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THE STANDING BOY FLINT INDUSTRY An Early Archaic Manifestation On the Chattahoochee River in Alabama and Georgia¹

HAROLD A. HUSCHER

Abstract

Edward V. McMichael and James H. Keller (1959, Archaeological Salvage in the Oliver Basin) described the Standing Boy Flint Industry, an Early Archaic artifact assemblage from a site above Columbus, Ga., including plano-convex knives, scrapers and flake scrapers, and small triangular alternate-bevel points ("spinners"). Artifacts characteristically are made of a flint now leached to a completely chalky form, as originally described by A. R. Kelly from the Macon Plateau. Additional sites investigated by River Basin Surveys (1958-1963) along 100 miles of the Chattahoochee River bottoms confirm the importance of the Standing Boy complex as a consistent Early Archaic phenomenon, but gradiational stratigraphy obscures exact delimitation of types on present information. Better separation may depend on sampling restricted camps at spring sites higher in the hills.

Edward V. McMichael and James H. Keller (1959, Archaeological Salvage in the Oliver Basin, University of Georgia, Laboratory of Anthropology Series, Report No. 2. Athens) described the Standing Boy Flint Industry, an Early Archaic artifact assemblage from a site on the Chattahoochee River above Columbus, Georgia. The site lies on a sandy knoll at the junction of a side tributary, Standing Boy Creek, and the Chattahoochee River, just above the Fall Line. The sandy knoll seems to have been built up progressively in a normal undisturbed stratigraphy at periodic maximum floods, hence conforms to the description of the eddy-bar sites, first pointed out by Joffre Coe at the Narrows of the Yadkin. We found this type of site poorly represented below the Fall Line, apparently because the valley is too wide to cause the localized whirlpool effect with any consistency.

The assemblage described as typical of the Standing Boy Flint Industry stressed the small triangular side-notched, alternate-bevel points, or "spinners," elsewhere described under the names Ecusta or Plevna points, and a series of flake tools, usually plano-convex in cross section, consisting of flake knives and flake side scrapers. Of comparable material the best presently published reference is DeJarnette's report on the first two sessions' work from the Stanfield-Worley shelter cave of Northwest Alabama, the illustrated tool types, in particular, being directly

^{1.} Read at the 29th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archeeology, Chapel Hill, North Carolian, May 7-9. 1964. A background statement. Huscher, 1994, The Archaic of the Walter F. George Reservoir Area. Proceedinas of the 19th Southeastern Archaeological Conference, 1962. Bulletin No. 1, pp. 36-41, should be read in conjunction with the present report. Published with the permission of the Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.

relevant (DeJarnette, David L., 1962). The work of Carl Miller and John Griffin at the Russell Cave in Northeastern Alabama has been reported on at several meetings, but is not as yet available in comparable illustrated publication. Bullen has described a series of sites lower down on the Chattahoochee, just below the Florida line, which seem to deal chiefly with the ceramic periods, except for one site, J-5, where he got a 14-foot vertical section with very good separation between the Deptford and the Orange Plain pottery periods, and six feet below the fibertempered pottery layer, a sparse showing of lithic artifacts that included a chipped knife and the edge of a thumbnail scraper, neither by themselves definitive (Bullen, 1958). The sites to be discussed, three selected sites from the dam axis at the Columbia (Alabama) Dam and Lock, are presumably older than J-5, because there has been strong chemical disintegration of the contained flints, a trait not stressed in Bullen's report.

Artifacts of the Standing Boy Flint Industry characteristically are made of a flint now leached to a completely chalky form, as originally presented in 1938 by A. R. Kelly (Kelly, 1938. A preliminary report on Archaeological Explorations at Macon. Ga., Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 119, No. 1) from the Macon Plateau. The source of the flint is in southwestern Georgia, along the Flint River, and this particular kind of flint was traded rather widely in the Coastal Plain area, apparently in the form of prepared flakes, since I have found none of the identifiable spent cores or accumulating cortex debris that should be found had the primard nodes been transported. Nodules of a flint of a much poorer grade, which erodes or "leaches" even more rapidly, do occur along the Chattahoochee River, possibly deriving from a limestone layer lower down in the Eocene Wilcox formation, and cortex flakes of this poor flint do occur in the sites, but not in quantities to indicate actual workshops.

