrier, plus the sexual barrier in the case of male ego. Social opposition is thus seen to be that force which prevents marriage between certain lineages and clans.

The principle of social solidarity is manifested mainly in that segmentary division of society known as the clan. Clan solidarity allows an identification between the social functions of the members of a given social segment, so far as kinship usages and preferential mating are concerned. The social sanctions within this clan group are largely of the satirical type, and serve to promote solidarity also.

Other forms of social solidarity built up on a reciprocity basis include the cooperative societies and the usages connected with them. These are a valuable adjunct to the economic organization of Cherokee society and prevent it from becoming totally dependent upon the white men.

Social sanctions manifested in the form of group obligations are of two types, satirical sanctions with the kinship usages surrounding the segmentary divisions of society, and the sanctions build up by the agency of the band organization with the influence of the white man. These latter do not function with a maximum degree of efficiency, and tend to be disregarded.

Social reciprocity manifests itself among the Cherokees mainly in two forms, through the types of economic exchange, and the cooperative societies and enterprises. The various forms of economic exchange, such as inheritance, homesteading, and swapping, all involve theories of mutual reciprocity in exchange between participants. There are also forms of reciprocity surrounding various phases of the marriage relationship.

A functional study of a given culture must necessarily be limited to a synchronous aspect in order to avoid confusion with comparative data from the past. However, after a synchronic analysis has been made of a culture, it is perfectly legitimate to depart in two directions, namely, (1) to endeavor to obtain pattern variations between the tribe in question and other tribes of its immediate neighborhood, or (2) to attempt to correlate the synchronic material with diachronic data derived from a survey of historical forms of integration within the tribe. The present study will follow the latter course.

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TABLE 8.—*Principles of Cherokee social organization*

Social solidarity	Social opposition	Social reciprocity	Social sanctions	Privileged familiarity	Preferential mating
I	I	I	I	I	I
Segmentary groups	*Family*	*Cooperatives*	*Organized*	*Joking relationship*	*Pedigree evidence*
1. Family: a. Within generation. b. With alternate generation. c. With parents. d. Pair solidarities. 2. Lineage and clan: a. Within clan. b. With grandfather clans.	1. Generation. 2. Age. 3. Nonreciprocal relationship. 4. Sex.	1. Gadugi. 2. Poor aid society. 3. Farm organization. 4. Miscellaneous.	Town. Band. United States Government. North Carolina.	1. Between brothers. 2. Tobacco joke. 3. With grandparents. 4. Indirect—son by father. 5. Gentle joking.	Marriages. Sororate. Levirate.
II	II	II	II	II	II
Reciprocity groups	*Sports*	*Economic exchange*	*Diffuse*	*Ritual and other*	*Kinship usages*
Gadugi. Poor aid society. Farm organization.	1. Ball game between towns. 2. Games between sexes. 3. Competition for prizes. 4. Match hunts.	1. Barter. 2. Trade. 3. Rent. 4. Inheritance. 5. Homesteading. 6. "Gifts."	Satire. Joking. Myths.	Results of taboo violation. Tuckster motif.	1. Privileged familiarities: a. Intersexual. b. Satirical. c. Indirect.
III	III	III	III		III
Sanction groups	*Opposition to whites*	*In marriage*	*Miscellaneous*		*Dance as vehicle*
Town. Dance groups. Band. Ball teams. Attraction medicine. Identification in prayers.	1. Attitude toward laws.	Wedding feast. Bride's acceptance. Exchange between clans.	Ritual of dance. Ritual of ball game. Theory and cure of disease.		1. Types of dances.
	IV				IV
	Magical				*Clan*
	1. In ball game. 2. Ayeligogi disease. 3. Taboos. 4. Blueness and loneliness in conjuring.				Regulates extension of kinship and marriage.
					V
					Sanctions
					Prevent violation and encourage correct forms.

THE FORMER SOCIETY

INTRODUCTION

The first part of this monograph was devoted to a descriptive and functional treatment of the present culture of the Cherokee and to the derivation of explanatory principles therefrom. In view of the fact that the present-day culture of the tribe is the result of the contact and commingling of aboriginal and European elements, it would seem desirable that some sort of separation be made between these two streams of cultural influence through a survey of the historical records. In addition, it would seem that an extension of Cherokee culture backward in time would be also a prerequisite for a comparative study of the Cherokee with the other tribes of the Southeast. In the third place, a study of the ancient culture of the Cherokee is valuable as an index of culture change and stability of type.

THEORIES OF ORIGINS

Of merely antiquarian interest are the numerous early theories ascribing a similarity between the ceremonial and social organization of the Cherokees and that of the ancient Hebrews. It was not until the work of Haywood in 1823 that a serious study of Cherokee origins was attempted. Haywood was a diffusionist, a forerunner perhaps of Elliot Smith. According to the Haywood (1823, pp. 231 ff.) historical reconstruction, two streams of culture and probably two races coalesced in the distant past to form the Cherokee tribe as it was found by the whites. The earlier of these two groups built mounds, made idols, performed human sacrifices, built walled wells of brick, erected fortifications, worshipped the lingam, revered the sacred number seven, and lived under despotic princes. These people were from southern Asia and bore a culture affiliated with that of the ancient Hindus and Hebrews. Their domain was coincident with that of the earlier Natchez people who at that time ruled the major part of the Lower Mississippi and Gulf Coast areas. Whether he thinks the Natchez of later times were a remnant of these particular people or not, Haywood does not make clear. Later, he postulates, there came a band of savages from the north, originally from northern Asia, democratic in organization and possessed of an efficient military organization. These people possessed themselves of the country of eastern Tennessee and gradually amalgamated with the aborigines to form the Cherokees as they are historically known.

This theory of northern and southern influence can be said to sum up all subsequent thought on the origin of the Cherokees. Most of the theories have laid stress either on influences from the north or influences from the south.

Documentary evidence for an Iroquois affiliation for Cherokee speech had been adduced before the time of Haywood by Benjamin Barton (1798, p. XLV). The similarities between Cherokee and the Iroquois speech were first adequately treated by Horatio Hale (1883, vol. 5) in a short paper. In our own day, Frans Olbrechts has been working on a comparative study of the Iroquois tongues with a view to definitely relating the Cherokees within that group. Cherokee speech shows little or no direct affiliation with the other tongues of the Gulf Region or the Muskogean Linguistic family. Therefore, a strong affiliation with the northern tribes of the Iroquois is established.

Documentary and folkloristic evidence for a northern affiliation of the Cherokee was reviewed by W. W. Tooker in 1898 in a paper on the Rechahecrian Indians of early Colonial Virginia. Tooker (1898, vol. 11, pp. 261–270) is inclined to see a mixed group of Cherokees and Algonkians in early Virginia as evidence for a more northerly position for the original Cherokees. His method of basing history on oral traditions is open to question.

Cyrus Thomas in 1880 studied the Cherokee with a view toward disproving their historical erection of mounds but was compelled on the basis of his evidence to reverse his opinion and to develop an extensive historical reconstruction for the Cherokee Tribe tracing their course of migration back as far as Lake Superior or at least to Iowa (Thomas, 1890). His evidence lay in the distribution of certain types of mounds, platform pipes, and engraved shellwork, together with the traditions of a northern origin for the Cherokees already cited. The folly and sterility of historical reconstructions is nowhere more lamentably illustrated than in this paper, which is a monument to misdirected energy.

Another example of historical reconstruction on an archeological basis is to be found in the extensive studies of M. R. Harrington (1922) in Eastern Tennessee. On certain sites in this region he reports finding three strata of distinct cultural types. The lowest bore resemblances to a generalized "Algonkian," the second was possibly of "Siouan" affinities, while the third bore artifacts of a definitely Cherokee cast. Within the Cherokee stratum a succession of pottery types was observed from bottom to top leading gradually from a "Mississippi" type to a "Southern Appalachian" type. This would lead, he thinks, to the hypothesis that the Cherokees were migrants from the west or from the Ohio region who later abandoned their original pottery for Southeastern types after contact with the latter culture. The

present-day Cherokee, it might be observed in this connection, are wholly dependent on the neighboring Catawba for pottery techniques. On the other hand, the original Iroquois triangular unnotched arrow point and the grooveless celt were retained throughout Cherokee history, Harrington finds.

Of a somewhat different type is the work of F. G. Speck (1920) on the Southeastern affiliations of the Cherokees. It was already noted by such early writers as Adair and Bartram that the Cherokees resembled other tribes of the South in many ways. In later times both Mooney and Swanton noted the resemblances of this type and Swanton (1928) goes so far as to class the Cherokees as a cultural subtype of the Creeks. Speck, after a study of the decorative art motifs and basketry of the Cherokees, found that the Cherokee shared such complex techniques as the double-weave basketry with diagonal twills with the tribes of the Lower Mississippi but that in general poverty of design and coarseness of work the Cherokee compares unfavorably with the latter. In certain curvilinear and scroll designs the Cherokee work shows Creek and Choctaw affinities.

Speck applied the age and area concept of Wissler to this material and finds that two principal lines of radiation were taken by culture elements spreading from the Lower Mississippi, one up that river and the other along the Gulf Coast and up the Atlantic Coast and the neighboring Piedmont to the North. The Cherokees he regards as peripheral to the main Southeastern tribes.

It seems possible that the age and area concept, thus applied, may ultimately explain many of the resemblances between the Iroquois and the Cherokees if a diffusion from the latter northward was found a plausible theory. But many complications remain in connection with the whole Southeastern area, and the best that can be stated at present is to say that the Cherokees appear to share in the typical traits of the Southeast to a greater degree than they do in those of any other group. It is to be hoped that later studies on the social organizations of the southeastern tribes may bring more relationships to light than have been found hitherto.

EARLY HISTORICAL RECORDS

The earliest glimpse that we have of Cherokee culture is from the scattered notations from the De Soto Expedition of 1540 (Hakluyt, 1851, p. 60). These narrators record the province of Chalaque as being inhabited by a poverty-stricken race subsisting on roots, herbs, service berries, and such game as deer and turkey, which they shot with the bow. These miserable savages were clothed in a few skin garments made mostly of deer hide and wore feather headdresses. They lived in palisaded villages and possessed a barkless native dog.

The next view that we obtain of the Cherokee is from Bartram, Adair, and Timberlake some two centuries later. The Cherokees of the middle eighteenth century as pictured by these writers were a people living in scattered settlements on the waterways of the southern Appalachians. The towns were at considerable distances from each other because level tracts of as much as 450 acres were rare and the rugged topography furnished few suitable sites for extensive settlements. Where settlements did occur, it was necessarily on the banks of some stream. The rivers were used in every important religious rite as well as in fishing, fowling, and the stalking of deer.[37]

The Cherokees of this period resided in square houses of poles or logs often containing three rooms and built one or two stories high.[38] These dwellings were plastered inside and out with grass-tempered clay and were roofed with chestnut-tree bark or long broad shingles. In the roof a smoke hole was left. Houses were constructed by the men. Within the ordinary dwelling there was little furniture aside from beds consisting of a few boards spread with bear skins. Basketry of great excellence was used and also pottery, both made by the women. A small sweathouse stood opposite the front door of each dwelling and within the sweathouse a fire was kept constantly burning. The use of the sweathouse for sweating was a means of purifying from disease.

The household was the domain of the female sex. Here the feminine arts of a culinary nature were pursued. The most common food was corn bread which was baked in ash-covered dishes on the hearth. Meats were brought in by the men, and the women prepared them by frying, roasting, and boiling. Everything was overdone, complains Timberlake. Various preparations of potatoes, pumpkins, hominy, boiled corn, beans, and peas were served up in small flat baskets of split cane. The many duties of the women included not only the care of the house but also wood gathering, child care, assisting in planting, cultivation, and the harvest, and other tasks. The chief cultivated plants were melons, maize, beans, tobacco, peas, cabbages, potatoes, and pumpkins.

Clothing was manufactured by the women and consisted of skin loincloth, buckskin shirt, buffalo robes, textile robes with feather decorations, moccasins, and cloth boots. Great attention was paid to body decoration and the skin was painted or tattooed with gunpowder pricked in the shape of various patterns. Ears were split to enormous size with silver pendants and rings, labrets were worn,

[37] The deer came down to the banks not only to drink but to lick the salty moss of the stream banks. See Adair (1775, pp. 226–256).

[38] This and the remaining material in this section are mainly from Bartram (1853, p. 296 ff.) and Timberlake (1929, pp. 57–102).

and wampum collars of clamshell beads were strung about the neck, armlets and wristlets about the arm, and silver breastplates on the bosom. All of the head hair of the men was plucked out save for a small patch from which grew the scalplock, which latter was ornamented with wampum of shell and beads, feathers, and stained deer's hair.

The activities of the men were varied. Arrow pointing was done by cutting triangular bits of brass, copper, and bone and inserting them into the end of split-reed arrows. Deer sinew was wound around the split end and drawn through a small hole in the head and then the sinew was moistened. The wood of the bow was dipped in bear's oil and then fire seasoned. Bear's gut was used for the string. The chief animals shot with the bow were bison, deer, turkey, opossum, squirrel, partridge, and pheasant. Horses and hogs were kept by the more civilized Cherokees. The blowgun was used to kill small game, such as birds and rabbits. This was a hollow reed of cane through which were projected small darts by the breath. Fish were caught in a variety of cleverly devised water traps and were also speared and caught with bait and hook. A most simple method of catching fish lay in scaring the fish into shallow ponds, from which they were dipped out in baskets. The men also made dugout canoes by the use of fire and tools from large pine or poplar logs 40 feet long by 2 feet wide. The bottoms of these canoes were flat and the sides plain and alike, as were the ends.

Warfare was a major event in the life of the Cherokee of this period. On the warpath the brave painted himself with black and red paint and the priest hoisted the red flag. At the end of a war the white flag of peace was hoisted, the bloody hatchet buried, and the peace pipe smoked. The calumet ceremony involved the smoking of tobacco in red and black stone pipes cut out of stone by tomahawks and then fired. The stems of these pipes were 3 feet long and adorned with quills, dyed feathers, and deer's hair. The weapons used in war were guns and knives. The bow, spear, and tomahawk were passing or had passed into oblivion.

Councils were held in large town houses capable of containing 500 people. These immense seven-sided structures had peaked roofs and were supported on concentric circles of wooden pillars. Rafters were laid across these posts to support the roof of earth and bark. Around the walls were sofas or benches covered with woven oak or ash splint mats and arranged in the form of an amphitheatre. In the center of the rotunda or open space in the center a fire was kept burning.

Dancing was a prominent feature of Cherokee life at this period. According to Timberlake, the principal feast of the year was the Green Corn Festival, and this consisted of a slow dance and singing

before the town house in the public square. He noticed other dances pantomimic of the habits of bears and the taking of pigeons at roost, and the physic dance at which the drinking of a physic decoction was followed by yells and efforts to frighten off evil disease spirits. For relieving the poor a war dance was held, and all of the participants in the dance contributed to a common fund of goods, which were later distributed to the indigent. The war dance consisted in one man giving a solo dance while he recited his individual exploits and derogated others. The war dance with contributions was also used to reward extraordinary merit, such as bravery in war. Other types of social dancing accompanied the ball play.

The ball game or racquet play consisted of a form of lacrosse and was played in a manner not different from that of later times. The only other important game was nettecawaw or chunkey. This consisted in the darting of poles at rolling disks of stone, with the score depending on the distance of the spot where the pole hit from the center of the disk. The games were of social significance in that huge stakes were laid on them and sometimes even personal freedom and wives were lost in the betting.

The political system of the Cherokees had a combination of aristocratic and democratic features. At the head of each village was a chief, chosen for merit in war or for wisdom in peace. The general assembly of warriors or civilians elected the chief. He was assisted by a council of wise men. Because of the strongly military outlook of the Cherokees, there were developed two classes of fighting men: (1) Warriors who had achieved various titles for acts of bravery such as man killer or raven; and (2) plebian fighters who were not distinguished. There was also a class of titled females called Pretty Women who were delegated with the tasks of deciding on war and peace at certain times and on the fate of prisoners.

The early writer, Adair, noticed the skill with which the Cherokees treated various diseases, all of them with considerable success except smallpox. Magical formulas were used to protect the patient from the harmful influences of evil spirits. Timberlake, quoted by Olbrechts, mentions the protective prayers which were sung by the Cherokee "Ostenaco" when setting forth on a journey to England.[39] Magical songs were also used to obtain revenge on the enemy, for when a Cherokee captive was being burned at the stake he would recite a song of his achievements and boast that his friends and relatives would soon arrive to avenge his death. At each mention of an exploit he would cleave a notch in a post with his tomahawk.[40]

[39] Mooney and Olbrechts (1932, p. 149) quoting from Timberlake (1929, p. 98).

[40] Mooney (1900, pp. 365, 491–492). A Cherokee Death song was current in London in 1783 which is the subject of an extensive discussion in The Death Song of the "Noble Savage," by H. B. Jones (1924).

PAYNE-BUTRICK MANUSCRIPTS DATA

The published data on early Cherokee culture is scattered and extremely fragmentary, as can be noted from the points presented above. Considerable archeologic work has been done to substantiate historical records but without adding anything to our scant knowledge of the aboriginal culture. It is fortunate that there is in Chicago some rather valuable manuscript material collected by John Howard Payne from various residents and travelers in the Cherokee Country of northern Georgia about 1835, just previous to the removal of the tribe to Oklahoma in the west. The data thus collected is principally from the pen of the missionary, D. S. Butrick, and although marked by the peculiar missionary bias of its author, presents a fair sketch of salient points in early Cherokee Culture which were later found by other investigators among the Cherokees and other tribes of the Southeast.[41] It is possible that a comparison of the data from Butrick and the other minor published observations on the Cherokees with the data from the present-day social organization herein presented may be of value in the establishing of trends of culture change within this group.

The sympathetic soul of John Howard Payne was stirred to its depths by the misery of the Cherokees among whom he sojourned in 1835. Believing that these Indians had suffered more than their share of wrongs and indignities from the white man, Payne rushed to their defense and became involved in the political controversies of the time with the State of Georgia and the Federal Government. The result of Payne's inquiries into the subject of Cherokee history and rights was the accumulation of a large amount of manuscript material consisting of correspondence on the subject of Cherokee history, antiquities, and rights, dating back almost entirely to the period just preceding the removal in 1830. This collection of papers was bound together in 14 volumes and is to be found at present in the Ayer Collection of American Indian Lore in the Newberry Library of Chicago. Of the 14 volumes, only 4 contain ethnologic data of importance. The latter consists of some 715 manuscript pages contained in volumes 1, 3, 4, and 6.

Volume 1 is entitled "Traditions of the Cherokee Indians" and contains a fairly well organized summary by Payne himself in 170 manuscript pages of parts of the other manuscripts dealing with origin legends, lore of the moon and corn, the uses of the divining crystals, shamanistic practices, moon festivals, and vegetation rites.

[41] Butrick's essential observations are corroborated in the descriptions of Haywood (1823) and Washburn (1869).

Volume 3 is entitled "Notes on Cherokee Customs and Antiquities" and consists of 128 manuscript pages of original field notes made by the missionary D. S. Butrick concerning many different topics, with much repetition and lack of order. The matters treated are often very sketchily described and consist of divisions of time, social organization of villages, clan names, shaman training, mourning customs, dividing crystals, training of hunters, sacred things, the meaning of dreams and omens, the beliefs concerning a future life, the mode of tonsure, war customs, uncleannesses, treatment of snake bite, women's dress, and the Cherokee calendrical festivals.

Volume 4 contains "An Account of the Customs and Traditions of the Cherokees," by D. S. Butrick, in 378 pages of manuscript. The subjects treated consist of even more extensive descriptions than are contained in volume 3. The matters dealt with are traditions of origin, ceremonies and rites, government and social organization, priests, variations in dress and ornament, the different types of food, war and weapons, economic matters, musical instruments, crime and punishment, the ball play, etiquette and manners, death and burial, the council house, marriage and the family, training of hunters, religious beliefs, houses and household organization, furniture, birth and education, uncleanness, omens, taboos, making of glue and soap, and the close number of similarities between the ancient Hebrews and the Cherokees. This extensive series of notes are much scratched and crossed out as if they had been recopied and discarded at a later date after the original writing.

Volume 6 contains a short paper entitled "Sketches of Cherokee Characteristics," by J. P. Evans, in 39 manuscript pages. The subjects treated in this sketch consist of a few points on social organization (towns, clans, superstitions, and ceremonies), the dress of men and women, the dwellings, and a few observations on the physique, diet, ball play, and dances.

The results of the present writer's study of these manuscripts are summarized in the following two chapters in which the peace and war organizations of the Cherokees are sketched and contrasted. The first of the two chapters outlines the positions and duties of the white or peace functionaries and the general social features connected with these, the calendric ceremonies and the ball play, together with various items of social importance in the individual's life cycle such as birth, marriage, sickness, and death. The second of the two chapters treats of the red or war functionaries and their duties, together with the military procedures and rites involved in organizing, conducting, and concluding a war expedition.

THE WHITE ORGANIZATION

OFFICIALS

The essential national officers in the White or Peace organization consisted in the following:

1. The chief of the tribe or "high priest," who is variously called uku, ookah, and other ceremonial titles.[42]
2. The chief's right-hand man.
3. Seven prime counselors representing the seven clans.
4. The council of elders.
5. Chief speaker.
6. Messengers.
7. Under officers for particular ceremonies such as 7 hunters, 7 cooks, 7 overseers for each festival, 7 firemakers for new fire, Jowah hymn singer, 7 cleansers, and the attendants at the Ookah Dance.

The above officials were those occurring in the principal town and served as officials for the whole tribe also. In each of the larger towns of the tribe the same series of officials were repeated with the exception of those listed under 7 since most of the ceremonies were held nationally. The officials in all of the towns outside of the capital were subject to the will of the high chief and his seven counselors and were often incorporated with them in a governing group when grave decisions confronted the tribe.

The office of white chief or uku was the highest in the tribe. Although each town had a white chief of its own, the white chief of the capital town was regarded as the chief of the nation. His office was more generally hereditary than elective, being transmitted from a man to his oldest sister's son. The wife of the uku was of a station near to his own and might take his place until a new successor was elected if he should die suddenly.

When an old uku died he was laid out in state for a period in order to remind his pupils and assistants of his instructions. His right-hand man then consulted with the council of seven clan heads of the metropolis and together with them appointed a time for the selection of a successor. Messengers were at once despatched to notify the town white chiefs throughout the nation to meet and inaugurate a new uku. This messenger carried strings of hemp braided into as many knots as there were nights previous to the meeting. Each town white chief on being notified sent his own messenger to the candidate of his choice requesting him to accept the appointment. Generally the candidate was a relative of the late uku and had been agreed upon in advance of the death of the latter. At the appointed time the white chiefs of the various towns assembled at the metropolis in front of the dwelling of

[42] ugutuyi is an archaic word still remembered by the Cherokees meaning "highest," "furthermost excellence." ugawiyu means "chief" today.

the candidate. The latter was then inaugurated with elaborate ritual. The candidate must first undergo a 7-day fast.

Certain persons were selected to prepare a platform constructed from a kind of strong and tall weed, together with an official white robe and a white staff or scepter. Sometimes deerskin painted yellow and a yellow cap ornamented with yellow painted feathers was prepared. These having been made ready and put in the council house, a vast multitude went to the house of the candidate on the seventh day of the latter's fast. The platform was brought near him and he, having been anointed on the forehead with chalk or white clay and deer's tallow and invested with his white robes, leaped onto it holding his scepter in hand. The platform was then raised high by means of four props and the candidate, preceded by one-half the company and followed by one-half, all singing as they went, was carried to the council house. They halted three times on the way. The people entered the council house and took their seats quietly. On reaching the council house the group bearing the candidate walked four times around it and then stopped at the door to let down the platform to within 3 feet of the ground. An appointed person then took the candidate on his back and carried him to the appointed white seat in the back of the council house, between two other white seats. This white seat was covered with white dressed deerskin, and the ground before the seat was spread with a matting of cane and then covered with a large buckskin dressed white.

The speaker then came before the assemblage and made a lengthy address at the end of which he directed the people to salute the new chief. The people then arose and all filed past the candidate repeating a formula to which he replied. Then all returned to their seats and sat in silence for the rest of the night. At daybreak the new uku made an address to the people in which he promised to exercise his authority according to the divine will and to bind the hearts of his subjects by kindness. All of the people pledged obedience to him. The right-hand man handed the new uku an eagle-tail fan and some old tobacco as signal for him to commence smoking with the other white chiefs in token of solidarity and friendship. The calumet pipe was then passed from mouth to mouth to celebrate the cementing of relationships at the occasion. At noon the younger people withdrew. The new uku then arose and put his scepter over his right shoulder. Two men put their hands under his arms and supported him as he walked to the door and from there to his house where his official dress was taken off and the ceremony was ended.

Next to the white chief in importance were the seven prime counselors. These were the chief men of each of the seven clans in the metropolis and were white officials. Their consent and advice was necessary for most of the official acts of the uku. Their offices were probably hereditary in much the same manner as his own.

In addition to the uku and his seven counselors there was a council of elders or old men, sometimes called "beloved men," who resided near the council house and who wielded considerable power among the younger people. These were men who had served long and bravely in the wars of the tribe and who had retired to a well earned position of rest and security.

Regarding the manner of appointment of the chief's right-hand man, the chief speaker, the messengers, and the under officers of state there is no definite statement. There were, in each principal town of the tribe, as has been noted, the same group of white officials and the town chiefs were inducted into office in much the same way as the uku of the metropolis.

The functions of the white chief and other white officials were rather varied. When any emergency or decision confronted a town the white chief blew his trumpet to assemble the counselers and people at his house. The trumpet used on this occasion was of special make and could be used by no person except the chief. When the assembly was completed, the white chief, his right-hand man, and the seven white clan counselors constituted the civil and religious tribunal of the town. This court decided on all inferior matters and attended to such religious matters as it was possible for the individual towns to decide. In very small villages where no such court existed the people called in the nearest town chief and his counselors to their assistance.

In the capital town of the tribe there was a national council consisting of the uku, his town attendants, together with the white chiefs of the lesser towns and their attendants. This national council was convened by the newly elected uku before a Green Corn Feast and, on emergency occasions, through the raising of the uku's standard, which consisted of a long white pole with a bird carved or painted near the top and bearing a pennant at the latter point made of white cloth or deerskin, 4 to 5 yards in length, painted with red spots like stars. In cases of great emergency, such as a sudden attack from without, the national council would select the officials to conduct the war after divination of the extent of the emergency had been made from the movements of tobacco smoke.

In the courts of the towns public criminals were brought before the bar and, after their cases had been stated by the town chief's right-hand man, the accused defended themselves as best they could. The judgment of the court was then given and immediately executed. Public criminals were stoned, killed with some weapon, or taken to a high precipice with elbows and feet tied behind and then cast headlong to be dashed to pieces on the rocks below. For private offenses the law of retaliation was strictly observed.

Private injuries were mainly settled by means of the law of blood revenge, the brother or nearest male relative of the victim revenging the injury by inflicting a like hurt on the offender or a member of the offender's family or clan. This retaliation might be avoided by the defendant in two ways. First, he might settle with the family and clan of the injured party by payment of goods or other compensation, if there was some doubt as to the purposeful intent of the injury. Secondly, he might flee to one of the four white towns of the tribe wherein no blood could be shed and remain safe from revenge there. If the offender was within sight of a white chief or within his dooryard, he would also be safe. He then appealed to the chief to save him. The latter would then follow one of two courses depending upon his own judgment of the case. He might send his messenger or blow his trumpet to call the whole town together and in their presence declare the man acquitted, or hold a regular court before which the defendant was brought and tried. If the examination showed that the guilt of the defendant was clear, he was not publicly condemned but was privately exposed to the shafts of death either in battle or in some other way so as generally to be soon taken away.

According to Nuttall (1819, p. 189) the brothers of a murderer would often dispose of him in order to save one of themselves from blood vengeance. Accidental deaths could be recompensed by a scalp from a prisoner or enemy. "Towns of refuge" were those inhabited by a supreme chief. No blood could be shed in these towns and manslaughterers fleeing there could excuse themselves and profess contrition.

From Haywood's account, it would appear that the father of a family could not punish his children since they were of a different clan from his. If he should kill them, he would be subject to clan revenge on the part of his wife's clan. The mother of the children could, however, kill them. Accidental killings could be punished by death through clan revenge or satisfied by a present. Always the nearest relative was punished if the culprit was not available. (See Haywood, 1823, section on laws and customs of the Cherokee.)

Gregg mentions that the entire clan was responsible for the crime of one of its members and there were no exceptions. Satisfactory communication could almost always be obtained because the relatives themselves would bring the fugitive to justice in order to avoid the punishment falling on one of them. (Gregg *in* Thwaites, 1904–07, vol. 20, p. 311.)

Washburn (1869, p. 206) states specifically that it was the function of the older brother to inflict clan revenge. The older brother together with the mother's brother exercised more authority over

the family than did the father since the latter was of a different clan and was afraid of hurting his children for reason of the likelihood of blood revenge on the part of their clan.

Beside their political and judicial functions, the white chiefs were also the solemnizers and presiding agents in marriage. The parents of a couple to be married consulted the chief and asked him to divine the fortunes of the proposed union. This the latter did through observing the movements of two beads caused by involuntary twitchings of his hand while he held the beads in it. If the beads ultimately moved together the marriage would be a success, but if they moved apart separation was bound to be the outcome of the union. In the event of unfavorable omens the match was called off and new partners were sought by the parties concerned. The prospective wife of the town white chief had to be passed on by the seven counselors as to her unblemished character.

The white officials of the tribe had, in addition to the numerous secular and private functions, the priestly function of acting as the regulators and chief performers in the periodic tribal ceremonies now to be described.

MAJOR CEREMONIES

The ceremonialism described by Butrick is extensive and in many respects difficult to understand. Elements of both lunar and solar calendrical reckoning are to be found, but the most noticeable are the former.[43] A monthly ritual of purification seems to have been a common basis for several of the most important ceremonies. The lunar purifications at new moon would seem to coincide with the periodic menstrual separation of the women and the rites which acted to remove the uncleanness of that periodic event.

The ceremonial period of the year included the months from August to November, inclusive. In this period occurred two agricultural ceremonies, and two great purificatory ceremonies. It will be noted that the Cherokees reckoned the year in two parts: The first was from the Great New Moon Feast of October to that of April (the 7th) and included the winter (gola) months; the second commenced with the first new moon of spring in April and ran to the great new moon of October again (the 7th) and included the summer (gogi) months. Thus the two important new moons were in each case seventh in a continuous series reckoning from the other, each ended and each began a new season, and both served as the boundary points of the chief periods of the year, winter and summer.

Each of the two important new moon festivals was marked by ceremonial hunts, dances, lustrations, divinations, and a feast. Each

[43] J. Haywood (1823), section on Computation of Time and Moon Feasts of Cherokees.

was succeeded a short time after by a festival in which new fire was made to renew the seasons. Of these two succeeding festivals undoubtedly the most important was the one which succeeded the fall new moon (Cementation Feast).

The two main new moon festivals as well as the lesser ones, seem to have been in the main purificatory of periodic uncleanness and protective against harmful forces. It is possible to see in the dances that accompanied these rites the periodic renewal of familiarity and solidarity between men and women after the latter had been segregated due to their necessary monthly uncleanness.

A significance of a similar kind with the added feature of disease exorcism would attach to the new fire festivals which succeed the two main moon festivals. The Cementation or Reconciliation Festival involved primarily the idea of the removal of all uncleanness and thereby also removed all possibility of disease. In order to accomplish this double feat a series of ritual sanctions were invoked at this festival. Cleansers were appointed to clean all the houses of the town, commencing with the council house, seven articles were cleansed as a symbol of all household belongings, differences between people were forgotten, and even cases of blood revenge lapsed, as no uncleanness must remain within the society. All old clothes were thrown away and new ones were donned. To bind this exorcism of all the causes for difference between people many would swear vows of eternal friendship and solidarity with other persons and exchange clothes with them. Finally, the making of the new fire signified the beginning of a new life in the community free from all of the impurities of the old life. The festival was sealed with the usual fasts, lavations, divinations, scratching, and drinking of decoctions boiled in a pot. In later times forms of the propitiation festival were used in times of epidemic in the so-called "physic dances" in which disease was combatted and uncleannesses removed.

The two Green Corn Feasts resemble each other and both were concerned with the ripening and harvesting of the corn and the rite of eating it. The details of these rites do not seem to have been well recorded but there was some fasting before the ceremonial partaking in the new corn.

There were six greater festivals. These were held at the council house in the capital town where the seven clans assembled at the behest of the uku and his seven prime counselors. In addition to the six greater festivals there were also minor local festivals celebrated at each quarter of the year, at each new moon, every 7 days (quarter month), and on each occasion of calamity or epidemic. In addition to these the ookah dance was given every 7 years in which the uku (here entitled ookah) performed a sacred dance. The following were the six greater festivals:

1. *The first new moon of spring.*—This was celebrated when the grass began to grow and had no special title. The present-day Corn Dance, called adan wisi, or "they are going to plant" (Yontonwisas Dance of Mooney), may be descended from this rite of March.

2. *The Preliminary Green Corn Feast.*—This is entitled "sah-lookstiknee keehstehsteeh" in the Payne Manuscripts and is rendered selu tsunistigistiyi, or "roasting ear's time," by present-day informants. It was held in August when the young corn first became fit to taste.

3. *The Green Corn Feast.*—This is called tungnahkawhooghni in the Payne Manuscripts and is rendered donagohuni by present-day informants. The ripe or mature Green Corn Feast succeeded the Preliminary Green Corn Feast of August in about 40 or 50 days in the middle or latter September when the corn had become hard or perfect and is still held today.

4. *The Great New Moon Feast.*—This is called nungtahtayquah in the Payne Manuscripts and is rendered nuwati egwa, or "big medicine," by present-day informants. This festival was held at the first new moon of autumn in October when the leaves had begun to fall into the waters of the rivers and impart their curative powers to the latter. This was identical with the medicine dance of later times.

5. *The Cementation or Reconciliation Festival.*—This is called ahtawhhungnah by Payne and is rendered adahuna, or "woman gathering wood," by present-day informants after the dance of that name. This festival succeeded the preceding one after a lapse of 10 days at the end of October and was connected with the making of new fire.

6. *The Exalting or Bounding Bush Feast.*—This is called elahwahtah laykee in the Payne Manuscripts and is rendered aliwatadeyi, or "pigeon dance," by present-day informants. This festival occurred in December and was characterized by the use of spruce or pine boughs.

CEREMONIAL PROCEDURES

The procedure in the first festival was as follows: The seven prime clan counselors of the metropolis met at the national heptagon or council house. Certain selected "honorable women" performed a friendship dance in the public square before the heptagon at the same time. At their meeting the counselors reckoned the number of nights from the last new moon and consulted a divining crystal to determine the time of the appearance of the first spring new moon. After these matters were attended to, the counselors despatched a messenger throughout the nation to announce the new feast.

Meanwhile preparations were being carried forward in the metropolis itself. Certain hunters were appointed to provide meat for the feast. These persons went out and killed what game they could, such as deer or turkey. One buck deer was dressed whole, the skin, entrails, and feet being removed and the head, liver, lungs, and heart left intact. The skin was then cleaned and made white for the festival. Similarly a doe and fawn skin were prepared. The seven counselors now finished their work by selecting seven men to have charge of the

feast and seven men to oversee the cooking. The altar in the center of the national heptagon was repaired by the uku's right-hand man. The altar was a conical shaped mass of fresh earth about which at the top a circle was drawn to receive the fire of sacrifice. The inner bark from seven different specified trees was laid on the altar ready for use. The seven specified trees were white oak, black oak, water oak, black jack, bass wood, chestnut, and white pine, and the bark from these had to be free from rot or worms.

On the evening of the new moon's appearance, all of the populace assembled from every quarter of the nation and the delegated hunters brought in their meat and placed it in the storehouse on the west side of the national heptagon. The hunters delivered the white dressed buck, doe, and fawn skins to the presiding agents of the ceremony. Some of the general visitors at the ceremony brought game also. The early evening of the first assemblage was devoted to a friendship dance performed by the women. That night all retired early in order to be fresh for the day that followed.

Early in the morning the entire population crowded in and around the national heptagon and the three white dressed skins before mentioned were picked up by the uku's right-hand man and spread near the altar fire with the head nearest the flame. Blood from a freshly killed bird was then sprinkled on the buck skin and the divining crystal was placed in the blood and the flowers of old or wild tobacco were dropped on the buckskin. At this point the entire population went to the river and the priest or uku came also with his assistant carrying deerskins. A series of 6-inch sticks were stuck into the ground along the river bank. It became then a bad omen for anything to come out of the river opposite the space between the sticks on the bank. All of the people then plunged into the water seven times with their faces eastward. The priest on the bank unrolled the skins and displayed the divining crystal and placed these on a platform or table together with medicinal roots. After leaving the water the people all walked by the table, touched the crystal with the fore finger wetted from the tongue, and took a piece of medicinal root from the table. The officials followed the common people in this rite and came out of the river last. This concluded the ceremonies of the second day and the third was devoted entirely to fasting. The fourth day was the final one. The people assembled at the national heptagon at sunset and the presiding priest flung flowers of old tobacco on the fire along with a piece of buck's tongue. The manner of behavior of these substances under the action of the fire's flame was used as a means of divining the future. The buck had been dressed whole and the meat eaten entirely together with a stiff mush of newly pounded

meal. That night was entirely spent in the friendship dances given by the women and concluded the ceremonies.

Soon after this festival of the first new moon of spring, the seven prime counselors appointed a sacred night dance, sending out a messenger to assemble the people. On the seventh day after the issue of this order new fire was made by seven chosen men after the populace had spent the night of the sixth day in a religious dance. The hearth was carefully cleaned and repaired. A hole was made in a block of wood into which goldenrod was dropped and then a stick was whirled rapidly about in this until the goldenrod caught fire. From this fire specially kindled a portion was taken to every house by women who waited around for the purpose. Old fires were everywhere extinguished and the hearths cleansed of old ashes. After new fires had been lighted throughout the country, sacrifices were made in them of the first meat killed by the members of the households to which the fires belonged. Scratching of long gashes with flint and fishbone was administered freely during this rite. The medicine root used at the previous river bathing was chewed and rubbed on the skin and the same root was retained for each new moon rite of the year. The three white dressed deerskins were also brought out and presented to the priest who had presided at the festival of the first new moon.

The second great festival, the Preliminary New Green Corn Feast, was held in midsummer and at the time of the simultaneous ripening of the corn, or maize, throughout the nation. When the corn was found ripe, a messenger was despatched to gather seven ears, bring them back to the counselors, and assemble the people. A 6-day hunt was decreed for the hunters and the seven prime counselors fasted for 6 days at the national heptagon. When the hunters had shot the first buck, they cut a small piece from the right side of the end of the tongue. On the evening of the sixth day, the populace assembled at the national heptagon bringing in fresh ears of corn while the hunters brought in fresh meat. This night was spent in an all-night vigil and religious dance. On the seventh day, the festival began with the delivery of the seven ears of corn to the uku. New fire was made by a firemaker on the altar from bark of seven selected trees. Leaves of old tobacco were sprinkled on the fire and omens were taken from this. The uku placed the seven ears in the fire also with the piece of deer's tongue and then prayed that the sacrifice might be acceptable. After this rite the uku and his seven counselors fasted for seven more days and the populace then assembled for another general 1-day fast which completed the second festival.

The third great feast was the Mature, or Ripe Green Corn Feast, and was held in September 40 or 50 days after the preceding festival. First, the seven counselors summoned the honorable women for a

religious dance and then fixed the festival for some time later. The usual pattern of behavior occurred, the hunters being sent out and special officers appointed to order the festival. An arbor of green boughs was framed in the sacred square of the national heptagon wherein a beautiful shade tree was located. A large booth was erected and seats laid out. On the evening prior to the festival day, the hunters and the people assembled and everyone took a green bough for the rites of the next day. All then retired early. On the ensuing noon the people paraded with green boughs held overhead. The uku who presided at this rite was given the special ceremonial title of Netagunghstah and was elevated on a platform held up by carriers and was dressed in a white robe with leggings, moccasins, otter skins on the legs, and a red cap on the head. Altogether this festival lasted 4 days and women were excluded from the sacred square during the dances. In the evenings they might mingle in the social dances, however. This festival was the most deeply rooted rite that the Cherokees had and lasted the longest. It was said to have been connected at one time with a festival of green boughs which was more distinctive and exclusive in its characteristics.

The fourth great festival, or great new moon of Autumn, followed the new moon's appearance when the leaves began to yellow in the fall. The Cherokees fancied that the world was created at this time and they regulated their series of new moon feasts by it. There is some evidence, however, that the Cherokees originally began their year with the first new moon of spring. The counselors carefully counted the number of nights from the last new moon and, if it was cloudy weather, they resorted to the divining crystal to ascertain the time of appearance of the new moon for autumn. Seven nights previous to the event they sent out hunters to hunt, seven men to prepare seats, tables, and in general order the feast, and seven honorable women to get the provisions ready and to cook them. The end of the tongue of the first deer killed was carefully wrapped in old leaves and given to the presiding priest together with seven deerskins. The entire population met and each family brought seven or more ears of hard corn, dried pumpkins, and samples of every crop which were all given to the priest. The women gave the sacred religious dance and no one slept that night. The next day the populace assembled at the river and bathed seven times in the same manner as at the first feast of spring. The deer's tongue wrapped in leaves was consumed in the fire and omens were invoked with the sacred crystal. Then followed feasting. The event lasted only 1 day.