Flake implements in the deeper and older camp levels will be leached completely through, showing none of the original stone upon fresh fracture. The completely leached flints are very fragile, snap in two in the fingers as easily as blackboard chalk, and are so unstable that freshly dug artifacts will actually decrepitate when drying, the tips of points, the barbs of points, and the characteristic serrations of the Chattahoochee Archaic will pop off. The phenomenon is well-known to persons who have worked in the southeast, but certainly is not sufficiently familiar to persons outside the area, in spite of a series of articles



Fig. 1. Upper. Map of Columbia Dam and Lock Area. Lower. Site maps, 1 HO 28 and 1 HO 24.

by Dr. Kelly and Vernon Hurst, of the Georgia State Department of Mines, Mining and Geology (Kelly, 1938, 1953, 1956. In these papers additional references are cited). The chemical process involved, in spite of the published studies just mentioned, is still as baffling to me as ever. I still do not know what the chemical composition of the "flint" is, how it differs from the stable flints of the Western European lithic industries, for instance. I do not know what it is that dissolves out, and I do not know what the chalky, but apparently insoluble, residue is that still maintains the original outline, and all the delicacy of flaking, of these truly "fossil" artifacts.

John W. Griffin, National Park Service, has pointed out to me (oral comment) that the leached flints recovered from Archaic levels in the Ocmulgee National Monument investigation were all from above water table, that the same kind of flint flakes or tools from below water table would not be leached, but would have retained their original "flinty" qualities. This statement would seem to suggest that either carbonic acid or the freshly dissolved nascent oxygen (ozone) of rainwater, or both, may in some way be essential to the dissolution of this type of flint. I stress these points in pointing out the difference between the southeastern process and product, and the related processes described under the words patina and cachalong. Neither applies to the local phenomenon. The word "leached" is not applicable to the western phenomena of flints or chalcedonies showing patina or cachalong, but does give an easily understandable, and I hope scientifically exact and scientifically acceptable, adjective which may be applied classificatorily, that is, we may speak of "leached flints" knowing we are excluding the other two categories.

Additional sites investigated by River Basin Surveys (1958-1963) along 100 miles of the Chattahoochee River bottoms, confirm the importance of the Standing Boy complex as a consistent Early Archaic phenomenon, but gradational stratigraphy obscures exact delineation of types on present information. The Chattahoochee Valley trench, which grades at a remarkably even drop of about one foot to the mile below the Fall Line at Columbus, Georgia, seems to have had a quite consistent rate of deposition at the terrace edge sites generally (Huscher, 1964, pp. 36-41). Floods did not seem to differ sufficiently from one another for the depositions to sort out in clear bandings, and the very long column with clear separation reported by Bullen from Site

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J-5 must be due to some local factor or factors not operative farther upstream.

The very heavy precipitation (50-60 inches, rising to 70 inches in wet years) has gradually washed out the greater part of the colloidal clays contained in the original flood deposits. In a number of trench faces a phenomenon of banding, the levigation lines of the transported and redeposited clavs closely resembles what one would expect to be normal bedding planes. The phenomenon appears as a false stratigraphy, which can be highly misleading until it is recognized. The individual lines sometimes may have represented original bedding planes, in other cases they may have represented the water surface of the vadose water during the rainy season, the clav-charged trickles dropping their clay load at the water contact. Well-developed lines represent age, certainly in hundreds of years, as in lines cutting through Mississippian cache pits, in other cases thousands of years, as the well-defined system of lines found by McMichaels and Keller in the Griffith sand mound and the sand core of the Mandeville Mound. Beyond that nothing can be said other than to offer the strongest warning against mistaking such lines for true stratigraphic partings.