Some 10 days after the ceremony just described came the Propitiation or Cementation Festival, which was the greatest of all the annual celebrations being listed. A day or two after the Great New Moon

Festival the seven prime counselors withdrew to the national heptagon to decide on the time for the Cementation Feast. Seven days before the event, after a solemn address by one of the counselors, a messenger was despatched to call the people. Seven women (possibly the wives of the seven counselors) were selected to lead the dance and seven musicians to aid them. One person was appointed from each clan to assist these and to fast for 7 days. Seven cleaners were appointed to clean out the national heptagon, seven men were sent out to hunt game, and seven to seek seven different articles for purification. A special fire maker was appointed to make holy new fire and six assistants were given him. A special attendant was appointed to dress and undress the Jowah hymn chanter while he performed his sacred ablutions and duties. If the old Jowah hymn singer had died, a new one was appointed for life.

All of these officials commenced a fast 7 days before the festival and the hunters went forth in quest of game as in the other feasts. The seekers after seven articles of purification returned with branches of cedar, white pine, hemlock, mistletoe, evergreen briar, heartleaf, and ginseng root. In later days other articles were purified such as mountain birchbark, mountain birch sprig, willow roots, swamp dogwood roots, and spruce pine. These were all fastened in a cane basket expressly fashioned for the purpose on the evening of the sixth day after notice of the festival had been sent out. These articles were then stored away in the treasure house west of the national heptagon along with the produce of the hunt.

On the evening of the sixth day after the notice, the people gathered at the national heptagon and the women performed a dance while four musicians sang in turn. All retired early that night to sleep, for the festival proper began the following day.

The first event was the making of new fires by the seven fire makers from seven different kinds of wood, namely blackjack, locust, post oak, sycamore, red bird, plum, and red oak. The seven cleansers began at the same time to exorcise the houses of the town. These cleansers had a prescribed costume of which the most noticeable feature was a scarf on the head decorated with a set of fur tassels from the white fur on the underside of a deer's tail.

The heptagon had been previously swept clean, old ashes removed, and the earth in the altar renewed so that the latter stood 1 foot high again. A bench of planks had been also constructed at the side of the altar to hold the white dipping gourds, and sacred white purifying caldron. The whitened bench was covered with dressed buckskin whitened with clay. Overhead a buckskin canopy protected from the weather. As soon as the new fire had been kindled by friction of two sticks, it was taken from the makers by the aspergers and kindled

on the altar. Then the sacred caldron was placed there and an asperger walked around four times crying out as he took the gourds, filled them, and poured the water into the caldron. At this time the uku (called in this rite by the title of "oolestooleeh"), together with his assistants, proceeded to the treasure store house and got the seven articles for purification. Then he passed around the fire and sprinkled tobacco on it as he waved the wing of a white heron over it to waft the smoke in all directions as he prayed. He repeated this prayer four times and then placed the basket for purification in the caldron where it was watched day and night. The seven cleansers kept constantly renewing the fire on the altar because at the dawn of the first day every fire throughout the nation had been extinguished by the women and every fireplace cleansed of all ashes. The women then came to the national heptagon as soon as the new fire was made and supplied themselves with a portion of it for their hearths. No food was tasted that day until the new fire had been made and a portion of the first meat cooked offered as sacrifice.

Seven attendants now appeared, each with a white wand of sycamore, which were handed to the seven exorcisers for their duties. The leader of the seven cleansers now went out and struck the eaves of the roof of the storehouse with his rod and then sang a song. He then struck similarly all of the houses of the metropolis as did his followers. Then the meat from the hunters' stores was distributed for cooking.

An attendant called the Jowah hymn singer from his seat by name and invested him with his white robes, placing also in his hand a white gourd filled with pebbles (or a shell similarly prepared) and fastened on a stick. The singer rattled the gourd and sounded a few preliminary notes. He now began his song of seven verses, each repeated four times in seven different tunes. He then again rattled the gourd and retired for disrobing. The seven cleansers took the white gourds and dipped out water from the caldron and passed some to each head of a clan and on down until all had drunk and rubbed a little on their breasts. The Jowah hymn was then sung by the singer a second time. Following this came the previously noted bathing rite in the river by all the people, each person bathing seven times and alternately facing east and west. Some persons entered the water with old clothes on and let them float away while others changed clothes afterward.

The oolestooleeh prepared the sacrifice on the altar. First a deer's tongue and a piece of old tobacco were put on the fire. If the tongue popped, it meant death for somone during the year. A bluish or slowly ascending smoke meant sickness. The oolestooleeh then set the divining crystal on the deerskin and prayed. If health was to reign

the crystal would be clear but if sickness was due a smokiness would appear along with the faces of those designated for it. Toward sunset the chanter again gave the Jowah hymn. The great speaker called for cooked meat, bread from new corn, mush, hominy, potatoes, beans, and the like for a big feast. The officials, however, could not eat until dark. The Jowah singer ate once after dark every 24 hours during the four days of the feast. He had to bathe seven times before eating and at daybreak. The evening of the first day there was a religious dance until midnight and some of the women kept an all-night vigil or danced until dawn.

The remaining 3 days of the festival were passed in much the same manner as the first. On the second day the Jowah hymn was not sung, and the officials alone fasted. The third and fourth days were about the same, except all of the events of the first day were repeated on the fourth. Fasting was a noticeable feature of this ceremony, the officials fasting 10 days in all and the people fasting on the first and fourth days of the festival, even infants fasting until noon. All-night vigils were maintained on the first and fourth nights, and at the end of the rites all put off old garments and put on clean ones. Every one on 2 different occasions plunged 7 times into the river, or 14 times in all. On the morning of the fifth day sacrifice was offered again, and then the oolestooleeh took the purified articles from the caldron and put them away in a buckskin, exclaiming, "Now, I return home." He then departed, followed by the other officials.

The Propitiation Festival was the subject of local variation in later times, especially in the manner of lighting the new fire. The term "physic dance" was later given to the rite of purifying the house, "physic" meaning a conciliation or expiation. Diseases requiring a physic had been sent from above to punish some offense among the people. A circle was sometimes laid about the altar of seven different kinds of wood curiously laid and by seven strings of white beads, each of the latter representing one of the seven clans and each placed there by one of the clan members and pointed toward the wood. Originally, say the Cherokees, the seven clans were commanded to feed the fire with their flesh, but wood was later substituted for this. The fire maker then produced two pieces of dry bass wood and put goldenrod between them. Two others then took hold of the wood and spun it around to produce fire by friction.

The Propitiation Festival was instituted to cleanse all and to bind all together in a vow of eternal brotherhood. Passionate friendship was sworn between young men, and these vows were plighted in public by the solemn exchange of garment after garment until each was clad in the other's dress.

The ancient Propitiation Festival involved the swearing of friend-

ships between men and between men and women of different clans. No sexual relation could be allowed between persons swearing such friendships. Between these friends, however, there was a sharing of everything. They would, perhaps, exchange garments and goods, giving each other one garment after another at the friendship dance. Young men and young women might be prevented by the marriage restrictions from marrying, but they could swear friendship at this rite. There could be no secrets that were not shared together by these friends.

The last ceremony of the six annual ones was the Festival of the Exalting, or Bounding Bush, which occurred in the winter after the Propitiation Ceremony. A group of people assembled in the evening before the fire, and a man chosen for the purpose appeared with a box and danced slowly around the fire singing as he danced. Each person present threw a piece of tobacco into the box and the man then disappeared. A parade of alternately two men and two women then marched along abreast; the two forward men had in the right hand a hoop with two sticks in it crossing each other at right angles in the center and on the ends of the sticks having white feathers attached. Two men in the middle and two men in the rear also carried hoops and sticks while all of the rest held in their right hands green boughs of white pine. For 3 nights this march ended the dance and the green boughs were carefully deposited among the consecrated things until the repetition of the dance. On the fourth night a feast was held after dark. At midnight, the man with a box reappeared and sang four times a refrain, while each person took from the box a piece of the tobacco. Then each plucked off some of the pine needles from the bough he or she carried and crushed them in the hands with the tobacco. All of the people next stood in a circle around the fire and then each singer walked toward the fire as if to throw in the tobacco and the needles. As he sang he hesitated but finally threw the tobacco and needles into the fire, at which the rite was ended.

The uku offered sacrifice at a peculiar rite which was celebrated every 7 years and which did not resemble the other festivals celebrated annually. At this septennial rite the uku took the title of ookah and performed a sacred dance of thanksgiving. The main procedures were as follows. At about the last of summer or early autumn, at the commencement of every seventh year, the people assembled at the national capital from every quarter for the rite. The precise time was set between the ookah and his seven counsellors. Messengers were despatched throughout the nation to notify the people beforehand. The seven hunters were sent out to hunt for 7 days prior to the festival and meat was brought in on the seventh night and distributed throughout the metropolis for public use. On the same evening all

of the nation assembled at the heptagon. The usual officials attended to the details, seven men to order and direct the banquet, women to superintend the cooking, and certain special ones, such as the aged and honorable women, appointed to warm the water for the bathing of the ookah, two men to dress and undress him, one man to fan him, one man to sing for him and lead the music, and one man to prepare his seat. Under the superintendency of this last, a structure was raised midway between the abode of the ookah and the heptagon consisting of a tall throne with a canopy and footstool, all made white for the occasion. A similar structure was set up in the public square, around which a broad circle was marked out, swept clean, and kept from unconsecrated feet.

The festival began on the eighth morning after the preparations had begun with all of the officials led by the seven counselors proceeding to the abode of the ookah singing. Arriving there, they found the honored matron waiting with warm water. One person took off the ookah's clothes while another bathed him in warm water. The ookah then received his garment of yellow and climbed up on the back of his attendant and, with his fanner carrying the eagle-tail fan and a musician on the sides and preceded by one-half of the priests and followed by the other half, was carried to the canopied white throne. Here, after a pause, the journey was resumed to the sacred square. Here the ookah sat all night in state attended by his second, his speaker, and the counselors. All kept a vigil in silence while the populace danced in the heptagon.

The morning of the second day the ookah danced in the guarded circle a slow step while the fanner and musician stood by, the rest of the assistants following and imitating his steps. No woman was allowed in the vicinity. In the afternoon the ookah directed all of the rest of the people to feast but fasted himself with his suite until sunset. The ookah and his court then ate and was carried home and disrobed. The third day was marked by the same proceedings except that the bathing was omitted. On the fourth day the ookah seated on his throne was consecrated by his right-hand man, and invested with sacerdotal and regal power, thus ending the ceremonies. Whenever seated on the white ottoman in his official duties he wore only a white dress. During the ceremonies of the entire festival, the heptagon had to be purified if a polluted person transgressed and the ookah saw him. If anyone touched an unsanctified thing during the festival he was excluded and no drunkenness was allowed. The limbs of the young men were gashed with sharp flints and any flinching was berated highly. The general bearing during the festival was considerate and the discipline perfect, there being no need of reproof.

YEARLY CYCLES

The ancient Cherokees divided the year into two parts, winter and summer. Winter commenced with the fall of the leaves in September at the time of the Great New Moon Feast, and corresponded with our fall and winter. Summer commenced with the first new moon of spring in March and corresponded with our spring and summer. There seems to have been some confusion as to which of the two was regarded as commencing the year but the general attitude in later time seems to have accorded the new year to September.

Days were reckoned from sunset until sunset. When a person was fasting he ate just before sunset and then abstained until after sunset of the next day. If, however, there was a religious feast the next day preceded by a sacrifice, the people ate just before sunset in order to honor the orb of day.

The first business of spring was to prepare the fields and to plant corn, beans, and other crops. The time for this was determined by the uku and his council in order that the fruits of the fields might ripen everywhere at the same time. Old corn was used instead of new at the feast of planting the first corn. In order to secure good crops the weather must be favorable.

The means resorted to in order to affect the weather were almost innumerable and as obscure as they were numerous. There were rites for rain, for warm and cold weather, and the like. In case of a dearth of rainfall, the people assembled at the town council house and had the conjurers appoint a ceremonial occasion. The usual pattern of seven hunters and fasting for 7 days was employed. The conjurer took the deerskin brought in by the hunters and put it beside swan's feathers on the waterside. He then prayed to the creator or moon to darken the sun's face and then shook the terrapin shell with pebbles inside to resemble thunder. He then prayed to the little men (thunders) of the north and the greater man (thunder) of the west to come with clouds. Finally he prayed to the woman of the east to send rain in plenty without thunder. If rain should be too abundant, a piece of tobacco was offered to the woman of the east imploring her to stay the torrent. When the weather was too cold the people assembled at the council house and named seven managers who collected wood for a new fire. Then tobacco was sacrificed in the fire to the woman of the east and an all-night dance was held for her. When the weather was too warm the conjurers prayed to the man of the north to send his cold and cool the air. Spanish oak and ivy leaves were sacrificed at the same time.

BALL PLAY

Closely allied to the calendric ceremonies just described was the rite of the ball play. This game was called the friend or companion of battle because all the energies of the combatants were called into play and was ranked next to war as a manly occupation. In each town of note a respectable man was selected to attend to the ball play. Anciently the priests had but little to do with the ball play as it was not directly connected with religion.

The young men of a village consulted their head man for the ball play and sent a challenge to a certain town or district by one or two messengers. The players were selected by the manager and by seven counsellors. A man must be of good character to play. When a match had been arranged between two teams, an elderly man was selected to lead the ball dance and another man was selected to sing for the players, another to whoop, a musician to play for the seven woman dancers, and also a conjurer. Seven men were appointed to wait on the conjurer and seven women to provide food for the all-night dance on the seventh day of preparation.

An open place in the woods was found and a fire was lit there. The party assembled about dark and seated themselves some distance from the fire. The director of the dance called the players forward and whooped. This was a war whoop and was the signal for the dance to begin. Then the dancers paraded around the fire making the motions of playing the ball game, with their ball sticks. The musician led the dance with his gourd rattle. After circling the fire four times the dancers rested on the same note with which they had begun to dance and sat down for half an hour. After awhile a new dance began and then another intermission. After four dances they went to the water for ritual bathing.

The next morning they all again went to water at daybreak and during the day they watched each other to see that none of the taboos for ball players were violated. The taboos and rules of the ball game were as follows:

1. No player could go near his wife or any woman during the 7 days of the dances and training. Some scratched themselves in order the better to fit themselves for the play. They could not associate with women for 24 days after being scratched.

2. The players must eat no meat nor anything salty or hot. They must eat only corn bread and drink parched corn broth.

3. Their food must be received from boys who took it from women who had set it down some distance off. The seven men with the conjurer could eat only food prepared by the seven women.

4. The seven women officiating as cooks must not be pregnant nor afflicted with any uncleanness.

5. The seven men assistants to the conjurer might be married but their wives could not be pregnant nor on any account unclean.

6. If any player had a pregnant wife, he must keep behind the other players in the dancing and marching.

7. No woman must come to the place of dance of the ball players nor walk a path that the players had to walk during the 7 days of training.

On the second day of training the players killed a squirrel, without shooting it, for the ball skin. A man selected from the Bird Clan took the skin, dressed it, stuffed it with deer's hair, and then placed it in the deerskin of the conjurer to stay until the play was over. On the seventh night the players danced seven times instead of four and the seven women danced the whole night a short distance away. Their musician accompanied his voice with the drum.

On the morning of the eighth day just at sunrise the whooper raised his whoop and the players, standing in a cluster with their faces toward the ball ground, responded four times with a cry. Then all plunged in the creek seven times and started toward the ball ground. The conjurer laid down the deerskin and the conjuring apparatus and the players laid down the articles which they had bet. The conjurer gave a certain root to the players to chew and rub on their bodies. He also gave red feathers to the players to wear in their hair. The leading player took the ball and kept it until the play commenced.

An influential player then spoke to the players urging action. They marched forward to meet their antagonists in the middle of the field. Four men were selected as marshalls to keep order and to see that no detail was overlooked. Two others were chosen as tallymen. Each talleyman had 12 sticks, one of which he stuck in the ground as the ball was carried through by his side. A score of 12 runs to a tree or other goal won the game. A circle was made in the ground to show the players how far to approach. As the opening speech was being made by one of the overseers he suddenly tossed the ball into the air and the game began. When one side had gained the victory the spectators extolled the players in every way possible. On the way home the players kept together in good order.

The ancient ball game can be seen to have been from this description quite similar if not identical with the game as it is played today. The same ritualistic elements which allied it to war existed at that time. The players were separated just as warriors were, from the ordinary life of the community and had to be purified from all uncleanliness or contamination. The same rivalry between villages and the same conjuring magic characterized the game in the ancient period as characterizes it today.

MARRIAGE

The final topic in this discussion of the white organization is the individual life cycle and its social aspects. The life cycle includes such features as marriage, the household, child training, treatment of

sickness, invocation of protective powers, unclean things, sacred things, and the treatment of death. Inasmuch as the white officials or "priests" were all important in the rituals connected with these matters, the latter are included in the discussion on the white organization.

Features of the ancient Cherokee marriage regulations have been mentioned by several authors. All describe polygyny as common, yet stress the importance of female relatives in the man's selection of a mate. According to Nuttall, when a young man contemplated marriage he declared his desire through a female relative who conferred with the mother of the woman. If the mother disapproved she referred the case to her brother or oldest son to say so. If the mother's consent was obtained, the young man was admitted to the woman's bed (Nuttall *in* Thwaites, 1904–7, vol. 13, pp. 188–189).

According to Haywood's account, the marriage contract is a purchase. The suiter either devotes his services for a time to the parents of the maid whom he courts, hunting or assisting in the making of canoes, or he offers them presents. The woman has not the power of refusing if her parents approve the match. The price that the man pays generally consists of wearing apparel, with which the bride is dressed out. On the appearance of the bridegroom she is stripped of this raiment by her relations, who claim it, and in that state she is presented to him as his wife (Haywood, 1823, p. 280 ff.).

The marriage preliminaries were settled by the mother and one of her brothers on each side, according to Washburn (1869, p. 206 ff.). Generally there existed a previous attachment between the parties but very often the bride and groom were not consulted at all. The whole town convened. The groom feasted with his male comrades in a lodge a little way from the council house. The bride and her companions feasted a little way from the council house on the opposite side. The old men took the higher seats on one side of the council house and the old women took the higher seats on the opposite side. Then came the married men below the old men and the married women below the old women. At a signal the groom was escorted to one end of the open space in the center and the bride likewise at the opposite end. The groom received from his mother a leg of venison and a blanket and the bride received from her mother an ear of corn and a blanket. Then the couple met in the center and the groom presented his venison and the bride her corn and the blankets were united. Thus the ceremony symbolized the respective functions of the man and the woman in the Cherokee household. They then walked alone and silently to their cabin. Divorce was called "dividing of the blankets."

According to Butrick, the consent of the parents was absolutely necessary to obtain a girl in marriage. The priest also must be called

upon to divine the future course of the marriage and, if the omens were bad, the marriage was forbidden. If a marriage was approved, the bridegroom and the bride's brother exchanged clothes and possessions. A kind of engagement also existed whereby, after a girl's first separation and with her parent's consent, a young man brought her venison and presents and if she was unfaithful she was considered an adulteress. Adultery alone could break a marriage and the priest was often called in by anxious husbands to divine if their wives had been unfaithful or not.

All authors concur in describing the laws against marriage within the clan as of the strictest degree possible. Anciently the death penalty was the inevitable result, and this was inflicted by the offended clan itself. In the early nineteenth century, whipping was substituted for the death penalty, and somewhat later formal penalties were abolished altogether. (Lanman, 1849, p. 93 ff.; Haywood, 1823; Gregg *in* Thwaites, 1904–7, vol. 30.) Adultery was also punished severely, either by death or disgrace if a woman were the offender. Adultery, if proved against a wife, would cause her to lose all her possessions and be turned out of the house. In any other case of a separation the possessions were divided equally, and the children went with and were provided for by the mother.

The chieftainship could be transmitted, like the clan, only in the female line. The son of a chief could never inherit his power and was not regarded as of royal blood nor even as next of kin to his father. Instead, the power went to the son of the chief's oldest sister (Haywood, 1923). This would point to the clan head as being the original chief political official.

The mother had little difficulty in childbirth. She was generally assisted by the grandmother and mother, no men being allowed present except the priest. If the child fell on its breast it was a bad omen, if it fell on its head it was a good omen. If the omen was bad, the child was thrown into the creek and then fished out when the cloth over its head had become disengaged. The child was waved over the fire after birth or held before it, and a prayer was made to that element. Children were bathed at birth and every morning for 2 years. On the fourth or seventh day after birth, the child was bathed in the river by the priest, who prayed that it might have long life. The parents were excessively indulgent with their children, and the latter had great affection for their elders. They were named at the sixth or seventh day.

The ancient houses were of split sticks laid in the mud, the ends being made fast by means of gutters in the side of the posts. The household fire was lighted in the middle of the building, and a hole was left in the roof above it for smoke to get out. On the side of the

house were small holes 1 foot square for windows. There were beds on the side and the back ends of the house 3 feet high and covered with cane fastened together, or some other kind of mattress. There was a separate house for the females, who always retired when visitors arrived. A whole settlement was made up of near relatives, and the family connections generally settled together. The head of a village always invited strangers in, and his wife their wives.

Within the household no male could carry water. The women prepared food, did the washing, and assisted in the fields. Formerly a whole town enclosed a large field, of which each family had a particular share, indicated by land marks. In all the towns men and women worked together first in one part, then in another, according to the direction of him whom they had selected to manage the business and whom they called in this respect their leader. Individual fields were separated from each other by ridges of earth, stones, or posts. Except when they were employed in the common fields the men did little save hunt. Generally the women gathered wood for the cooking except for the assistance of the old men. The women also carried water for family use, pounded corn, and did the washing.

EDUCATION

Training of children for definite occupations was extensive and thorough. Two types of employment, in particular, demanded years of training and special tutoring, the priesthood and hunting. The descriptions given of the former are fairly detailed, those of the latter are meager and not clearly set forth.

The priesthood was to some extent hereditary, but there was always a selection and weeding out of the less likely candidates. The priests were given forenotice to receive a new candidate. First, the consecrated drink was administered by the parents, who fasted and tasted only of a certain root for 7 days in order to give the child magical powers. In the case of a child so designed for the priesthood, the mother would always deliver it to the care of the grandmother or some other aged matron to preserve its purity during her monthly disqualification.

The boy designed for the priesthood was not allowed to wander about like other children and was supervised as to his eating so as to run no risk of uncleanness. The priest always kept the boy in view. He was given a knowledge of tabooed things. A child intended as chief speaker in war could eat no frogs, nor the tongue or breast of any animal. Generally the training for the sacred office began at about 9 years of age. The boy was led by the priest at daybreak to the mountain top and, after a purifying drink had been given him, he had to follow the course of the sun with his eyes for a whole day. Nights

were then spent in walking with the priest and in receiving knowledge concerning the lore of the priests. The use of the divining crystal was taught in a secret place, and various formulas and prayers.

When the boy's first 7 days' training and his fast had ended, the priest consulted the crystal to see what would be the boy's future. He set the stone in the sun. If an old man appeared in it, success was assured. If a man with black hair and beard appeared in it, the boy's career would be a failure.

Only as many as seven boys at a time could be tutored by the priest. At his death an aged priest gathered all of his pupils about him and presented his crystal to one of them. All of the secrets imported by the priests to their pupils were sacred, and to reveal them meant death.

In the case of young men preparing to be hunters, the rites were somewhat different but are even less known. The boy went to certain priests at the beginning of the year in September or March and separated himself from women and other worldly affairs for 4 years while he was training. The use of the divining stone in hunting was taught to the pupils and also the sweatbath was taken by them. The melt of deer was sacrificed, and a ceremony was taught which was to accompany the opening and the closing of the hunting season. Houses were sometimes cleansed and new fire made in them at this time by hunters after a hunt. Sweating in the sweat house was followed by a cold plunge into the creek. During hunting expeditions the hunter could have no intercourse with his wife or other women. Although the priest could accompany the chief hunters whom he had trained, he often authorized the latter to perform sacrifice in his stead. Magical decoctions of plants were also drunk in these ceremonies.

TREATMENT OF DISEASE

The treatment of disease was generally a phase of the ceremonialism described under the physic dance, or Propitiation Festival. In cases of epidemics, the town assembled and requested the seven counselors of the town priest to make arrangements for stopping it. The counselors selected a Jowah hymn chanter and a regular set of seven officials and a priest to direct the ceremonies, which commenced on the evening of the seventh day next ensuing.

The presiding priest went in pursuit of herbs and roots for the occasion which must be the same as the articles of purification, seven in number. A prayer was offered as each root was gathered and the seven kinds of wood were arranged about the altar in a circle. The wood was kindled by flint or fire sticks. After it had burned for a while, this fire was put aside to make a new fire for boiling the herbs.

A little before sunset of the seventh day the people assembled in the town council house and the ceremony began. Each clan sat together and officials occupied the center, the presiding priest (ooleestooleeh) and his right-hand man with cane matting for their feet, and the seven counselors and the speaker. The latter officials occupied the two ottomans on the right and left. The hearth was cleaned of the old fire and new fire was made in its place. Hunters brought in a buck, doe, and fawn skin, the white caldron was set up and the herbs dropped in. The seven counselors took turns watching it boil. The women and girls performed circle dances and the Jowah singer called in the seven cleansers.

At sunrise the next day the seven counselors drank with gourds from the caldron and the same ceremonies were repeated as the day before. At the setting of the sun a sacrifice was made by the presiding priest. The smoke and the sacrifice were a good omen as to health or disease. The same rites continued for 7 days. On the eighth day the herbs were taken from the caldron and the meeting closed.

The rite to avert smallpox was a form of the physic dance. Two invisible spirits were regarded as the cause of the disease, one having red spots and the other having black spots. The people assembled and the conjurer built new fire with bass wood and goldenrod weed with which herbs were boiled and the decoction drunk. There were fastings, vigils, and dancing as in the other rites. These rites continued for 7 days and on the seventh day there was a prayer to the setting sun, the owner of fire, and then all broke their fast. A portion of the fire kindled on this occasion was preserved for life by the keeper and was considered to be sacred and untouchable and not to be lighted from nor any coal extinguished in it.

The Cherokees of ancient times had various charms, incantations, sacrifices, and prayers for removing and keeping off sickness. The charms sung or whispered (in the case of common diseases). On going to bed a person might repeat a song as follows:

Let my soul be in the first heaven,
Let my soul be in the second heaven, etc.
(on up to the seventh heaven.)

In the case of snake bite there was a prayer in which the shaman invoked the men of the four directions while walking around the patient. He then used the beads to divine the course of the disease and, if the omens were unfavorable, he brought in an animal whole and unblemished for a sacrifice. Then he divined again and, if the omens were still unsatisfactory, the divining crystal was set in the sunlight and the final decision was made from seeing a man sitting upright or lying prostrate.

In some sicknesses the deer tongue sacrifice was resorted to. It was split into two halves, the left hand was called "the enemy" and the right hand was called "the friend." These were thrown in the fire and the piece that popped first was the conqueror. The fire of the sacrifice was regarded as part of a greater fire above (not the sun), and the sacrifice meant that news was traveling to the great fire above in the smoke.

In general, the ceremonies for keeping off diseases involved the cleansing phases of the propitiation festival such as house whipping, dances by seven women, Jowah songs, new fire making, sacred hunts, and the like. The seven sticks in the new fire represented the seven clans. Seven men with handkerchiefs tied around their heads and white fur of deer's tail stuck into the handkerchiefs, each took a stick of green elder 3 to 4 inches long with the bark removed. Then they struck the roofs or sides of the townhouse with the sticks and did likewise to the other houses in the town.

MYTHOLOGY AND BELIEFS

Various protective powers, spirits, and substances were involved in disease and other misfortunes. Although the sun and the moon were considered supreme over the lower creation, the most active and efficient agent appointed by them to take care of mankind was supposed to be fire. When, therefore, any special favor was needed it was made known to fire, accompanied by an offering. Fire was the intermediate being nearest the sun. The same homage was extended to smoke, which was deemed fire's messenger, always in readiness to convey the petition on high.

A child immediately after birth was sometimes waved before fire. Children would be brought before the fire, and its guardian care entreated for them. Hunters, also, would wave their moccasins and leggings over fire, to secure protection from snakes. It was a custom also to put chickens, as soon as hatched, into a basket and wave them over the fire to protect them from snakes.

Various traditions are mentioned as to the origin of fire, which was supposed to have been like a man, an active and intelligent being from on high. The fire of the council house was descended from the original fire but was destroyed by enemies, hence sacred new fire must be made on occasions of importance, as has already been mentioned.

The sun and moon were regarded as the creators of the world. The sun was generally considered the more powerful and was supposed to give efficacy for curing to roots and herbs. If the sun did not cure the ailment, the suppliant turned to the moon as the power controlling the disease. There were many prayers for welfare made to the sun and the moon since they were such powerful protectors.

In the center of the sky at the zenith was the abode of the Great Spirit. He was supposed to have created certain lines or points on earth in the four directions and to have stationed at these points beings of different colors. In the north was a blue man, in the east a red man, in the south a white man, and in the west a black man. These beings are vice regents for the Great Spirit and supplications are directed to them in regular succession. There were other sky beings, such as the morning star, who was a wicked conjurer, and the eight brothers or Pleiades.

There was a belief in the transmigration of souls and in haunted places. When anyone died, the spirits hovered around and must be fed. Knockings occurred in various places due to witches.[44] For these tobacco smoke was a great remedy. Several classes of spirits dwelt in the earth.

1. The *nanehi* dwelt under water, in the ground, rocks, and the mountains and could be seen only at night. They were characterized by eyes on the ends of horns.

2. Another class with larger bodies have eyes extending up and down and live in the mountains.

3. Still another group, the *ukase*, throw rocks and clubs at people at night but never hit them.

4. *Utselunuhi* are transformation spirits or ghosts of the dead who hover about the scenes of their earthly life before taking their departure.

There were five different sizes of divining stones used in ancient times. The largest was used in war divination; the next largest for feasts, purification, and divination concerning sickness; the next for hunting; the next for finding things lost or stolen; and the smallest for determining the time allotted for anyone to live. These curious stones were crystalline quartz and six-sided, coming to a point at one end like a diamond. They were called "lights," and were important in ritual.

SACREDNESS AND UNCLEANNESSES

Certain events in life were regarded as dangerous to the well being of people and were hence the subject of some special usages and restrictions. These events were called "uncleannesses" by Butrick and were exemplified in a number of different taboos of which the following are the most notable:

Women were regarded as being unclean while pregnant and for 7 days after childbirth. Rites of bathing in the river and priestly ministrations were necessary to cleanse and dissolve this uncleanness. A like taboo was laid on women in their monthly separations. A woman who was unclean was not allowed to associate with the rest

[44] C. Washburn (1869, p. 133) gives an interesting account of the later development among the Western Cherokees of the treatment of witchcraft as a public delict.

of the household. Formerly a special house was built for women in this state but latterly a special room in the house was reserved for them. Rules for special bathing were likewise prescribed for men who had any night impurities. Certain of the more careful persons in the tribe resorted to a daily morning prayer on awakening. This was supposed to purify from any uncleanness incurred during the night. It was followed by bathing in the river.

Death was the occasion of uncleanness in all who had anything to do with the dead person either through kinship or through handling the corpse. The rules in connection with this uncleanness will be considered further on page 347.

Certain foods, especially the meat of predatory and nocturnal creatures, was regarded as unclean, since these creatures were subject to blood revenge on the part of their victims. Anciently the Cherokees would not eat foxes, dogs, wolves, snakes, moles, pole cats, opossums, buzzards, crows, cranes, fish hawks, eagles, owls, hoot owls, wood cocks, eels, catfish, or garfish. The meat of chickens, turkey, cattle, deer, buffalo, and bears was regarded as perfectly suitable as a rule. Females, when in their separations, could only take hominy and a thin drink.

Of a character somewhat similar to uncleanness was the sacredness which attached to certain places, persons, things, and events. A priest's house or door was sacred and any refugee from blood revenge might find safety there. The west half of the council house was holier than the rest and no woman was allowed therein. Also the space above the white seats were still more sacred, and none could sit there but the highest officials. Mountains were more sacred than low ground and Mount Ketunho the most of all. The mountains were probably more sacred because of the game which resided therein. Ground under the water was more sacred than open ground because the water was regarded as cleansing in its action. Places of refuge were sacred because no blood could be spilt there. Men were more sacred than women (possibly because of the numerous taboos on women already mentioned). Indians were more sacred than white men because Indians were the chosen of God. Priests, again, were more sacred than other men and their garments and pipes and wives were holy also. This holiness was allied with the general aura of magical power which surrounded the priests. Holy fire was sacred and no torches could be lit from it nor any cooking done with it. Holy fire could not be handled by a woman. The ark was likewise holy and no one but the priest or his right-hand man might carry it. Needless to say, no woman could touch it. The council house was more holy than other houses. December and January were the

most holy months. The most holy of the ceremonies was the Green Fruits Feast and after that the New Moon Feast of September.

The general character of Cherokee sacredness is definable as that quality which separates the object, person, or thing from the rest of daily affairs and requires handling in a special manner. Uncleanness likewise fits into this definition, with the added qualification that a certain amount of social dysphoria or malaise is involved in the latter which requires a treatment calculated to restore euphoria or well-being by dissolving the uncleanness. As we shall see later, both uncleanness and sacredness correlate with the attitudes of familiarity and respect characteristic of the social situation.

The general treatment of uncleanness which accompanied disease was also a feature of the usages surrounding death. The head of a family, on being convinced that he was near his end, summoned his children and gave them advice and repeated such ancient traditions and customs as he deemed important. Just previous to his death all were sent away except the doctor and adult relatives.

At the death the males did no weeping, but the wailing of the females was excessive, and their doleful lamentations repeatedly called the relative name of the deceased. This was sung rather than spoken, and in an exceedingly mournful tone of voice. The expressions of grief were greater or less according to the circumstances. Sometimes the mourners were entirely unconsolable and went weeping to the grave.

In each town there was a man appointed to bury the dead. This man came to the house of the deceased and buried the corpse. The most ancient custom was to bury the corpse in the house directly beneath the place where the person died, except in the case of a distinguished chief, and in this case he was buried under the seat that he usually occupied in the council house. When the corpse was not buried in the house, the undertaker took the body and carried it himself to the place of interment, followed by the relatives. Sometimes the corpse was laid by the side of a huge rock, covered over, and then stones heaped on. Sometimes a grave was dug in the earth. Frequently the whole of the clothing of the deceased was buried with the corpse.

The burial completed, the funeral procession returned and the man who buried the corpse entered the house alone, took out the gourds and what furniture happened to be in the house when the person died and, carrying them away, either broke up, buried, or burned them. He then took out all the old fire ashes and wood from the house and made new fire with cedar boughs and goldenrod weed for future use. He then took the family (after they had taken an emetic) to a stream where all plunged seven times, alternately facing east and west. Then, putting on clean new clothes, they remained in a state of separation in a camp,

being unclean for 4 days. A medicine was made for the family to drink and to sprinkle themselves with.

The family then returned to the house and directly the priest's right-hand man sent messengers to them with a piece of tobacco to enlighten their eyes and a strand of beads to comfort their hearts and requested them to take their seats in the council house that night. The family repaired there and all the town met them and took them by the hand as a token of affection. Then the mourners could return home while the others continued the dance. In case the deceased was a husband, his widow remained single for a long time and for 10 months let her hair grow loose without dressing or taking any particular care of it. Moreover, she did not wash or take any particular care of herself and clothes were thrown carelessly about her. Some mourned for a fixed period of 7 days. Often, if a husband had died, the widow was given to his brother or nearest relative unless she was very much opposed to him.

A sacrifice was sometimes made and a divination made of the occurrence of new deaths from the popping of the meat. The chief priest of the town often comforted mourners and feasted at the house of mourning. The head man of the town sent out hunters who brought meat for the bereaved family. The priest who officiated at the mourning was paid in clothing for his services.

THE RED ORGANIZATION

OFFICIALS

The principal officials in the Red, or War, Organization of the Cherokees were the following (these officials in the capital town were duplicated in the lesser towns):

1. Great Red War Chief, or Captain (Skayagustu egwo),[45] or "High Priest of the War," who was sometimes called "The Raven" as he scouted forward when the army was on the march and wore a raven skin about his neck.
2. Great War Chief's Second, or Right-Hand Man.
3. Seven War Counselors to order the war.
4. Pretty Women (War Women) or honorable matrons to judge the fate of captives and the conduct of war.
5. Chief War Speaker, or "Skatiloski."
6. A Flag Warrior, or "Katata kanehi," to carry the banner.
7. A Chief Surgeon, or "Kunikoti," with three assistants.
8. Messengers.
9. Three War Scouts or titled men:
   a. The Wolf wore a wolfskin about his neck and scouted to the right of of the army when on the march.
   b. The Owl wore an owl skin about his neck and scouted to the left of the army when on the march.

[45] Skayagusta means Captain, a boss, or a person well dressed, and is used today by a man in reference to any male member of his father's clan.

c. The Fox wore a foxskin about his neck and scouted in the rear of the army when on the march.

10. Sometimes a special War Priest was appointed to take over the divinatory and other religious functions of the Great War Chief.

11. There were a great number of under officers such as drummers, cooks. Certain special priests who had killed an enemy were called osi tahihi and alone superintended the building of sweat houses.

The Great War Captain was generally elected to office. The warriors having nominated a candidate, his name was sent to the Uku and his white counselors for approval. If the approval of the latter was secured, the candidate was duly notified to assume his new office. He was consecrated at the first Green Corn Feast after his nomination except in cases of emergency in which event he was consecrated after 20 days. The predecessor in office directed the ceremonies. Persons were appointed to prepare his seat, which was a stool with a back 4 inches high and painted red. Others were appointed to wash the candidate and to dress him in his official red robes. Superannuated warriors of high rank were appointed to conduct him to his seat. One walked before the candidate carrying the red war club, one at his right hand carrying a handful of red paint, one at his left hand carrying an eagle feather painted red, while still another walked behind him. The day and night previous and the day of his consecration, the candidate and his four counselors neither ate nor slept and could do neither until midnight of the following night. The dress of the candidate and his four assistants was all red.

The candidate on reaching the council house took the central red seat directly before the white seat of the Uku facing east and when he was seated the attendant who had preceded the candidate stepped up and placed the red war club in his hand. Then the assistant who had walked on the left put the eagle feathers on his head. The quill of the feather had been previously inserted into a small cane 2 inches long painted red and this cane was fastened to the hair on the crown so as to cause the feather to stand out on the head. Then the paint carrier of the right hand stepped up and with the forefinger of the right hand made seven stripes alternately red and black across the candidate's face and one red stripe from the forehead down along the nose and chin to the breast, together with various other stripes.

The retiring captain now made a speech in which he commanded obedience to the new captain and warned the warriors never to go to war without his knowledge and directions. This was followed by a speech from the candidate in which he promised to be humane in war but proclaimed the necessity of defending the tribe from its enemies. All the assembly then filed by the new captain, took him

by the hand, and called him "uncle." The new war chief and his retinue continued in their seats all of that day and night until the next noon. They also fasted until the afternoon, but the young warriors and others had repaired to seven houses in the town to eat previously. After the counselors had broken their fast, strangers and others could eat in the council house. The inauguration was then ended, and the new chief left the council house.

When the next war came, the young war chief called a council and the old war chief brought forward his bow, arrow, quiver, helmet, shield, and bracelet, all painted red, and delivered them to his successor. The old chief next took off his raven skin and put it about the neck of his successor. The head and neck of the skin fell on his breast while the end of the wing and tail were fastened about the back of his neck with red strings tied to the ends of the feathers. Eagle feathers painted red were the war chief's badge of distinction and there were as many red stripes on the eagle feathers as there were enemies whom he had slain. In war the great war chief was never to retreat but be carried back by force in case of reverses.

The seven red, or war, counselors were appointed at each war by the common consent of the warriors. These red counselors were distinguished by a small round object wrought of two small eagle feathers painted red and attached to the tuft of hair left on the crown of the head. They assisted in the preparations for war and were generally necessary for all acts of the war captain. The dress of the counselors and speaker were not as red as that of the war captain.

When a messenger died or became superannuated, the war captain nominated a successor. There was a rite of ordination wherein a staff 3 feet long was wound from end to end with a long strand of beads and given to the nominee, who took it and ran around the council house repeating a formal ritual. The messenger could always be distinguished by his staff.

The war women were certain old and honored matrons high in the councils of the clans who were delegated with the task of deciding on the fate of captives in war. These women were also allowed a voice in the councils for deciding policy in war.