Stratigraphic changes can be seen in the cut faces of excavation walls after they are dug, but they cannot be detected sufficiently accurately while digging to justify tooling out entire floors at the supposed changes, and artifact content is too sparse to show up as true midden lines. Hence, after several timewasting experiments in various approaches, we concentrated on the arbitrary levels dug with sloping cuts, shaved at each sixinch level, and I believe this is probably the only procedure justified at most of the terrace edge sites, unless and until actual hearth concentrations are found.

The Columbia Dam and Lock is located two miles south of Columbia, Alabama, a water-level control (navigation control) dam which normally does not raise water above existing bank levels. A series of sites on the actual dam axis and in the construction area on the Georgia side of the river were dug in 1959 by Robert Neuman. Three sites on the Alabama side, dug by Harold A. Huscher in 1959, are selected for presentation because they are showing separation which may be giving us a lateral seriation in time. (76th Ann. Rept., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 11-12, Huscher, 1959, Appraisal). The probabilities here are of a progressive shift of the bed of the Chattahoochee River from a first

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position near the western bluff of the valley trench (here reduced to a low terrace-like rise of about 50 feet) through a probable three stages to its present course. Alternately, but less likely, these antecent courses are older than any of the sites, and the site locations are conditioned only by the course of the present tributary drainage, Mounde Branch (locally pronounced Moan Branch). The sites were dug by spaced squares, ten feet on a side, and usually located at intervals of 100 feet along the crests of the natural levee remnants which determined the site locations. The recorded stratigraphy as read in the finished trench walls is inferred from quite vaguely indicated gradational changes from the dark, humus stained top layer, usually about a foot thick, through yellowish-brown mottled sandy silt to an underlying massive, seemingly structureless sand with almost all clay content gone. Two test holes showed the well-developed clay levigation lines mentioned earlier, but not to the extreme extent noticed at some other nearby sites. Trench wall panels arranged in series show the horizontal stratigraphy of the sites, north-to-south, panels adjusted to a common level based on the sandy-silt contact with the underlying sand.

The particular point to be emphasized and illustrated in this discussion is that the three sites with apparently similar depositional record, show sharp percentile shifts in the types of points. If our physiographic interpretation is correct, the sites have occupied favored areas on the natural levees of the progressively abandoned stream courses, with the westernmost, the Mounde Branch Site, 1 HO 28, the oldest, the Sawmill Set Site, 1 HO 24, somewhat later, and the Bull Pen site, 1 HO 22, quite near the present Chattahoochee, the youngest. 1 HO 22 is on a now stable surface which seems to have been building steadily and with normal deposition since some time considerably before the Stallings Island Fiber-tempered pottery period. All three sites have an overlay of Middle to Late Woodland ceramics, which heavily emphasizes the Wilson Checked-Stamped type of

Fig. 2

a. A trench wall section (Spann's Landing Site) showing well-developed colloidal clay lines.

b. Trench wall section (Sawmill Set Site) showing characteristic indefinite stratigraphy.

c. Trench wall section panels in series, showing stratigraphy of Munde Branch Site 1.

d. Trench wall section panels in series, showing stratigraphy of Sawmill Set Site.

pottery, a type named by Wesley Hurt from the Wilson Creek Site two miles to the south, and simply representing a selection from a much wider variety of types subsumed within the descriptions of McLeod Deptford and Wakulla I with the narrow lip-fold. This pottery has several alternate surfaces, one the West Florida Cord-Marked, characteristically with widelyspaced, partially obliterated cord impressions. The latter, usually a minority type in the area, rises to a high frequency at one site farther upstream at the Newsome Bridge on Pataula Creek. These surface levels, usually the top three cuts, or 18 inches, will not be further discussed.