WAR PROCEDURE

War was a form of blood revenge for relatives killed by some other nation. It was determined by the council to comfort those who were now mourning for their friends who had been killed by such and such a nation and whose blood had not been revenged. The general season for offensive and voluntary war was in the spring or fall. The Great War Chief and his right-hand man consulted

together. The consultation was an expression of opinion to which the whole nation had to give consent. The chief voted for war and, if the others assented, he went out in the yard, rattled his gourd, and raised the war whoop, singing a loud song of mourning for himself and his warriors. Then other officers went through the same procedure. Messengers were despatched to every war chief in all the towns of the nation. Certain warriors were asked by the right-hand man to select seven counselors to order the war.

In each town the war chief consulted with his fellows or the next in authority and, in the same manner as the Great War Chief did at first, took the gourd rattle and went through the yard raising the war whoop. Soon the whole nation was convened at the place of rendezvous or the house of the head warrior. The seven war counselors of the town then selected one of the sacred war paints to use for the present occasion, and also a red, or war, priest. The latter took charge of the sacred fire for the war and also of the war crystals used in divining the results of the war. In some cases the warriors of each of the towns chose to have a red, or war, priest from each of their respective towns.

The war chief appointed certain women to prepare provisions for the army. Provisions consisted of parched corn meal and corn bread, the latter made in long cakes about 6 inches wide and baked on the hearth covered with leaves and hot ashes. Each town provided provisions for its own men as a rule. The warriors carried their own provisions and were often heavily loaded when starting. They also furnished themselves with their own weapons and armor. The war club, and, in later times, the tomahawk, were carried in the belt. Weapons consisted of bow, arrow, quiver, war club, spear, sling, tomahawk, and knife. Armor consisted of wooden or leather shields, buffalo-hide breast pieces, and leather arm bracelets.

After assembling, a whole day and a night were devoted to prayer, fasting, and vigils. None could eat nor sleep, and no one must take anything whatever from the hand of another. A thing to pass from one hand to another must be dropped to the ground and then picked up.

Every two towns formed a company, and under officers for the companies were selected by the seven war counselors. The under officers consisted of musicians, doctors, cooks, and the like. The main officers were also selected at this time and were the following:

Three officers marched in front of the army and possessed equal powers. They were said to be able to track the enemy as well by night as by day and to be able to fly and to handle coals of fire. They could not be shot with a ball, and if an enemy approached they could throw themselves down and disappear. They had been initiated into the sacred office by looking at the sun.

First, the Great War Chief, or "Raven" (Skayagustu, "Captain"), since he had a raven skin fastened about his neck.

Second, Katata kanehi, or "Flag Warrior" (gaDaDi ganehi, "Flag Carrier"), who was considered the equal in almost all respects with the first officer. The flag was raised on a pole painted red and consisted of a red cloth or a deerskin painted red.

Third, Skatiloski, or "Great Speaker," who addressed the army on occasion.

Following these came the fourth officer, who was the Kunikoti, or surgeon (Ganikta, or "Doctor").

Each town war chief was called "skayagustu" and the chiefs headed the men of their own companies. All were marshalled under the command of the chief warriors mentioned above. In each company the seven counselors of the town war chief followed next after him along with his second and his speaker. The first of his assistants and the doctors and cooks marched behind their respective companies, while the drummers marched in the center.

On the first day after assembling, some bathed in the river and underwent purification. In the evening the war standard, a high pole painted red with a red cloth or skin 4 to 5 yards long on top, was erected and the war dance was celebrated during the night. The war dance consisted in each company following their leader in a circle counterclockwise. A little before the dawn all went to the river and plunged in seven times. At daybreak the red priest appointed for the war took some of the sacred fire and fed it with some fresh wood, and, then, as the whole staff of the army watched, cast on it the deer's tongue to divine the events of the war. If the fire burned brightly about the sacrifice and consumed it, they were destined to conquer the enemy, but if the fire went out around the meat and did not consume it, this indicated that they were to be conquered. If the meat popped east success was assured, but if it popped west it meant defeat.

A little after sunrise the red war priest resorted to still further divination, this time with the beads. The priest raised his hands and commenced to pray. He prayed to the first heaven, the second heaven, and so on to the seventh, raising his hand higher each time. As he paused a moment in each heaven he held a bead between the thumb and forefinger of each hand. If they were to conquer the enemy the bead in his right hand would seem to be alive and move, but if they were to be conquered the bead in his left hand would manifest the most life.

Still further divinations were resorted to. The magic crystal was set in the sun on a red post and all were compelled to march before it. If it did not sparkle in the sunlight as a certain person passed it, that person was thought destined to be killed and was sent home. Again, if they were to conquer the enemy, blood would flow from the left side of

the stone, and if they were to be conquered, blood would flow from the right side.

The red war priest made new fire with basswood and goldenrod. This fire was regarded as a guide and helper in the war. The red war priest called himself "the second to fire" thus making fire the principal priest. The fire for the war was placed in the sacred ark for the war. The ark was a rectangular clay object about a foot long with a lid and was destined to hold only sacred fire. There were always two arks, one kept in the council house and the other used for war.

When provisions were all secured and equipment made ready, the warriors were called to order by the skatiloski, or "speaker." He made a speech with war club in hand encouraging the warriors and telling them not to fear. Even if the omens were bad, the war was to be undertaken nevertheless. Then came the command to march and the Great War Chief commenced the war whoop followed by all of the others.

The skatiloski directed the march and the encampments and the order of procedure in all details while thus on the march. Various taboos were imposed on the warriors. On the march they might not discuss any vain or trifling subject such as women. No intercourse with women was allowed throughout the course of the war. In crossing a brook or stream all must pass over before any could drink from the stream. If anyone accidently broke a stick or twig while marching he carried it with him until camp was made that night. During the whole expedition the warriors were required to bathe and plunge seven times at night and in the morning. If they encountered the enemy suddenly, all must await for the skatiloski to arrive. In starting to battle the warriors who passed a pile of stones added one to the pile in order to insure a safe return.

MILITARY TACTICS

The military tactics of the war were virtually decided by the red, or war, priest in all details. He was consulted as to when and where to attack the enemy and how many to kill. Whenever the war priest needed advice he set up his crystals, beads, ark, and other paraphernalia, just as he did in the council house before the army had started out, and prayed for instructions. The crystals or beads gave him advice on how to proceed. Just previous to a battle the priest would exhort the men urging them to be brave and asking any of faint heart or newly married to turn back if they wished.

At every encampment four scouts were sent out. The "Raven," or Great Chief, went forward as a spy. He wore a raven skin and if he encountered the enemy he gave a raven call to sound the alarm. The "owl" went to the right as spy, wearing the owl skin. He also gave

the owl call if he encountered the enemy. To the left went the "wolf" wearing a wolfskin, and back along the trail they had marched went the "fox" wearing a foxskin. It was generally the Raven who watched the enemy and kept the skatiloski perfectly informed as to their movements. On meeting the enemy, the Raven blew the trumpet and then the whole army gave the war whoop and rushed forward to the attack. The Raven endeavored to reach and touch a house in the village of the enemy and the standard bearer rested his standard against it.

The general plan of battle was for warriors to run forward on the right and left in two wings so as to enclose the enemy while the warriors of the center marched directly forward. Sometimes an angle ambush was set for the enemy and a few men were sent forward in the center as a decoy. Various other stratagems were used. A warrior who had killed a person or who had touched a dead body or grave was unclean for 4 days.

RETURN FROM WAR

On their return from battle the warriors stayed at the council house for 24 days in order to purify themselves before going home or associating with their wives. Every night a scalp and snake dance were celebrated and often other dances. The twenty-fourth day was devoted to fasting and early in the morning the war priest offered sacrifice, again consulting his crystal. As many moons would appear in the stone as they were to enjoy peace. Also the deer's tongue sacrifice was made, and if the offering was quickly consumed peace would be lasting.

The women danced first, in the scalp dance. They always stood quietly behind the musician until he came to a certain note. Then there was a snake dance around the fire in which they proceeded in a stooped posture and moved according to the beat of the drum. The song they sang was repeated four times. During this dance they raised their hands and made motions as if striking the enemy. The men then joined the dance. A man would dance beside a woman and hold a stick with scalps hanging from it as he danced. War songs were sung at this dance also.

In general, the return home was in an orderly fashion. The warriors sent a messenger forward to the townspeople to meet them. As the warriors approached, two men followed by the women of the village came forward to meet them singing a song in honor of the warlike deeds and valor of the warriors. The women caught up the refrain and praised the returning soldiers. Each warrior delivered his spoils to his wife or nearest female relative, who took them home while the warriors continued their march to the council house, for their purification period.

The time of purification on the return from war varied according to the bloodiness of the war. Its general length was from 4 days to 24. This purification from the pollutions incurred in the war was done by the same priests who had consecrated the warriors at the beginning of the campaign. The wounded stayed in the council house for a longer separation than the others. They might dance with the others but must always carry a kind of staff by which they were distinguished. They, like the others, could not associate with their wives until the period of purification was ended. Any warrior who violated the rule against sexual intercourse during the war was believed to have been killed in battle.

OTHER WAR FEATURES

In distinguishing themselves warriors were afterward given a new name in the general council. "Killer" was the highest name, followed

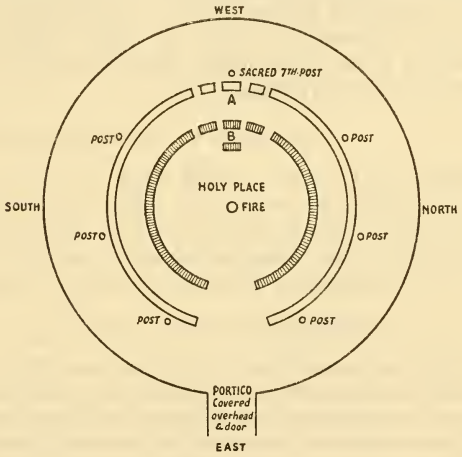

FIGURE 55.—Seating in the Cherokee Council House.

by "raven," "owl," "wolf," and "fox" in the order named. The great warrior was followed by the six next in dignity and then by seven who served as the immediate attendants. The age of warriors was 25 to 60 and those males who were under 25 were called "boys." When war officers were past age, others were appointed to take their place.

The council house in which many of the war ceremonies were held was a peculiar structure and is shown in the accompanying diagram. It was held up by seven posts set in a circle. There were seven slanting beams set on these posts and these beams met above the middle.

Side ribs were covered with grass thatching and this grass was covered with dirt and then thatch again to carry off the water. The roof was of bark with an opening for the escape of the smoke from the council fire. In the center the sacred fire always burned. On the east side was a door with a portice. On the west side of the house was set the sacred ark already mentioned. There was a shelf and rack on this side of the building for sacred things. There were several concentric rows of seats in the council house wherein the various officers were seated during the council. The seven sides of the council house were symbolic of the seven clans meeting in council.

In summary, then, war can be said to have been a ritualized recurrent event of immense importance in Cherokee society. There were three main phases, the preparation, the actual campaign, and the return. The first phase consisted in actual practical preparations of equipment and provisions as well as the divinations and magical rites of the priests. The second phase consisted of a series of stratagems and devices whereby the warriors, under the guidance of the priests and their magic, endeavored to outwit the enemy. The third phase consisted mainly in the ritual purification of the warriors for their return to the ranks of the civilians.

STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF THE FORMER SOCIETY

The description of the former culture which we have derived from the Payne manuscripts does not entirely make clear the workings of the various elements. Much has to be inferred regarding the workings of the former culture from analogy with present structures and functions or the structures and functions of other similar cultures.

ALTERNATION OF WAR AND PEACE

The early Cherokees lived in an alternating state of war and peace so far as their relations with their neighbors were concerned and this alternation of political states was allied with a dual organization of the tribal government into two halves, a war and a peace organization. Everyone in the tribe may possibly have belonged to one or the other organization, judging from analogy with the Creeks to whom the Cherokees seem to have been closely similar in these respects. The most characteristic feature of the dual division was its distinct set of political officials each largely independent in its activities from the activities of the other moiety.

The white organization consisted of a set of officials ranging from a supreme chief with secular and religious functions down to a minute set of petty officers for carrying on the minor business of the state. There were several so-called white towns, or "cities of refuge," where-

in the influence of the white organization was all powerful even to the extent of controlling and modifying the law of blood revenge. On the other hand, the red organization consisted of a set of officials corresponding in a great degree with the white officials except that their function was exclusively military. If either of the organizations was subject in any degree to the other, it was the military or red group as the manuscript mentions particularly that the white Uku had the power to make or unmake the War Captains. Moreover, the war officials were largely elected by popular vote at frequent intervals whereas the white officials were to some extent at least hereditary or subject to appointment by the supreme chief. Durability of structure resided in the white organization rather than in the red one.

The white officials had a variety of functions to perform. They alone possessed prayers for invoking the sun and moon and other protective spirits who could take away disease and ill health. They could separate the unclean elements from polluted persons and restore the normal condition. Their persons and belongings were sacred and were not like ordinary citizens and their possessions. The sacredness of the white officials was so great as to separate them as a class superior to the rest of the community and in some respects above the ordinary laws and usages.

The red officials had a number of very important functions also. Bravery and warlike deeds were sustained by these officials. They acquired their titles in several cases as the result of bravery in battle. The wolf, fox, and owl were set up as symbols of bravery and used as titles. For those who had performed ably in the field also certain victory and scalp dances were given as a reward in which various goods were donated to the hero being honored. This has some resemblance to the allotment of the winnings in the ball game as stakes of victory. War was an act of killing and because it involved blood was a polluting agent. Much of the ritual surrounding war was designed to deal with and remove this uncleanness. Like the hunter who had killed certain animals such as the deer, bear, and eagle, the warrior had to be purified both before and after his undertaking. As in the case of the player in the ball game, every precaution was taken to insure victory by constant invocation of protective powers over, and the dissolution of uncleannesses from, the warrior. In war, as in hunting and the ball game, the expectation of success or failure was determined by the use of various forms of divination, these mostly centering around the use of fire, beads, and crystalline talismans.

The opposition of war and peace functions in Cherokee society was similar to that existing between civil law and martial law among

more civilized peoples. The ordinary affairs of state were administered by the white organization but the extraordinary and fateful enterprise of war required a special set of officers who corresponded in a greatly magnified scale with the special officials presiding over the recurrent seasonal ceremonies.

Turning now to the special enterprises of peacetime, we find that under this heading can be included the various public events connected with the calendar and with the socially significant occurrences in the individual life cycle. In the seasonal ceremonies of the Cherokees two chief problems are dealt with, namely, the problem of food supply and the problem of health.

SYMBOLISM OF THE CEREMONIES—SOCIAL COHESION

The food problem was expressed symbolically in the rituals of all of the main ceremonies but particularly at the first new moon of spring and the two Green Corn Festivals. On these three ceremonial occasions the problem of an adequate food supply was grappled with and was, ceremonially speaking, conquered. One might see, without a considerable stretch of the imagination, that the fasting and food taboos followed by excessive feasting were symbolic repetitions of actual conditions, either formerly prevailing or still existing. In the tribe's search for food, periods of prolonged duress were followed by satiety as the season of plenty recurred.

The problem of social health and well-being was dealt with also in most of the ceremonies but particularly in the Great New Moon of Autumn and Cementation Festivals. The great new moon of autumn, like the first new moon of the year, represented the symbolic condensation of the monthly new moon rites at which times periodic uncleannesses were removed from everyone. The periodic uncleannesses were thought of as being mainly the result of the periodic recurrence of the menstrual blood. At the monthly cleansing the whole village went to the river, family by family, and bathed under the guidance of white priests. The Great New Moon of Autumn Feast had to do primarily with physical health while the Cementation Festival had the function of overcoming unhealthy conditions of rivalry and enmity within the social group and with the renewal of the life of the tribe symbolically with the making of new fire. This latter event signified that all differences were forgiven and that new and unspotted relations of amity were to be entered upon by all with no retaliations carried over. This acted to renew the bonds of social cohesion and to eliminate any elements making for conflict within the group.

The social cohesion of the Cherokee was also maintained by the ritualistic events accompanying the individual life cycle. The events of the major crises of life required purification procedures similar to

those already mentioned. The white officials presided at these ceremonies which could not be performed without them.

The Cherokee tribe consisted of a series of villages held together by several bonds of social uniformity. In each village the pattern of white and red officials was repeated in a set-up similar to that prevailing in the capital town. The villages were sometimes allowed to perform ceremonies as units at their own convenience but the majority of the tribal ceremonies were national affairs held at the metropolis. Conflicts between villages were symbolized and to some extent given vent to by means of the ball games, which resembled regular battles in their ferocity. Each village contained members of the same seven clans as did the others and this allowed a feeling of blood relationship and solidarity to extend beyond the mere bounds of a single settlement.

Concerning the clans of the former culture but little is recorded. Evidently they were seven in number and furnished the basic patterns for the white and red councils of seven which helped the chiefs in decisions of peace and war. Moreover, the descent of the title to chieftainship from a man to his oldest sister's son is such as to make us suspect the chiefs themselves represent a matrilineal succession within some one clan.

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SOCIAL CHANGE

THE EVIDENCE OF CHANGE

A comparison of the records of the synchronic view of eighteenth century Cherokee culture with late nineteenth and early twentieth century culture of the tribe can be summarized under the following headings: Changes in economic integration, changes in political integration, and changes in ceremonial integration.

ECONOMIC CHANGE

First, as to changes in economic integration. These are at once the most obvious and the most fundamental of all of the changes that the Cherokee society has undergone in the last hundred years. The transformation of the people from a partly hunting and partly agricultural group of warriors into a sedentary and totally agricultural population has been the most noticeable event.

The first things to be introduced among the Cherokees were improved weapons and cutting tools of metal for the old time stone and bone implements. These importations began as early as 1700. White traders began to infiltrate into the country and to bring in white agricultural complexes as well as trinkets, whiskey, and guns. These traders took native wives and settled down in the country. Their mixed descendants soon became the ruling class in Cherokee society and exerted an enormous influence in the changing of the native culture through political leadership. These mixed families engaged in stock raising and the typical pioneer industries of the white colonial English settlers (Mooney, 1900, pp. 213–214).

The dates of introduction of the various white culture traits are not precisely known but are approximately typified as 1700 or 1710 for guns, and 1740 for horses. In the latter year a horse trail was opened up between what later became Augusta, Ga., and the Cherokee country. By 1760 horses had become exceedingly numerous and by 1775 every man had at least from 2 to 12. The cow was said to have been introduced some time after the horse by Nancy Ward. The hog was probably introduced at the same time and bees were kept for their honey from as early a date. European fruits were cultivated early (pears were introduced in 1670), and potatoes and coffee were brought in during the eighteenth century. Spinning wheels and looms were first used shortly before the American Revolution, being brought in by an Englishman in 1770 who taught their use to his Cherokee wife.

By 1791 ordinary English farming tools were in use and the plow in general demand for cultivation.

Total replacement was the order of the day. The early arts in shell, stone, and feathers seem to have vanished at the first contacts with the white men, and, by the nineteenth century, of the older arts little more than split basketry and wood carving were retained. The ancient square house of poles was abandoned about the close of the eighteenth century for the log cabin of the white pioneer, which latter has been retained up to the present time. (Featherstonehaugh, 1847, p. 287; Lanman, 1849, p. 93). About the same time as he abandoned the house of poles, the Cherokee also took on the buckskin clothing of the white pioneers. The aboriginal moccasin lingered on until nearly the close of the nineteenth century (Ziegler and Grosscup, 1883, p. 15). The disappearance of deer and bear led to changes in the meat diet in favor of pork and beef. The original vegetable staples, corn and beans, were retained in the diet and supplemented only slightly by the white man's foods.

Gradually the Cherokees became surrounded by a white man's world upon which they became partly dependent for the means of obtaining food, clothing, and shelter (Gude, ms., section on Culture Contrasts). Their own cooperative efforts became gradually more and more obsolete. By the end of the nineteenth century the neighborhood cooperatives had become almost extinct. All trade had to be carried on in terms of white man's currency instead of the skins and textiles formerly used as medium of exchange and standard of value. Cherokee boys grew up to learn white men's trades. White markets were the only ones to take their produce of the farm, pasture, or the forest.

Finally, a more subtle and far-reaching influence began to make itself felt in the economic life. The white man from the first had tended to change the natural as well as the social environment of the redskin As the exploitation of the natural resources of the southern Appalachians became more thorough, the whole system of economy of the Cherokee was removed from his life. The wild game disappeared and little was left outside of a few rodents and small birds. Fishing became less remunerative and subject to all sorts of restrictions. Even the Cherokee's efforts to adopt live stock were subjected to hampering regulations. Lumbering interests came in from the north and bought up timber rights, with the result that huge areas became denuded of all trees. Mining and chemical interests dug into the ground and poisoned the plants over vast areas as well as polluting the streams. Finally, the water power interests came upon the scene and dams began to be built across the valleys, and lakes appeared where formerly small Cherokee homesteads had stood. Electric power became common in the towns nearby. The spread of

communication and transportation has completed the havoc with the native culture at the present time. In the middle nineteenth century came the steam railroads and the logging trains and in the twentieth century came the automobile tourists with their demand for "Indian relics." Today, while the writer was visiting Big Cove, the first telephone line was laid into that secluded valley for the benefit of the Government forest-fire fighters.

As typical of the changes that took place in the native economy, we will take the example of the cooperative companies or gadugi. Butrick describes the people of the village community as cooperating in each other's fields in cultivation under the direction of a headman whom they had selected from among themselves. A century later F. Starr, while sojourning among the Cherokees, found the gadugi virtually unchanged from the condition in which they were described by Butrick (Starr, 1899, ch. 21, pp. 140–147). But about this time there commenced a rapid series of changes in this institution. The gadugi began to hire out its services to white people at fixed rates by the day and became in effect an ordinary labor gang. This change in function led to a dependence on white people for wages and subsistence instead of a reliance on their own unaided cultivation of the soil by mutual aid. Consequently the gadugi came under the North Carolina regulations as to corporations and became subject to taxation. Unable to meet the taxes from their earnings, the gadugi soon declined and mostly disappeared in the opening years of the twentieth century. To this decline the Cherokee attribute the reason for the disappearance of the once prosperous farms that used to dot the hillsides of their country. The place of the gadugi was somewhat inadequately taken by the Farm Organizations sponsored by the Indian agent, Cato Sells. The farm organizations, one for each town, were designed to include all of the farmers of a given community in a cooperative effort to secure better crops through improvement of seed, cultivation methods, and the like.

The gadugi was but one of several forms of cooperation among the Cherokees which were gradually done away with under white influence. A similar case appears in the Poor Aid Society of Yellow Hill in the center of the reservation. In the late nineteenth century the American Government took over the work of the Quakers in the education of the Cherokees and began an active program of bringing the younger generation into the Government day schools. In Yellow Hill a manual training course was set up for the boys and the latter were taught to make various handicraft objects. Among other things coffins began to be made at this school and soon the whole town was supplied from this source and the coffin maker lost his job.

The office of undertaker was also made less useful and the whole of the funeral functions of the Poor Aid Society vanished.

Soon the effects of the native health and welfare service of the American Government made itself felt and the rest of the functions of the Poor Aid Society vanished also. So it has come about that the cooperative and mutual aid among neighbors in sickness and death have disappeared in favor of direct Government aid in Yellow Hill. The same thing is happening more slowly in the other towns of the reservation.

From these two examples it can be readily seen that the pattern of mutual cooperation and economic interdependence between local groups in towns has given way to direct dependence on aid from the American Government. The integration of the Cherokee society has been loosened.

To summarize, the change in mode of economic integration has been along two main lines: (1) There has been a complete change in the extractive and productive industries due to the adoption of white artifacts and techniques, and (2) there has been a transformation of exchange relationships from a relation of reciprocity between Cherokee individuals and groups to a one-sided complete dependence on outside sources for the necessities of life. These changes in economic integration have been correlated with changes in political integration and to these correlations fuller reference will be made later. Suffice it to say here that the changes in the mode of economic integration have furnished the basis for the whole movement away from native modes of integration.

POLITICAL CHANGE

The political changes undergone by the Cherokees in the last century can be characterized as in the main a series of centralizations and contractions in governmental powers. There had been a trend toward centralization from a formerly loosely integrated series of villages toward a firmly organized group within the folds of the tribal boundaries. There has been a trend toward contraction in area from a widespread sparsely settled area of seminomadic barbarians toward a small area of fairly thickly settled agriculturalists.

The original Cherokee tribe consisted of a series of 80 or more towns scattered over hundreds of square miles in the southern Appalachians.[46] These people came under the domain of one tribal chief only in times of great emergency and then most imperfectly. There was never the true unity among the Cherokee that prevailed among the closely allied Iroquois of the north.

[46] For an extensive review of ancient Cherokee towns and their population see Logan (1859, p. 206, ff).

Into this scene of loose political integration came the rival forces of English and French colonial diplomatic powers and these acted to pull the Cherokee apart in divergent interests. In spite of their superior diplomatic machine, the French were ultimately outdistanced by the English by reason of geographic, economic, and other factors of a more strategic nature. The importation of a constant supply of arms and ammunition was of prime importance to so military a tribe as the Cherokees and these things the English were able to supply better than the French because of superior resources and closer contacts between bases of supply and the Indians. A close dependence, therefore, ensued on the part of the Cherokees for the English traders.

Unfortunately for the harmony of this relationship, the Cherokee settlements stood squarely in the way of the oncoming tide of white settlements moving westward, so the inevitable result was war for the protection of their social unity. As we have already mentioned, the original settlements of the Cherokees were grouped in four divisions—the Lower, Middle, Valley, and Overhill sections. A series of wars with the whites, lasting from 1756 to 1794, resulted in the virtual annihilation of all of the Cherokee settlements of these four areas (Mooney, 1900, pp. 43–79). All of the Lower Settlements in South Carolina were destroyed in a war of singular ferocity lasting from 1756 to 1761. This war, as did the others, started with the Cherokee desire for blood revenge for their relatives slain by the English. Had the latter used a little more judgment and understanding in their dealings with the Cherokees, they might have avoided the consequences of this violation of the social well-being of the Cherokees by payment of blood money. It is an interesting commentary on the Cherokee social system that during the course of the war at the siege of Fort Loudon many of the Indian women who had found sweethearts among the English soldiers refused to allow them to be slain when they were captured and even treated them to food and drink during the siege, declaring that their English relatives would come and avenge their blood if they were slain.

The coming of the American Revolution caught up the Cherokees in a maelstrom of opposing forces and, because of their already existing blood feud with the Americans and their tradition of long friendship with the British traders and officials, they joined the latter in a fatal war against the Revolutionists. As a result, the Americans attacked the Cherokees from all sides, since by this time their native hunting grounds had been contracted to a mere salient in the American territory. From the direction of Tennessee a spirited attack by the Americans wiped out the Overhill towns; from Carolina and Georgia the Middle and Valley Settlements were badly ravaged. A

few refugees fled to the hill country of northern Georgia, where they found a haven for some years.

During a period of comparative peace and respite from 1794 to 1836 the Cherokees built up a thriving nation in northern Georgia which was governed by half castes as a dependency of the United States. This middle period saw great changes in the political integration of the tribe. The slow and persistent efforts of Baptist, Methodist, and Quaker missionaries commencing about 1805 had the effect of undermining the old system of religion and society on which Cherokee social integration was originally founded and which has been described in the Butrick manuscripts. The faith in the conjurers or priests had been sadly shaken by the great smallpox epidemics of the eighteenth century with their remorseless toll of over half the tribe and the defeats administered to the tribe in the military field had not added to the national conservatism.

The old system of blood revenge for private delicts was superseded by a system of regular civil courts about 1810 (Dubach, ms.). The death penalty for marrying within the clan was abolished in favor of simple whipping sometime later (ca. 1820) (Haywood, 1823, section on Laws of Cherokees under "Civil Customs"). Both of these changes were of tremendous import for the modification of the old system of clan rule. The clan became immensely less important in the field of political integration and clan officials lost all political functions, retaining only the ceremonial ones. Organized legal sanctions now took the place of the older diffuse rules for the control of individual behavior.

Still more fundamental in significance was the abolition of the death penalty for witchcraft and somewhat later abolition of any recognition of the crime itself. This signified a thoroughgoing change in the attitude toward public delicts and toward the interpretation of the causes of disease and social dysphoria, or malaise. The loss of faith in witchcraft meant that the old system of ritual sanctions had indeed lost its hold and was replaced by organized penal sanctions, such as laws against theft, murder, and the like.

A republican government was set up copying in its main features the characteristics of the United States Government (Dubach, ms., p. 16 ff.). There were democratically elected representatives and the usual tripartite division into legislative, judicial, and executive arms. Eight districts were established with four representatives to a district. The tribal legislature consisted of two houses, a national committee, and a national council. Four circuit judges were provided for and courts were held in each district annually, the judges being provided with a company of light horse who executed the laws. A ranger was provided in each district to care for stray

property. Taxes were assessed to pay for tribal debts, road repairs, schoolhouses, and the like. Penalties were enacted for horse stealing and such things as the liquor traffic and slavery were regulated and restricted. Polygamy was discouraged and gradually disappeared.

From this description it can be seen that the Cherokee Tribe had by 1830 gone far toward completely transforming its mode of political integration. A recalcitrant group remained who refused to accept white ways but the majority of the tribe were in a state of becoming American citizens in all but name.

The situation was not so ideal as it appeared on the surface, however, for the influx of white men from Georgia had become so great that they began a persistent clamor for the total abolition of the native Indian government and the substitution of the suzerainty of the State of Georgia. The complicated machinery of the American Federal Government began to grind and the result was that in 1838 virtually the whole of the Cherokee Tribe were transported to Oklahoma. A few escaped refugees were allowed to remain in the mountain fastnesses of western North Carolina. This scattered remnant gradually collected in small local groups under the leadership of chiefs and were finally settled under the protection of Col. Wm. Thomas on his lands along the Tuckaseegee, the Qualla Boundary.

There, several towns were laid out and the chiefs settled with their small groups of followers. These towns became the towns which constitute the Cherokee Reservation today and were finally united in a second federated government about 1870. This government was incorporated under the laws of the State of North Carolina and remains virtually the same today as it was in 1870.

The chief trends in political integration among the Cherokees can be listed as (1) a loss of the power of the ancient priestly ruling class and the substitution for it of a class of individual conjurers shorn of all political powers. (2) The disappearance of the military complex and with this the whole set of social sanctions surrounding war, such as war dances, war titles, and the like. (3) The loss of the retaliatory sanction of blood revenge along with that of war and the substitution of organized legal sanctions of the law courts. (4) The decline in power of the native officials and the substitution of the power of the Indian Bureau acting from Washington. (5) The increasing dependence as political wards of the American Federal Government and increasing regulation by a hierarchy of political, educational, and welfare officials of the Indian Bureau.

In summary, then, the political changes in mode of integration have resulted in a group of people with the shadow of a government and

with formal functions rather than real ones, and with a complete dependence on the will of the party in power at Washington.

CEREMONIAL CHANGE

The changes in the sector of ceremonial organization have been, like the changes in the other fields, toward a decline and disappearance of the characteristic aboriginal traits. The ancient ceremonial cycle exists today only in scant traces in the form of a dozen or so dances given irregularly in one or two of the present villages. Most of these dances have lost all meaning and are given today in competition for cash prizes at the annual fair.

As has been mentioned previously, some eight of the present-day remembered dances have disappeared within the last 50 or 60 years. The Buffalo Dance disappeared some time after the disappearance of that animal, owing to the lack of buffalo hides for its performance. The Eagle Dance would have suffered a like fate owing to the disappearance of the eagle and the activities of souvenir hunters in seeking out and buying up eagle-feather fans, had it not been for the kindness of certain ethnologists who supplied the natives of Big Cove with a cargo of imported feathers. The Pigeon Dance may have likewise lapsed owing to the disappearance of the native American wild pigeon.

The War Dance has not been called into use since the Civil War and it is only partially recalled. This, of course, was part and parcel of the disappearance of the old retaliatory sanctions. Victory in the ball game is the only type of dance which resembles the War Dance and at the present time is in the form of the Eagle Dance.

Certain dances seem to have reached a certain stage of frolicsomeness and obscenity before they disappeared finally. The Medicine Dances were of this type and have entirely disappeared. Medicine Dances as recorded in the early nineteenth century were quite serious affairs, but, according to the testimony of present-day informants, they were mere burlesques at the time of their disappearance. The Chicken Dance has also disappeared in Big Cove for the same (purported) reason. At the present time only the Green Corn Dance retains in any measure its original ceremonial position and significance. The Ball Dances, which must accompany the ball game, are given regularly also.

The functional role of the dance seems then to have largely fallen into abeyance. The modes of ritual cleansing having lapsed and the use of native medicine and conjuring having fallen into evil days, there is little use for the dances. Spontaneous revivals have occurred from time to time in several of the villages, but the enthusiasm for the old things has lagged.

TABLE 9.—*Culture changes as gleaned from comparison of Cherokee omens in 1836 and 1932*

1. Dreams. (Payne ms., vol. 3, p. 51)	Meaning	
	18th century	1932
1. Person going west	He is sure to die	Same (within a year).
2. Eagle feathers	Death	Incantation on one's self for death.
3. House burning	do	Same.
4. Going down a stream of high water	do	Trouble.
5. Hearing a family or number of individuals singing or dancing.	These people will soon die	Serious sickness for them.
6. A stream of low, clear water (when one is sick in bed) and water rises.	Sure recovery	Means nothing.
7. Seeing person or animal dead	Death	Do.
8. Of marriage	Sickness	Do.
9. Hunters bearing fruits or bread	do	Do.
10. A woman	Game will be caught	Do.
11. Hunter having gunlock broken	Ague and fever	Rheumatism.
12. Water rising around a house and entering it.	Success during the winter	Same.
13. Clothes in a fire	Death	Disease.
14. A person in very clean clothing	Sickness	Same.
15. Eagle or crow on the ground or flying very low.	Death	Sickness.
16. Sickness and a snake	do	Same.
17. Lice	Snake is cause	Do.
18. Flying	Sickness	Boils.
19. Eating meat	Long life	Same.
	Sickness	Toothache.

2. Omens from actual events. (Payne ms., vol. 3, p. 55.)	Meaning	
	18th century	1932
1. Startle a fox or wolf when on a journey and have him turn around and bark.	Death	Means nothing.
2. Seeing a snake or uktena when commencing a journey.	do	Do.
3. To see a na ye hi (spirit of the bluffs or high mountains).	do	Do.
4. To see a giant specimen of an animal when away from home.	Death in family soon	Do.
5. The tsi hi li li flies overhead and lights near the house.	One will soon meet a stranger or visitor.	Do.
6. See two squirrels fighting and one is killed.	A death in the family	Means nothing.
7. Hear wailing or mourning	Death of a friend	Do.
8. Apparition of a friend	Death	Do.
9. Hen crows	do	Trouble. Kill the hen at once.
10. If a dog talked	Awful catastrophe	Means nothing.
11. If a hominy pestle moved about the house with no one touching it.	All in the house would soon die.	Do.
12. Screech owl makes moaning sound	Death	Sickness for someone in the family.
13. A tree falls without a wind, the top toward the house.	do	Death of a relative.
14. To hear a bird (Tso wa sku) singing	Enemy is near	Means nothing.
15. If an owl lights on a tree in town	Death of enemies	Do.
16. If warriors are out on an expedition and the people at home hear the na ye hi sound, a long and protracted war whoop.	Victory if short whoop. Defeat if long whoop (death).	Do.
17. A bird flies into the house	Visitor is coming	Do.
18. Whippoorwill calls in daytime	A witch is present	Trouble or sickness.
19. When a certain blue bird sings	There will be a storm	Means nothing.
20. Whippoorwill near the house	Death by a witch	Sickness.
21. When you stretch hands toward a rattlesnake, if it looks cross and evil it means that you have not long to live. If it is calm, you pick it up and then set it down.		
If it then travels west it means	Death	Same.
If it travels east it means	Long life	Do.

A clearer picture of the causes and interactions of change in modes of ritualistic sanctions is to be seen in the case of omens. Table 9 (p. 368) gives a list of 19 omens derived from dreams and 21 omens derived from actual events, and compares their meanings as given in the Payne Manuscripts for the eighteenth century and their present-day interpretation. The lapses are shown in some 20 of the omens which have totally lost all meaning. Change of interpretation from death to mere sickness occurred in some eight and would betoken a loss of original meaning. The loss of all meaning in the 13 omens is of interest from the standpoint of the functionalist. Eight of these which were lost were concerned with war and with long hunting-trip elements which have vanished from the life of the Cherokees. Twenty of the omens remained virtually the same as the original interpretations. This would represent a lack of change in 50 percent and these are concerned with elements still functioning in the life of the Cherokees.

The greatest percentage of omens to lose their original meaning entirely occurred in the case of the omens derived from actual events. Hence once could infer a greater conservatism in the case of omens derived from dreams. This might be taken as an indication that changes have taken place in the actual life of the Cherokees at a much faster pace than have taken place in the mental outlook as expressed in dream content. The examples adduced are, of course, too few to be taken as accurate indices of these changes but they serve to furnish a basis of preliminary interpretation of the mode of change.

Still another type of change is visible in the case of the new fire rites. In the ancient culture, as was described previously, the new fire rites were public events performed by the priest at times when a renewal of the life or magic force of a family or other social group was considered necessary. We have no records of the changes undergone in the interval from the eighteenth century to the present, but we do find traces of the new fire rite today. In the present town of Big Cove several of the conjurers have practiced the use of new fire. In fact its use as a magical force is probably known all over the reservation. There is immense difficulty, however, in extracting information on this topic, which has become an esoteric matter of the greatest importance. The present Cherokees use new fire in their rites for the transmission of witchcraft power against an enemy and its effects are thought to be fatal if not counteracted in time. It can be easily seen that with such a power in their hands the conjurers could have dominated early Cherokee society.

New fire, then, has changed from a public rite of meaning understood by all of the people to a secret rite performed by the con-

jurers for their own private purposes. Its public function has become a private one. This would accord with the trend which we have noticed in the case of witchcraft in general from being a public delict punishable by death toward an interpretation as a merely private matter of no public significance.

In summary, then, it can be seen that from the examples of the dances, omens, and the new fire rite that the ancient ceremonial and ritual life of the Cherokees has declined to such a point that private significance, and that only in the case of a few of the older persons of the community, is attached to these events. Ancient public ritual has become black magic.

MAJOR TRENDS

It can be seen from the examples just adduced that there have been actually observable tendencies in the changes in the mode of integration characterizing Cherokee society at different times in its history. Incomplete as the evidence is, there is yet enough of significance remaining at the present time for use to generalize on the observable diachronic movements.

There has been a leveling of social classes in Cherokee society and removal of the divisions between priests, war officers, and commoners. At one time there may have been an hereditary class of religious officials who were delegated with the function of administering all of the ritual and perhaps many of the penal sanctions of the tribe. Women, moreover, had great power in the ajudgment of penalties for criminals and in the approval of public policies. All of this has been done away with, and there has developed a generally democratic equality, modified to a slight degree by the presence of a privileged caste of white Indians and half-castes who possess a greater amount of land or other wealth than their purer blood Indian neighbors.

A rather complete secularization of the Cherokees has taken place. Originally possessed of a government by priests, they have become the most republican of peoples, with little or no religious influence either in public office or in any occasion of common concern.

There has been a decline in the old family controls with the emancipation of the younger generation through the Government schools. The control of the parents over the marriages of their children is no longer even advisory in capacity. The clan affiliations still control choices of mate, but to a less and less degree as time progresses. The mother's brother is no longer a power in the family, and the transmission of family names for the last three generations through the father's line has tended to shift the emphasis in lineality to the paternal ancestry.

Some elements in Cherokee social integration have completely lapsed, such as the retaliatory sanctions of war, blood revenge, and the ceremonial performance of many of the ritual sanctions. The death of each old person at the present time spells the accentuation of the dissolution. The disappearance of the old complexes has been followed by a transference of function to, and replacement by, white culture traits. The place of the deer and buffalo have been taken by cattle, the place of turkey by the chicken, the bear by the hog, and so forth. In some cases there has been a transfer of function of complexes before their final disappearance. Such was the case of the gadugi and such also the fate of the osi or sudatories, which became potato-storage houses before their final demise.

Everything in the ancient culture has suffered diminution or abbreviation and removal from its original matrix of events. Artifacts that were once in common use, such as the flute, trumpet, blowgun, and bow, are now made in small-sized toys for children to play with. Instead of completely singing all of the songs of the dances, only the first and last and perhaps one or two of the others are now sung. The dances that were formerly too sacred to be given at any but special occasions and seasons are now performed at any time with impunity and for monetary gain.

There has been a trend away from independence, whether political, economic, or cultural, and toward a complete dependence upon the American Federal Government for all of the means of existence and for education as well.

The sequence of changes leading from the past to the present Cherokee social organization were of profound extent and lead to the consideration that it is probable, if present tendencies continue, that the tribe will be completely deculturalized, so far as aboriginal elements go, within another generation.