Our stated problem is the underlying Archaic period and the flake tool industries, the flake tools and points being represented by both plano-convex and plano-plano types. At these sites the tools discussed may mostly be matched exactly within the types set up by DeJarnette for Stanfield-Worley, though the point emphasis differs sharply in the higher frequency of the small triangular "spinner" points, cited by McMichael and Kellar. Here they have a rhomboidal cross-section (i.e., made from a plano-plano flake) and characteristically show a very steeply-angled secondary flaking, usually above 45° but rising to 68°, 70° and 75° in measured examples. The "spinner" point notching, in this group of sites, is a rather wide-angled corner notch, actually an expanding stem point with barbs. There is a range of sizes evenly distributed from a smaller 11/2-2 inches long, about what has been described elsewhere under the names Decatur, Ecusta and Plevna, and a longer, proportionately narrower form, ranging to 3 inches in length, described as the Cypress Creek point type in Tennessee.

Of the completely identifiable specimens all but two came from the westernmost site, the Mounde Branch Site, 1 HO 28, the oldest in the series if our site sequence is valid. The greatest frequency falls at 2.5-3.0' below the surface, with one point found in the next level below, the seventh cut or level, and with six other points ranging upward to the third level, 1.0'-1.5' below the surface. Points of this type are characteristically reduced to the completely chalky form.

There is another high-frequency point at this site which occurs also, however, in about the same frequency at the site next east, the Sawmill Set Site, 1 HO 24, presumably the next younger site, from which only a single Ecusta-Plevna ("spinner") point was identified. This second point type, which may provisionally be explained as overlapping to a somewhat later period, is the stemmed point with shoulders, seldom barbed and then but slightly. These points may be plano-convex as well as lenticular in cross section. Of the published named types probably the Benton Stemmed and the Stanley Stemmed types come closest to the Chattahoochee River forms. These are Tennessee Valley types ascribed to the early Archaic, with the age in round numbers of about 7,000 years (5,000 B.C.), and the Chattahoochee forms should be of roughly comparable age. There is a wide range of materials for this type. The longer points more usually are lenticular in section, some even showing a slight median ridge toward the tip, and these will be of the Flint River flint, more or less completely chalked. Some of the broader, shorter points, however, are in materials other than Flint River flint, particularly a bluish-violet chalcedony, and these are more apt to have a plano-convex section and to have well-developed serrations on the cutting edges.

In classifying points I have always thought in terms of the general outlines of points, the general configuration, as in the old Thomas Wilson-W.D. Strong classification used in the west (Strong, 1935, pp. 87-89, fig. 7). The corner-notched "spinners" fall into Strong's old SCa types, and the stemmed points described fall in the SAa type generically, because of the contracting stem. The agreements will not be exact, however, because locally the base of the stem may be convex, may be straight across, or may be concave, which I simply number as subtypes 1, 2 and 3 in my own sorting categories. The stem joins the body of the blade in a regular curve to the shoulder, instead of a right-angled notch as in the comparable western stemmed forms. a trait probably best demonstrated in the plates published in the Eva report (Lewis and Kneberg, 1962. Cf. Pls. 5, 6). The vertical distribution of this stemmed point is much less satisfactory. ranging from a depth of 3.5' up to a single plow zone occurrence. with no concentration at any one depth. The indications would be of a considerable range in time, or of vertical migration due to undetected soil disturbance. Considering the variables of materials, of width, of lenticular or plano-convex section, unfinished stem (like the Kays Stemmed type), or finished thinned stem, and the presence or absence of definitely serrated cutting edges, it seems clear this range of phenomena should be broken down further, but the breakdown should await more complete analysis of the entire run of Chattahoochee Valley material. It would be premature to describe material under inapplicable categories, or to add to the already overburdened list of named types. These two general types or classes make up the great majority of the points, only a few minority types are present. In a checklist of something like 250 named point types presently applicable in the Southeast (without going into the Ohio Valley or the Northeast), 86 of the 250 types will fall within the old Wilson-Strong SA, SB, and SC series, and it seems some such sorting into generic classes by form, as mentioned above, is now in order, if only to narrow the range of possibilities in trying to check through published descriptions. The third, and latest of the three sites discussed, the present natural levee site, 1 HO 22, yielded practically nothing in the way of points, and there is no obvious reason for their being absent.