CONCLUSION

We have now completed a survey of two separate synchronic pictures of Cherokee culture and have, to some extent, traced the lines of change that lead from the earlier to the later culture. It has appeared that the present-day social culture of the tribe is utterly unlike that recorded for any other tribe of the Southeast and, for that matter, of North America. Only in far-off Australia, among certain tribes of the Northeast (the Ungarinyin), do we find anything remotely resembling this type of preferential mating allied with kinship attitudes extended to whole clans. It does not seem that any existing factors in Cherokee life are capable of explaining the entire meaning of this rather unusual development.

The pattern of Cherokee culture, then, has not been one of steady aspect but rather a blur of shifting relationships with changes in the external relations of the tribe. The picture presented of the present-day society gives one the impression of a compact and cohesive community with a relatively intense emphasis on kinship and descent. The picture of the ancient society is one of a widespread tribe whose national celebrations and political organization were of far reaching and many-sided importance. The age of the present-day features is entirely unknown and so far as our present knowledge reaches these may be products of certain special conditions surrounding the small inbred Cherokee communities during the nineteenth century rather than an inheritance from the pre-Columbian past.

The pattern of the former culture is not strikingly different in its social aspects from that of the Creeks or other typical Southeastern Tribes. There were many of the features of town, clan, and red-white organization which Swanton finds so characteristic of the Southeast. On the other hand, the picture of preferential mating and privileged familiarity prevailing among the present-day Cherokee is utterly different from anything we would expect to find or have yet found among the Southeastern Indians. There is quite evidently, then, no one culture type prevailing among the Cherokees from the past to the present. The double division of former times with its dual hierarchy of red and white officials is utterly lacking in the present-day culture and even the memory of it has vanished. Such contrasts are rather jolting to any hypothesis of continuity for culture patterns and, indeed, would tend to throw doubt on the value of historical inquiries in general as a means of explaining contemporary features in society.

The summary of all the preceding material would tend to indicate that:

1. The Cherokees were once possessed of a social organization resembling closely, in all external features, the social organizations of the other Southeastern tribes.

2. The Cherokees were formerly under a dual hierarchy of red and white officials.

3. The Eastern Remnant of Cherokees today are entirely bereft of the dual division and of social similarity to other described Southeastern tribes.

4. The Cherokees of today are in possession of a system of preferential mating which in its peculiarities and ramifications can be duplicated among described tribes only in Australia.

5. The historical data available on the Cherokees throws little light on the present-day social organization, which latter can be best understood by a functional analysis of contemporary features.

APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED DATA SUMMARY ON CHEROKEES

1540, De Soto Narratives.
1714, Lawson.
1737, Brickell.
1750, Drake.
1756–65, Timberlake.
1762, An Inquiry—Marrant.
1775, Adair.
1790, Bartram.
1823, Haywood.
1830, Colton.
1836, Payne-Butrick.
1836–41. Catlin.
1847, Featherstonehaugh.
1849, Lanman.
1854, McKenny and Hall.
1855, Whipple.
1859, Logan.
1866, McGowan.
1868, Dunning.
1869, Washburn.
1870, Morgan et al.
1876, Jones, J.
1876–79, Carr.
1877, Clark.
1883, Hale.
1883–94, Thomas.
1883–96, Holmes (1903).
1885, Brinton-Gatschet.
1888, Pilling.
1888, Painter.
1889, H. F. C. ten Kate.
1889–95, Foster.
1889–1907, Mooney.
1890, Donaldson.
1891, Powell.
1895, Downing.
1896, Brinton.
1897, Landrum.
1898, Tooker.
1899, Starr, F.
1900, Hewitt.
1903, Haddon.
1904, Mason, O. T.
1906, Hagar.
1906, Jayne.
1907, Parker.
1907, Owen.
1908, Hrdlička.
1910, Gude.
1910–25, Frazer.
1911, Spence.
1913–20, Speck.
1914, Eaton.
1915, MacCurdy.
1915, Moore.
1916, Alexander.
1916, Heye.
1917, Cotter.
1918, Heye, Hodge, Pepper.
1918, Wissler.
1920, Bushnell.
1920–27, Spier.
1921, Starr, E.
1921, Barnes.
1922, Harrington.
1923, Maddox.
1923, Schwarze.
1924, Stellwagen.
1924, Jones, H. B.
1925, Daugherty.
1926, Snyder.
1928, Black.
1928, Smith.
1928, Myer.
1928–31, Olbrechts.
1929, Mason.
1929, Swanton.
1931, Walker.
1932, Gilbert.
1935, Bloom.

APPENDIX B

OUTLINE OF CHEROKEE CULTURE

(Alphabetical by authors)

ADAIR:
- Basketry.
- Disease.
- Location.
- Name.
- Population.
- Stone pipes.
- War.

ALEXANDER:
- Ani kutani.
- Animal stories.
- Cosmogony.
- Cosmology.
- Deities.
- Legends.
- Lesser deities.
- Place of origin of myths.

AN INQUIRY:
- Appearance.
- Arms.
- Domestic conveniences.
- Dwellings.
- Names.
- Religious rites.
- Shearing of hair.

BARNES:
- Colors and directional symbols in sacred formulas.
- Onomatopaeia in myths.

BARTRAM:
- Altars.
- Ball Play.
- Hothouses.
- Houses.
- List of towns.
- Ovens.
- Townhouses, or rotundas, and their interiors.

BLACK:
- Agriculture.
- Appearance.
- Basket making.

BLACK—Continued.
- Bibliography.
- Birth.
- Bone and wood implements.
- Canoes.
- Ceremonies and dances.
- Division of labor.
- Dress and ornament.
- Fishing.
- Food and its preparation.
- History.
- Houses.
- Hunting.
- Initiation burial.
- Languages.
- Location.
- Map.
- Marriage.
- Mythology.
- Names.
- Pipes.
- Population.
- Pottery.
- Religious beliefs.
- Social and political organization.
- Stone implements.
- Symbolism of division of time.
- Treatment of disease.
- Warfare.

BRICKELL:
- Flaying of prisoner's feet.
- War.

BRINTON:
- Ani kutani.
- Myth.
- Seventh Son.
- Talisman.

BRINTON-GATSCHET:
- Ancient history.
- Beard.
- Canoes.
- Characteristics.

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LOGAN:
- Bezoar Stone.
- Charms against snake bite.
- Fishing with spear and net.
- Game animals and hunting.
- Legend of origin of death.
- Poisoning.
- Rattlesnake.
- Scarification.
- Skin dressing.
- Smelting settlements.
- Traps.
- Turkey pens.

MACCURDY:
- Implements of bone.
- Mound in East Tennessee.
- Pipes.
- Pottery.
- Rattlesnake gorgets.
- Shell.
- Stone.

MCCOWAN:
- Ketoomha.
- Nighthawks.
- Secret society of Ni-co-tani.

MCKENNEY and HALL:
- Five biographies of eminent Cherokees.

MADDOX:
- Cherokee theory of disease.
- Initiation to priesthood.
- Pharmacopoeia.
- Shamanistic practices.

MASON, O. T.:
- Basket making.
- Ethnic varieties of basketry.

MASON, R. L.:
- Cures for animal disease.
- Dividing of trees into evergreen and deciduous.
- Special trees and their lore.
- Trees struck by lightning.

MOONEY (*in* Handbook):
- Bibliography of synonyms.
- Clans.
- Derivation of name.
- Early visits.
- Language.
- Later history.
- Location by states.
- Numbers.
- Origin and history.

MOONEY (Cherokee and Iroquois Parallels):
- Corn legend.
- Flint legend.
- Old tobacco.
- Name for violets.

MOONEY (Cherokee Mound Building):
- Tradition of mounds and green corn dances at town houses.

MOONEY (Cherokee Plant Lore):
- Corn origin myth.
- Disease origin myth.
- Dividing of the trees.
- Legend of Cedar.
- Strawberries.

MOONEY (Cherokee Theory and Practice of Medicine):
- Going to water.
- Names.
- Plant lore of doctors.
- Real value of herbs used.
- Scarification.
- Taboos.
- Theories of pain and diseases.
- Total number of plants used and known.
- Treatment with herbs.
- Various diseases and theories therefor.

MOONEY (Evolution in Cherokee Personal Names):
- Adoption of English names.
- Samples.

MOONEY (Improved Cherokee Alphabets):
- Sequoyah syllabary defective.
- Father Morice's.
- Wm. Eubank's inventions.

MOONEY (Myths of the Cherokees, 1889):
- Animal cycle.
- Cosmogony and cosmology.
- Early contacts.
- Kanti and selu.
- Myths.

MOONEY (Myths of the Cherokees, 1900):
- Animal stories.
- Archeology.
- Arts.
- Botany.
- Ceremonies.

PILLING:
- Bibliography of authors on Cherokee language.

POWELL:
- Bibliography of languages.
- Boundaries of Cherokee area.

SCHWARZE:
- Clans.
- Death rites.
- Derivation of tribe.
- Government.
- Language.
- Location.
- Name derived.
- Ornaments.
- Religion.
- Titles.
- White influence.

SHETRONE:
- Early and later history of Cherokees.
- Government.

SNYDER:
- Blood typing of Cherokees.

SPECK:
- Basketry, forms and uses—
  - Designs.
  - Materials.
  - Technique.
- Comparison of basket types of the Southeast.
- Decoration.
- Origin of Cherokee basketry.
- Pottery.

SPENCE (*in* Encyclopedia):
- Ceremonial games and dances.
- Color symbolism.
- Decentralization of religious power.
- Gods and deities.
- Hunting and love formulas.
- Medico-religious formulas and their rituals.
- Medico-religious practice.
- Plant gathering rites.
- Shamanism and practices—
  - Baths.
  - Bleeding.
  - Rubbing.
- Shamans or priests.
- Sources of religious history.
- Tabus.
- Type of religion.

SPENCE (Myths):
- Deities.
- Eagle feathers.
- Slanting eyes legend.

SPIER:
- Character of Cherokee kinship system.

STARR, E.:
- Genealogy.
- Origin and religion.
- Pictures of types.
- Political history.

STARR (Ethnogeographic Reader)
- Arrow race.
- Balls and rackets.
- Basketry and pottery.
- Home and characteristics.
- Literature.
- Removal.
- Scratching.
- Syllabary.

STARR (Measuring Cherokees):
- Foods—
  - Coffee.
  - Greens.
  - Hoe cake.
  - Indian bread.
  - Sassafras tea.
  - Sweet beer.
- Physique.
- Psychology.

STELLWAGEN:
- Agriculture.
- Clothing.
- Customs.
- Material culture—
  - Agriculture implements.
  - Art.
  - Canoes.
  - Houses and furnishings.
  - Hunting and fishing implements.
  - Pottery.
  - Tools.
  - Woodwork.
- Ornaments.
- Religion and myths.
- Social organization.

SWANTON (Aboriginal Culture of the Southeast):
- Cherokee marginal to Creeks.
- Mythology of sharp buttocked beings.

WISSLER—Continued.
- Moccasins.
- Netting.
- Pottery and decoration.
- Special devices.
- Square houses of poles.
- Stone work.
- Suspended warp loom.
- Sweat House.

WISSLER—Continued.
- Turkey-feather mantle.
- Weaving.

ZIEGLER AND GROSSCUP:
- Government.
- Legends of toponymy, etc.
- Map.
- Material culture.
- Physique and characteristics.
- Place names.

ADDENDA

HRDLIČKA:
- Medical observations.

THWAITES:
- *Nuttall*—
  - Burial.
  - Marriage.
  - Towns of refuge.
  - Training of warrior.
- *Gregg*—
  - Clan revenge.
  - Marriage.
- *Michaux*—
  - Agriculture.
  - Blood revenge.
  - Burial customs.
  - Clothing and ornament.
  - Diseases.
  - Food.
  - Fur trading.
  - Government—
    - Chiefs.
    - Constitution.
    - Crimes and punishment.
    - Grand council.
    - Inheritance.
    - Land sales and restrictions.
    - Land system and grants.
    - Law on debts.
    - Police.
    - Property rights.
    - Ranks.
    - Sheriffs.
  - Houses.
  - Hunting.
  - Intertribal relations.
  - Language.
  - Manufactures—
    - Blankets.
    - Dress.
    - Pipes.
    - Salt.

THWAITES—Continued.
- *Michaux*—Continued.
  - Marriage customs.
  - Occupations.
  - Physique.
  - Printing office.
  - Relations with whites.
  - Slavery.
  - Social and domestic economy.
  - Traditions.
  - War customs.

ARTHUR, J. P.:
- Customs.
- Hebraic resemblances.

BLACK:
- Awl.
- Awls of bone or stone.
- Barbless bone fishhooks.
- Basketry (especially fish baskets).
- Beads.
- Bead garters, sashes, necklaces, and bracelets.
- Bear-tusk scratchers.
- Bells on knees.
- Bird bones and shells.
- Blowgun.
- Bow and arrow.
- Breechclout.
- Cane driller.
- Child cradle.
- Chisels of stone.
- Chunkey pole.
- Chunkey stone.
- Corner stones.
- Dams.
- Drum.
- Dugout canoe.
- Eagle tails for dances.
- Ear pendants of animal teeth.
- Flesher.
- Flute.

BLACK—Continued.
Gouges and punches of antlers.
Gourd vessels.
Gourd vizors.
Granaries.
Hammerstones.
Handles for spears, axes, and hoes.
Hand nets.
Hoes of wood or stone.
Houses.
Leggings.
Lines.
Mantles.
Mats of split cane.
Moccasins.
Net sinkers.
Olivella shell beads.
Ovens.
Pipes.
Pottery.
Rattle gourd.
Rectangular graves.
Robes.
Rubbing stones.
Shell gorgets.
Short skirt.
Spears.
Spoons for the ball game.
Stained deer's hair.
Stakes in the ball game.
Stone knife.
Tambour.
Town house.
Traps.
Triangular arrowpoint of flint or deer antler.
Wampum.

BLACK—Continued.
Wampum collars of clam shell beads or clay beads.
War club.
Wigwams.
Wooden falcons on hand.
Wood spoons.
Woodworking knives.
Woven fabrics.

BRINTON-GATSCHET:
Bark and poplar canoes.
Charms (bones or panther, horn of horned snake).
Houses.
Pottery of red and white clay.

FOSTER:
Chunkey stones.
String of white clay beads used to keep traditions.

HAKLUYT:
Bows and arrows.
Deerskins.

HAYWOOD:
Ark.
Calumet.
Sweat house.
Town house.
Waist belt of shells (badge of orator).
Wampum.

LANDRUM:
Arrow heads.
Basketry.
Clay pipes.
Flint tomahawks.
Soapstone vessels.
Stone axes.
War clubs.

APPENDIX C

MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE CHEROKEES

Museums Containing Cherokee Objects

Milwaukee Public Museum (specimens described by Speck).
Field Museum of Natural History (specimens collected by Starr in 1892).
Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation (specimens described by Harrington).
American Museum of Natural History.
United States National Museum (specimens collected by J. Mooney, E. Palmer, and A. Morgan).
Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology.
Miscellaneous: Wofford College, Charleston College, Laurensville Female Academy, Museum of the Great Smokies at Gatlinburg, Tenn.

Field Museum Artifacts

Pottery:
- Cooking pots.
- Food bowls.
- Pottery paddles.
- Wooden spoons.

Basketry:
- Carrying basket.
- Basket tray.
- Fish baskets.

Weapons:
- Blowguns.
- Darts.
- Thistle heads used to feather blowgun darts.

Medical instruments:
- Cupping horn.
- Scratchers.
- Gourd rattles.

United States National Museum

Cherokee material collected by James Mooney, Edward Palmer, and A. Morgan consists of baskets, pottery, eagle feathers, walking sticks, gourd, and wooden masks.

Artifacts Mentioned by Various Authors.

Adair:
- Rattle (calabash with pebble inside).
- Sweathouse.
- Steatite pipe.
- Basket.
- Tomahawk.
- Knife.

Bartram:
- Dwellings.
- Sweathouse.
- Townhouse.
- Sofa.

Bartram—Continued.
- Mats or carpets (oak or ash splits).
- Altars.

Logan:
- Moccasins.
- Leggings.
- Deerskin sinew thread.
- Bow and arrow.
- Skins.
- Leather pouches.
- Winter moccasins.
- Earthen jars.
- Spear and net.

Logan—Continued.
- Baskets.
- Turkey pens.
- Rattles.
- Rattlesnake scratchers.
- Houses.
- Council House.

Mason, O. T.:
- Baskets.

Mooney:
- Townhouses.
- Granaries.
- Shaman houses.
- Cupping horn.
- Blowing tube.
- Eagle wands.
- Ball racket and poles.
- Beads.
- Crystals, etc.

Payne:
- Divining crystal.
- Seats in council house.
- Robes and caps.
- Petticoats of mulberry bark.
- Turkey-feather gown.
- Holy ark.
- Breeches.
- Coats.
- Belts.
- Leggings.
- Garters.
- Pipes.
- Female gown.
- Moccasins.
- Headbands.
- Earrings.
- Ornaments.
- Deer's horn.
- Labrets.
- Neckbands.
- Beads of horn or turkey bone.
- Leather blankets.
- Arm bands.
- Finger rings.
- Foods (bread, etc.).
- Oven earthenware.
- Bottles of deerskin.
- Sieves, griddles, and baskets.
- Battle axes.
- Bow and arrow and quiver.
- Oval wooden shields.
- Breastplate and armor of buffalo hide.

Payne—Continued.
- Crane thighbone trumpet.
- Buffalo-horn trumpet.
- Cane flute.
- Kettle drum
- Cane pipe.
- Gourd trumpets.
- Tobacco bag.
- Weed platform.
- Scepter.
- War club.
- Flags.
- Spears.
- Slings.
- Knife or short sword.
- Bells.
- Council house.
- Chairs.
- Ball and hickory sticks.
- Salt.
- Soap.
- Medicinal and food plants.
- Drinks.
- Houses and beds.
- Glue.
- Hothouse.

Speck:
- Baskets (pack, fish, rib, rectangular, double weave).

Starr:
- Baskets.
- Pottery vessels.
- Wooden paddle.
- Bow and arrow.
- Scratcher.

Stellwagen:
- Breechclout.
- Mantle.
- Moccasins.
- Leggings.
- Deerskin shirt.
- Mantle of fur.
- Fabric or feathers.
- Woven nets.
- Beads, pendants, ear ornaments.
- Marine shells.
- Animal tooth pendants.
- Pigments.
- Jewelry.
- Foods.
- Bone and wood hoes.
- Slate and sandstone implements.
- Triangular arrow points.

Stellwagen—Continued.
- Darts.
- Knives.
- Tomahawks.
- Bone spears.
- Small wooden handles.
- Hammerstones.
- Disk-shaped chunkee stones.
- Hoop and pole game.
- Canoes.
- Celt type axe.
- Wooden handle grooved with blade fitted into it.
- Houses.
- Beds.
- Pottery.
- Effigy.
- Vessels.
- Paddles.

Schwarze:
- Pendants and rings.

Timberlake:
- Oven.
- Calumet.
- Townhouses and seats.
- Gourds.
- Hothouse.
- Bed.

Timberlake—Continued.
- Red and white flag.
- Loin cloth.
- Drums.
- Canes.
- Rattles of gourds.
- Pipes.
- Hoes.
- Lines, spears, and dams.
- Blowguns.
- Heads.
- Feather work.
- Wampum.
- Silver pendants.
- Rings.
- Bracelets.
- Moccasins.
- Guns.
- Bows and arrows.
- Darts.
- War clubs.
- Scalping knives.
- Tomahawks.
- Houses.
- Canoes.
- Basketry.
- Earthern vessels.
- Foods.
- Chunkey Stone discoids.

APPENDIX D

CULTURAL TRAITS OF THE CHEROKEE

PAYNE (1836)

(Manuscripts described by W. H. Gilbert in 1932)

The J. H. Payne Manuscripts of the Ayer Collection in Newberry Library, Chicago, consist of 14 volumes. The Ayer Collection was started between 1880 and 1911, and it is not known how these manuscripts got into it. E. G. Squier quoted them in 1853. The data presented include Cherokee official records before 1838, letters of missionaries on the condition of the Indians before 1830, and, during the removal, letters of Cherokee children in the Mission School to philanthropic people in the North, traditions and myths as related to John Howard Payne by prominent members of the tribe in 1836, data on Choctaws, Creeks, and Chickasaws collected from various sources, and, finally, the immense aggregation of facts about Cherokee ethnology collected by the Missionary Daniel Sabin Butrick from various informants, principally the following: Awayu, Corn Tassel, Deer-in-the-Water, Nettle, Nutsawi Pinelog, Nutsawi Saddler, Rain, Raven, Thos. Smith, T. Smith, Jr., Shortarrow, Situegi, Terrapin Head (Yuwiyoku), and Toleta.