One of the striking traits at both the Mounde Branch Site and the Sawmill Set Site is the twist of the stem on about onefourth of the SAa type points, important because the twisted, or "beveled" stem is one of the diagnostic traits of the Clear Fork series of points from Texas, as described by Cyrus Ray (Ray, 1929, 1935, 1938). Later wordings use the term "beveled" stem instead of twisted stem, though the terms are not synonymous, and the twist is not necessarily a bevel. The twist of the stem is a very real thing in the Chattahoochee points, and may or may not be associated with a spiral twist to the point as a whole. This is a minority trait at the sites described, but quite a consistent trait in the stemmed points, and possibly will be found to separate out if we get a long enough documented series. The angle seems to average about 10° to 15°, and Ray states in his original description that the twist or "bevel" is to the right. In the Chattahoochee specimens the twist is to the left, or counterclockwise, seen base on, which means a right-hand spiral or "rotation" to the point as a whole, and possibly this is what Ray described by his wording "beveled to the right."

The Clear Fork Gouge described by Ray (1929, 1938, p. 197) is definitely present in the collections, one good example coming from the terrace edge natural levee site, the Bull Pen Site 1 HO 22, in the X-5 pit. It is a classic piece, but unfortunately broken in two so we are not sure of the base. There are other examples in the collections, and perhaps as we get this material organized a local type could be defined.

There is a considerable discussion in the western literature of the Clear Fork artifacts, beginning with Ray's earlier state-

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PLATE I



View of Columbia Dam area before construction, 1958. Looking southeast Bull Pasture Site (1 HO 22) in foreground and Sawmill Set Site (1 HO 24) at extreme right.



View of Munde Branch Site (1 HO 28) looking south along line of trenches.





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PLATE II

Type sherds illustrated with site and catalogue number ($\frac{1}{2}$ natural size).

a. Stallings Island Fiber Tempered, 1 HO 22-136.

b. Orange Plain Fiber Tempered, 1 HO 22-125.

- c. Plain, notched lip (Swift Creek?), 1 HO 28-322/13.
- d. Wilson Checked Stamped, 1 HO 22-155/4.
- e. Wilson Checked Stamped, 1 HO 22-110.
- f. Weeden Island Plain, 1 HO 22-214/3.
- g. Wilson Checked Stamped, 1 HO 28-94/5.
- h. Wilson Checked Stamped, 1 HO 28-196.
- i. Wilson Checked Stamped, with incised line, 1 HO 28-322/16.
- j. West Florida Cordmarked, 1 HO 28-30/5.
- k. Weeden Island Punctate (?) with all over punctates, 1 HO 28-332/1.
- Wilson Checked Stamped, with wider fold (later). 1 HO 24-90/2.



PLATE III

Type points illustrated with site and catalogue number $(a-h \text{ and } o \frac{3}{4} \text{ natural size}, i-n \text{ and } p \frac{1}{2} \text{ natural size}).$

a-h, steep-angled, alternate bevel, "spinners"; f, diamond cross section; j-k, "Benton" stemmed, lenticular cross-section; O, much smaller, fine flaked, presumably later; l, plano-convex section, sharply bowed in longitudinal section; i, m, n, and p, broad triangular stemmed point, presumably somewhat later; p, characteristic fine serrations; l, n, and o, chalcedony, others Flint River Flint.

a. 1 HO 28-144; b. 1 HO 28-177; c. 1 HO 28-13; d. 1 HO 28-383; e. 1 HO 28-59; f. 1 HO 28-221; g. 1 HO 22-149; h. 1 HO 28-108; i. 1 HO 22-14; j. 1 HO 24-265; k. 1 HO 24-47; l. 1 HO 28-89; m. 1 HO 28-68; n. 1 HO 24-124; o. 1 HO 22-13; and p. 1 HO 28-384. ments of 1929 and 1935, and a later definitive redescription recognizing six sub-types. Sayles described comparable material in his Abilene series, and the gouge was recognized as a type from the Black Hills by Jack Hughes and Holder and Wike (Hughes, 1949, Holder and Wike, 1949). Ray's assignment of the Clear Fork artifacts to an early time level was widely attacked, but it now seems certain that his descriptions were valid and his assignment of his assemblages to a comparatively early time level justified. That there is persistence through time of the idea of the gouge seems equally certain, just as the general idea of stemmed or notched or basally thinned points persists, and the gouge even occurs in the Missouri River rectangular lodge sites in the form of beautifully polished gouge-celts.

In 1938, p. 198, Ray described what he called a planer-gouge, essentially a thicker and heavier plano-convex flake with a steeply angled working edge flaked at one end, the scar surface of the flake being completely untouched. Such an artifact would grade insensibly into the recognized category of core scrapers, a scraper edge flaked on one edge of a turtleback core, but Ray's description implies that it may be locally distinctive. Such "planer-gouge" implements do occur on the Chattahoochee, but the examples from these three sites can better be classified with DeJarnette's core-scrapers, which have, however, the necessary steeply-angled unifacial retouch. The series of plano-convex and plano-plano flake tools illustrated by DeJarnette (1962) is closely comparable to the Chattahoochee series and seem to be quite representative of the older levels in the Southeast, particularly in the trait of the unifacial retouch of the knife and scraper. The material of these early flake tools on the Chattahoochee is the Flint River flint, or the local inferior equivalent, and the artifacts are characteristically leached completely through.

To return to our stated problem, the Standing Boy Flint Industry as outlined by McMichaels and Kellar, was and is a valid category, and I believe the somewhat more extensive artifact list from the Mounde Branch Site, 1 HO 28, should be considered with it, and a direct correlation with much of the tool complex described from Stanfield Worley recognized. On present evidence, the stemmed points of the Sawmill Set Site might also be placed provisionally with the group, or they might be carried in suspense hoping for better separation at another site.

The three sites discussed here seem to have given us better information than we have any right to expect or hope. In an area where shelter caves do not occur and where there are no sharply limiting factors to force continual use of a small camping area, the chance of finding any large concentrations of material in place is sharply lessened. Nonetheless, the consistent occurrence of Archaic materials buried in these natural levees justifies systematic testing, since these buried sites are about all we have between the Fall Line and the Gulf Coast midden areas. As a continuing program for the future, in working out sequences and filling in gaps, our best chances for productive midden in deposits promising stratigraphic separation would seem to be at spring sites farther back in the uplands away from the river.

River Basin Surveys Bureau of American Ethnology Smithsonian Institution Washington, D. C.

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RECORD OF A NORTH CAROLINA CHEROKEE TOWNSHIP TRIAL (1862)

JACK FREDERICK KILPATRICK AND ANNA GRITTS KILPATRICK

Very little has been known about how the North Carolina Cherokees governed themselves after they refused to go West with the main body of their people in 1838, defied the United States Army and fled to the mountains, and eventually settled upon lands belonging to their white benefactor, Will Thomas. For when the Cherokee Nation was forced out of its ancestral seat in Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, and North Carolina, it took with it its governmental machinery.

From 1838 until 1870, when the North Carolina Cherokees adopted a tribal government, there has been an almost total lack of information upon how these resourceful fugitives dealt with internal problems such as selection of leadership, crime, and eleemosynary necessities. Much light upon these matters, however, has at any time been available in a collection of manuscripts in the Cherokee language in the Smithsonian Institution; for this file, known as the *Inoli Letters*, consists of documents that the Eastern Cherokees wrote about themselves. Even the most cursory examination of the *Inoli Letters* will reveal that the North Carolina Cherokees—cut off the white-style trans-Mississippi Cherokee Nation, with its elaborate executive, legislation, and judicial components—reverted, perhaps with a sense of relief, to something very nearly approaching their ancient township organizations.