The volumes containing ethnological data on the Cherokees are volumes 1, 3, 4, and 6. The titles of these volumes are:

Vol. 1. Traditions of the Cherokee Indians, 170 pages.

Vol. 3. Notes on Cherokee Customs and Antiquities, 128 pages.

Vol. 4. Nine original letters written by John Ross, A. E. Blunt, Chas. R. Hicks, and Daniel Sabin Butrick, concerning Mr. Payne's researches into Cherokee history, a poem by Wm. Stockwell, and an account of the customs and traditions of the Cherokees by D. S. Butrick, in all 378 pages.

Vol. 6. Notes on Cherokee history from June 9, 1838, to Nov. 4, 1839, by J. H. Payne. A letter from T. S. Coodey to J. H. Payne, 1840; National Characteristics of the Cherokee (by J. H. Payne?) (65 pp.); and Sketches of Cherokee Characteristics, by J. P. Evans (39 pp.). Total, 284 pages.

The total pages of manuscript containing material of ethnologic value is about 780.

The data represented may be classified under three main heads:

1. *Religious beliefs and usages*

Dances.
Divination with crystals.
Divisions of time.
Dreams.
Festivals.
Future life beliefs.
Moon Cults and Corn Cult.
Mourning.
Names.
Omens and taboos.
Priests.
Religious beliefs.
Sacred Fire.
Sacredness.
Snake bites.
Traditions.
Training of priests and hunters.
Training of shamans.
Uncleanness.

2. *Social customs*

Ball play.	Death and burial.	Manners.
Birth and education.	Economy.	Marriage and Family life.
Clans.	Government and social organizations.	Village social life.
Crime.		War customs.

3. *Material culture*

Council House.	Houses.	Tonsure.
Dress.	Meals and food.	Weapons.
Furniture.	Music and instruments.	
Glue, soap, salt.	Ornaments.	

CHEROKEE ETHNOLOGY IN PAYNE MANUSCRIPTS

1. Theory of Hebrew origins and traditions in general.
2. Priesthood.
3. Government.
4. Judicature.
5. War organization and weapons.
6. Ball play.
7. Seasonal calendar and festivals.
8. Social customs—Marriage and household, birth, childhood, division of labor, clan names, etc.
9. Schools.
10. Taboos, uncleanness, holiness.
11. Treatment of disease.
12. Death customs.
13. Deities, religion, and future life.
14. Crystals and divination in general.
15. Weather control magic.
16. Ethnobotany, foods, medicine, etc.
17. Dress.
18. Musical instruments.
19. General.

DATA IN PAYNE MANUSCRIPTS BY VOLUMES

Volume 1

1. Traditions—mostly Biblical.
2. Mooncult, Corncult.
3. Divining crystals.
4. Training of Shamans.
5. Six major festivals.
6. Moon feasts and Ookah Dance.
7. Occasional rites.

Volume 3

1. Division of time.
2. Social organization of village.
3. Clans.
4. Shaman training.
5. Mourning.
6. Divining stone.
7. Training of priests and hunters.
8. Sacredness.
9. Dreams.
10. Omens.
11. Future life.
12. Tonsure.
13. War customs.
14. Uncleanness.
15. Snake bite.
16. Female dress.
17. Sacred fire.
18. Feasts.

Volume 4

1. Traditions.
2. Ceremonies and rites, Green Corn Dance.
3. Government and social organization.
4. Priests.
5. Dress and ornament.
6. Meals and food.
7. War and weapons.
8. Economy.
9. Music and instruments.
10. Crime.
11. Ball play.
12. Manners.
13. Death and burial.
14. Council house.
15. Marriage and family.
16. Hunter training.
17. Religious beliefs.
18. Houses and house culture.
19. Furniture.
20. Birth, education.
21. Uncleanness.
22. Omens, taboos, and names.
23. Glue, soap, salt.

Volume 6

1. Social traits, towns, clans, superstitions.
2. Dress.
3. Dwelling.
4. Somatic traits, diet.
5. Language.
6. Ball play.
7. Dances—
   - Common dance.
   - Female dance.
   - Beaver dance.
   - Eagle dance.
   - Green Corn Dance.

VOLUME 1. TRADITIONS OF THE CHEROKEE INDIANS
(Payne's Writing)

Chapter 1. Introduction. What is to be considered. Early faith, orthodox.

Section 1. p. 3 ff. Traditions of the Cherokee concerning what is considered as their early and orthodox religion. A rehash of Christian-Jewish traditions and Yowah Hymn discussed.

Section 2, pp. 6–29. Historical and moral traditions represented as having been received from professors of the early orthodox Cherokee religion (Hebrew traditions of origin of men and journey through the wilderness).

Chapter 2.

Section 1, p. 30. Narrative of various departures by the Cherokees from what is considered as their earliest and orthodox system of faith and worship. (Seem to be true Cherokee ideas, moon worship, corn mother, etc.)

Section 2, p. 43. Legends connected with the departures from the religious system considered as the orthodox one among the Cherokee. (Legend of Origin of Corn and Game, Green Corn Dance, Origin Myth.)

Chapter 3. Introduction, p. 53, account of what follows.

Section 1, p. 55. Account of the divining crystal, a sort of talisman always employed in ancient times among the Cherokee upon solemn occasions.

Section 2, p. 63. The manner in which boys were in ancient times selected and educated for the priesthood among the Cherokees, and in which way the divining crystal was therein employed.

Chapter 4. Introduction, p. 69. Festivals to be described.

Section 1:

Page 70. Regular festivals of the primitive era.
Page 71. List of festivals. First festival.
Page 80. Second festival.
Page 84. Third festival.
Page 87. Fourth festival.
Page 91. Fifth festival.
Page 112. Sixth festival.
Page 114. New Moon festivals.
Page 115. Quarterly New Moon rites.
Page 115. Seven Days' sacrifice.
Page 116. Primitive occasional feasts.
a. Propitiation (5th).
b. Ookah 7-year dance.
Page 121. General remarks.

Section 2:

Page 123. Recent condition of festivals.
Page 124. First festival.
Page 125. Second and third festival.
Page 139. Fourth festival.
Page 147. Fifth festival.
Page 149. Sixth festival.
Page 150. Occasional ceremonies. Physic Dance (Propitiatory festival).
Page 153. Occasions of public anxiety.
Page 170. Ookah Dance never changed.

VOLUME 2. NOTES AND MEMORANDA ON THE CHEROKEE
(273 pp.)

A legend or two. No real data of ethnologic value.

VOLUME 3. NOTES ON CHEROKEE CUSTOMS AND ANTIQUITIES
(139 pp.)

Section 1, pp. 1–84 entitled "Indian Antiquities," consists of badly scratched notes some crossed out, etc., on beliefs and customs, war, dreams, etc.

Section 2, pp. 1–55. Cherokee Feasts (same as volume 1).

Under Section 1 we have items on following matters:

1. Division of time.
2. Social organization of villages.
3. The clans.
4. Training of shamans.
5. Mourning.
6. Divining stones.
7. Training of youth for priests.
8. Training of youth for hunters.
9. Sacredness, places and things.
10. Dreams and interpretation.
11. Omens.
12. The Hereafter.
13. Tonsure.
14. War customs.
    1. Declaring war.
    2. Organizing the expedition—officials.
    3. Ceremonies starting to war—divination.
    4. On the march.
    5. The return from war.
    6. Induction of new war officials.
    7. Surprise attacks.
    8. Dance on return from war.
    9. Manner of battle.
15. Uncleannesses.
16. Snake bite.
17. Dress of women, turkey-feather gowns.
18. "Feeding" the sacred fire.

Section 2, Cherokee Feasts.

Contains nothing not already noted in volume I under Feasts.

VOLUME 4. TRADITIONS OF THE CHEROKEE INDIANS
(By D. S. Butrick)

This volume contains the real meat of the manuscripts as far as ethnology is concerned. It will be well worth while to note in detail its contents. It was evidently derived from a number of informants, and the diversity of facts, together with much repetition is somewhat confusing. The following items are listed as they occurred in the manuscripts with my own interpolations of topical heads for convenience of classification of the data.—W. H. G.:

1. Traditions:
   - Real and peculiar people.
   - Wilderness journey, sacred fire.
2. Ceremonies:
   - New Fire made.
   - Begin year in March.
   - Annual new moon commenced with September new moon.

3. Government and Social Organization:
   - Creeks make new moon rites at First Fruits.
   - Government of Cherokees a theocracy. How carried on. Heredity.
   - Seven priests.
   - National Council. Council House described.
   - Towns of refuge.
   - Mosaic Law of Retaliation. Treatment of criminals.
   - Divided into clans. No endogamy within clan on pain of death.
   - Marriage.
4. Priests:
   - Marriage of priests.
   - Duties of priests.
   - Succession of High Priests.
   - Garment of priests.
   - Inauguration of priests.
   - Supplying place of other priestly officers.
   - Dress of High Priest.
   - Pipes of priest.
   - Dress of priests' wives.
5. Dress and ornament:
   - Dress of common people—men.
   - Women's hair.
   - Neck ornaments of men.
   - Dress of women.
   - Men's body dress.
   - Women's body dress.
   - Ornaments of men.
   - Women's petticoats.
6. Meals, etc.:
   - Meals, mode of living.
   - Cooking utensils.
   - Social intercourse.
7. War:
   - Warfare.
   - War Priest.
   - War preparations.
8. Ceremonies:
   - Divination with Divining Stone.
9. Dress and ornament:
   - Women's leggings.
   - Men's ornaments, finger ring.
10. Economy:
    - Mode of supplying towns.
    - Work in common.
    - Men hunting.
    - Women's share of labor.
11. Meals:
    - Mode of baking.
    - Parched corn meal.
12. Ceremonies:
    - Divining Stone.

13. War:
    - War preparation, new fire in Ark, etc.
    - Encampments.
    - Weapons.
    - Arms.
    - Attacks.
    - Address before battle.
    - Fight and return.
    - Ceremony before return.
    - Priest for wars, peculiar dress.
    - Instruments of war.

14. Music:
    - Long-necked gourds.
    - Sound trumpets, music of kettledrum, pipes.
    - War trumpets, buffalo horn, necked.
    - Kinds of assemblages for religious purposes, trumpets.

15. Traditions:
    - Tradition encumbered with trash.
    - Ancient history (profane) of Jews, confirmed.
    - Starting for Promised Land, doubt of particulars.
    - Early progress through the wilderness.
    - Why law was given in stone.
    - Kept distinct.
    - Near perishing.
    - Religious traditions long prior to coming of the whites.
    - Old idea of creation of the Cherokees, of God's teachings
    - Preaching of priests.
    - Priests' sacrifices.
    - Mosaic traditions.
    - Clan's mark.
    - Delivery of Jews.
    - Instructions for the Ark.

16. Government and social organization:
    - Early government a theocracy.
    - High priest—first choice.
    - Inauguration of new priests.
    - High priests' assistant.
    - Courts in towns.
    - How governed in small towns.
    - Priests had power to make kings.
    - Kings, how inaugurated.
    - Coronation.

17. Crime:
    - Towns of refuge for manslayers.
    - Punishment.
    - How respite was obtained.
    - How criminals were punished and for what.

18. War:
    - Elders, authority over war officers, head officers.
    - Peculiar war priest.
    - Appointed at Green Fruits Feast.
    - War officer and forms of inauguration.
    - Concerning wars.

How to begin war.
Declaring war.
How command was obtained.
War address.
War flag hoisted, war songs.
War march.
Night encampment.
War attack.
Offense war.
Course of beginning.
War standard described.
Priests in battle, charge of Ark.
War shield, armor.
How carried.
Consequence of losing shield.
Helmet, how worn.
Quiver.
Bow and arrow.
Warrior at death with his shield.
War club.
Spear or dart.
Sling.
Knife or short sword.
Return from battle.
Arrived home.
Dance of triumph.

19. Music:
Ancient musical instruments, drum, flute, pipe, trumpet.

20. Games:
Ball play.
Decision of ball play.

21. Ceremonies:
Ancient dance.
Uka dance at septennial feast.
National council house.
Septennial feast.
The Uka, who?

22. Manners:
Native politeness of Cherokees.
National manners.
Chief's bind hearts of their subjects to them by mildness.

23. Dress and ornament:
Royal coronation robes.
Uku's dress.
Dress of priests' wives.
Ancient dress of people—men.
Women, hair.
Neck ornaments of men.
Neck ornaments of women.
Men's body dress.
Men's arms, legs, feet.
Blankets.

24. Economy:
    Domestic life.
    Women get wood, do cooking.
    Plan of ancient towns.
    Separation of fields.
    Ancient custom of mutual work, men and women.
25. Meals:
    Cherokee women, mode of baking bread.
    Many kinds of bread.
    Other foods, corn meal.
    Food on journeys and expeditions.
    Old Indian men eat.
    Food most esteemed.
    Good cooking of Indian women.
26. Death and burial:
    A father's death.
    Ceremonies previous to death.
    Mourning, burial.
    Purification after burial.
    Mourning.
    Widow.
    Widower.
    Prayer.
    Purification, sitting silent.
    Bathing.
27. War:
    Picture diagram of council house
    Declaration of war.
    Enlisting.
    Council house described.
    War priest.
    Ceremony in gathering warriors.
    Ark, anointing warriors.
    Order of March.
    Ceremonies.
    Encampments.
    Previous to engaging in battle, speech.
    Return from war.
    Ceremonies after return from Ball Play.
28. Marriage and family:
    Marriage and clans.
    Levirate.
    Marriage of priests.
    Polygamy.
    Courtship.
    Pregnancy.
    Childbirth.
    Parental affection.
29. Ceremonies:
    Festivals.
    Year began in March.
    Spring feasts.
    Ancient living in towns.

High Priest or Uku.
Proclaiming Green Corn Dance ceremony.
Preparations.
Green Corn Dance.
Harvest.
Animal feasts of Cherokee formerly observed.
Now available.
Described.

30. Manners:
Cherokees not covetous.
Cherokees hospitable.

31. Ceremonies:
New Moons, began year with first autumnal moon.
Dance, and its duration.
Feast dress.
Other moon ceremonies.
Hunter's feasts.
Occasional feasts, prayer feast for plants.
Prayer feast for warm weather.
Prayer feast for cold weather.
Medicines.
Long life.
Smallpox and how averted.
Warding off other diseases.
Incantations.
Hymn Yowa.
Old Language.
National Council, Uku.
Assembling House.

32. War:
Special Council.
How convened, in case of danger.
War resolutions and ceremonies.
War.
Induction of chief officers.
Term of warriors.
Election of officials.
Induction of War Chief.

33. Ceremonies:
Feast of First Fruits ceremonies.

34. Hunters:
Hunting priests.
Training young hunters.
College, etc.
Hunter's feasts.
Hunter's sacrifices.

35. Religion:
Grace and prayers of Cherokees.
Holiness, etc.
Officers of war.
Divining Stone, how sacred.
Ark.
Sacred Fire.

35. Religion—Continued.
Sacrificial altar.
Great Council House.
Mountains, seashore, river.
Ceremony on cooking holy bits.
Religion, Trinity.
Early prediction.
Nature of flood.
World created with ripe fruits, hence year begins in fall.
Clans kept distinct in passing through the wilderness.
Law written on stone, when?
Daybreak prayer and song.
First priest selected for piety, hereditary.
Jewish and Indian coincidences.
Ablutions, manners, priests.
Witches, poisoners.
Not engaged in building Babel, hence language never changed.
All priests' homes refuge places.
Cities of refuge keep all.
Winter months—December, January, Holy burial, purifying after mourning.
Widows and widowers.
Swearing friendships.
Platonic friendship between sexes.
Visitors.
Dreams and omens explained.
Vulgar errors, beards.
Always had beards previous to arrival of Europeans.
Red, Jews.
Penn's ideas.
Sabbath, Jews' seventh day.
Two religious sects.
Priests set apart.
Hereditary basis, set apart from birth as priests.
Divining stone, its uses described.

36. War:
Social government.
General War Chief, place of abode.
War priests.
War doctors.
War revenger.
War declared.
Divining stone for war.
March.
Women to prepare army food.
Return from war.

37. Religion:
Divining stone for civil priests.
Four sets of divining stone.
Religion and future state.
Infants, no souls.
Doubles for priests, assistants.
Consultation in cases of jealousy by husband with priest.
Whipping.

37. Religion—Continued.
    Mystery of priesthood only disclosed to initiated. Death penalty for revealing secrets.
    Circumcision.
38. Ceremonies:
    Feast of First Fruits.
    Treasure House.
    Purification after first new moon.
    Purification fast.
    Medicine feasts explained.
    Expiation fast.
    Feast called by seven counselors.
    Altar repaired.
    Council House whitewashed.
    Hunters selected.
    First buck shot.
    Articles for purification.
    Cleansing council and houses.
    New fire.
    Fresh water.
    Ceremonies with purifier articles.
    Appointment of Yowa singers.
    Meat distribution.
    Bathing.
    Clothes loosened in water.
    Sacrifice and omens.
    Feast.
    Yowa song.
    Septennial Dance.
    Two sects in religion.
39. Meals:
    Food.
    Social meal.
    Drink.
40. Dress and ornament:
    Common dress.
    Ornaments.
    Embroideries.
    Great warrior's badge.
    Divining Stone.
    Scarlet plume in war and Ball Play.
    Dress, how prepared.
41. Traditions:
    Two great stones.
    Early journeyings in wilderness.
    God or Yehowa.
    Four letter names, etc.
    Moses.
    Abram.
42. Ceremonies:
    Jowah Festival.
    Autumnal new moon.
    Great Moon.

42. Ceremonies—Continued.
    Physic Dance.
    Autumn.
    Ceremonies.
    Uka dance.
    National feasts or dances described:
        1. At appearance of first new moon in spring about the time grass began to grow. New Fire on seventh day, pp. 297–304.
        2. Green Corn Feast when green corn became fit to eat, pp. 305–314.
        3. Second Green Corn Feast was 40 to 50 days after the first, pp. 315–316.
        4. Great New Moon Feast at its first autumnal new moon, pp. 317–319.
        5. Expiation or Reconciliation Feast, about 10 days after the last mentioned, pp. 321–334.
        6. Somewhat later. Dancing or Bouncing Bush Feast, pp. 335–337.
    There was also a feast every seventh year about the time of the appearance of first autumnal new moon. Also occasional feasts observed as circumstances dictated.
43. A few promiscious comparisons between Indians and Jewish antiquities, pp. 339–350.
44. Dress, pp. 352–619. Ornaments, pp. 353–354.
45. Houses, p. 362. House customs, p. 363.
46. Furniture.
47. Food preparation, pp. 366–369. Drinks and taboos.
48. Birth, pp. 376–378.
49. Education of children, p. 379.
50. Death, burial, etc., p. 384.
51. Mourning for dead, etc., pp. 396–398.
52. Rules at the death of a man, p. 400 ff.
53. Marriage, p. 403.
54. Uncleannesses, p. 409.
55. Omens, p. 419.
56. Feasts, p. 421.
57. Ball Play Dances, p. 429.
58. Taboos, names, p. 436.
59. Feast of new moons (crossed out from here on), p. 441.
    Septennial Feast, p. 455.
    Name of Feasts, p. 463.
    Ancient Feasts, p. 466.
    Creek Feasts, pp. 487, 495.
    Natchez Feasts, pp. 499, 502.
60. Ancient government, p. 510.
61. Punishment of criminals, p. 523.
62. Language, p. 530.
63. Warfare, etc., p. 533. Time of events and weapons, p. 547. New fire on going to war, p. 551.
64. Musical instruments—drums, flute, pipe, buffalo-horn trumpet, gourd trumpet, crane-thigh-bone trumpet, p. 559.
65. Religion. Beings who created earth (Biblical lore), p. 575. The Devil, p. 579. Hell, p. 583. Origin of death, p. 584. Doctoring, etc., p. 498. Sacred fire, p. 600. Smallpox, p. 609. New fire for sickness (needfire), p. 619.

VOLUME 6. SKETCHES OF CHEROKEE CHARACTERISTICS

(By I. P. Evans, 39 pp.)

1. Social traits: Towns, clans, customs, modes, and manners, superstitions.
2. Dress: Men, women.
3. Dwellings.
4. Physical characteristics, diet.
5. Language.
6. Ball Play.
7. Dances: Common Dance, Female Dance, Beaver Dance, Eagle Dance, Green Corn Dance.

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1. JOHN DRIVER FAMILY.

2. FOUR WOMEN OF BIG COVE.

1. SAMPSON OWL, EX-CHIEF AND INTERPRETER.

2. SAMPSON LEDFORD, INFORMANT, GRAHAM COUNTY.