One of the most intriguing of the documents in the *Inoli Letters* is the record of the trial before the Council of Wolftown, the easternmost of the townships on the Eastern Cherokee Reservation, of a man accused of stealing a hoe. This muddled document, scribbled by the township clerk in abominable Cherokee, is at one and the same time instructive, humorous, and pathetic. The Cherokee Nation in the West possessed district courts, constituted with judges, public prosecutors, clerks, sheriffs, and juries. One observes here that while Wolftown had a clerk (and from cognate documents we discover that it had a judge), the council, of an unspecified composition, functioned as prosecutor and jury. And it may be of interest to those ethnologists and sociologists who have concerned themselves with the matriarchial bias of Cherokee society to see here that one Ne:gi, a woman who

probably was the Judge, handed down the decision in the case.

Were it not for its touching attestation to the abysmal poverty of these valorous people, a large proportion of whom died from privation and the guns of the white man for the simple right to live at home, we could hardly repress a smile at the description of the precious hoe which was the issue in the trial: "It was worn straight, and it would not cut, and it had been pierced."

July 5, 1862

Do:yuni:si's hoe has been stolen. He just brought to trial A?hw(i)daya:i. He [A?hw(i)daya:i] has just been brought to trial here.

"I was in the field when he got it. The handle was lying over there where he threw it. It was worn straight, and it would not cut, and it had been pierced. It was right nearby when he squabbled over it. As we were hoeing at Sa:yani's I hunted one like it. "This one,' I stated. 'And it is only right that the owner should get I,' I stated," says Do:yuni:si.

Ga:gama Gano:lv says this: "Do:yuni:si says that he had been there at Tsi:sghwa's where we hoers were. He did not recognize it. In his speaking of it, it was a different one, he said. "That is not mine. I would know it. This is the way it is fixed, so that I would know it. This is the way I have it, so that I will know it."

Ge:si just told what A?hw(i)daya:i had said when he came to where the hoers were: "'Why,' he said to them, 'doesn't he recognize it?' he stated. 'Do:yuni:si does not talk. They think Do:yuni:si is just one of the boys.'"

A?hw(i)daya:i says: "A white man gave it to me. I lived with Tse:siyu:sidi Gana:gilv. Gana:gilv says, "The hoe was small and thin, and not sharp. I have hoed with it before."

Tsa:n(i) la:tsi attested: "'The chopping-blade was thick,' Do:yuni:si had said. 'It was thick.' Now! Do:yuni:si came to where they were hoeing at Sa:yani's. When he came, they gathered all the hoes together. He hunted it [his hoe]. 'You all said that it was plain that the handle was a gun barrel," he stated. 'This one is not thick, and not sharp and straight, and this one here is worn out at the handle,' he stated, 'and it is sharp. It looks like the one, so I'm going to take it. It is plain that they will say that it is a different one. If this is the one, he [referring to himself] can take it,' he stated."

Tsi:sghwa told Do:yuni:si, he said: "'This gun barrel handle that you all were talking about—this is a gun barrel,' he stated, 'but it is not thick and straight,' he stated. 'This is it,' he [Do:yuni:si] says."

Di:hye:lido:hi told that Do:yuni:si was looking for a hoe. He was picking up the new ones, he said. "'The gun barrel handle that you all were talking about—this is the gun barrel,' he [Do:yuni:si] stated. 'It is not thin; it is thick, and it is straight, and the handle is worn out. I suppose that it is strange that it is worn out,' he stated. Then he said, 'What happened to it? This one is thick,' he said," says Di:hye:lido:hi. "'I believe I will take it away; for it is plain that over there they will know it.'"

"'It was worn out straight across the cutting blade. It is similar, but it is not his to take away,' I stated," says Tsa:n(i)la:tsi. "'Do:yuni:si stated that it was not thick. In truth, this one is the right one.'"

At this time Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi stated that it was thick.

At this time Tsi:sghwa stated that it was thick.

"Do:yuni:si took it away," stated Ne:gi. "It will be A?hw(i)daya:i's."

The assembly of Indians who knew the facts [the witnesses]:

Di:hye:lido:hi Tsa:n(i)la:tsi Di:gahl(u)ghwade:gi Tsi:sghwa

[Notation made by the Clerk upon the document] I just made a little note: A?hw(i)daya:i is to get the hoe.¹

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CHEROKEE RITUALS PERTAINING TO MEDICINAL ROOTS

JACK FREDERICK KILPATRICK AND ANNA GRITTS KILPATRICK

Since the major part of the Cherokee *materia medica* consists of roots, hunting "medicine" is frequently synonymous with searching for roots. While the medicine man usually has precise information as to where needed botanicals grow, he is nevertheless faced with certain imponderables: the putting of new ground into cultivation; the weather; and the depredations of livestock.

The observation of Mooney and Olbrechts (1932, p. 55) upon collecting methods in North Carolina is applicable to Oklahoma: "As a rule samples are never collected and kept ready for emergency in a dried or prepared state. . . . It is just as rare to find medicine men endowed with enough foresight to lay out a garden of medicinal plants as did the European monks of the Middle Ages." This patronizing statement is more revealing of the lack of understanding by its authors of the importance of chemistry in medicine than it is of the simplicity of the medicine man. The latter may not know that stored roots undergo rapid chemical changes, but he does know that they lose the specific properties for which they were selected; moreover, he knows that in cultivation he cannot duplicate factors of soil texture, moisture, drainage, heat, and light that influence plants in their wild state. The medicine man may have no knowledge of soil chemistry as such, but he does not indiscriminately take specimens for medicinal use. He is guided by criteria such as the physical appearance of a plant and the soil in which it grows and by its floral milieu.

The medicine man takes with him upon a root-hunting expedition the propitiary cloth, usually white in color, given him by the patient (cf. op. cit., pp. 95-97) and called the u:gi:sdi("to take, he [or she]"). [One will observe that the pronunciation of this noun form differs from that of the infinitive form u:gi:sdi.] Any medicine man would be likely to know several different idi:gawe:sdi ("to be said, they") appropriate to hunting roots, but the following is representative. It is said (or thought) the requisite four times between starting the hunt and arriving at the site where the roots are likely to be growing.

nv:wo:dhi	ahya?lvisdí: yi		
medicine	to go hunt it, one		

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gha? now	hi?a? this	iyu:sdi kind	di:gwado:ida hi?a? named, I this		iyu:sdi kind	
tsina: so my cla		:wo:dhi dicine	tsane: gv white, you	u: si quic	nu:li :kly	
	gvyo:yaneli:ga I have just come to take you by the hand					gohú:sdi something
tsanú:h to fail,		nigesv:1 not	na ¹			

FREE TRANSLATION (To Go Hunt Medicine)

Now! This is my name, _____. This is my clan, _____. You White Medicine! Quickly I have just come to take

You by the hand.

You fail in nothing.

When the medicine man finds a specimen that conforms to the criteria of the purpose that he has in mind, he spreads his cloth upon the ground, circles the plant counterclockwise four times and says an appropriate igawé:sdi ("to be said, it"), such as the following, during each of the circlings. He faces the sacred direction East as he begins. He digs up the roots of the plant in the quantity and of the size, appearance, and pungency desired, places them upon the cloth, wraps them in it, and returns home.

The caption of the ensuing is somewhat misleading, since the *igawé:sdi* is for use in taking, not hunting roots.

	dhó:dhi	i:gi	nv: wo: dhi	o:hyo[h]v:i	hi?a?
	with, on	e it is	medicine	hunting	(cond.), one	this
gha?	sge	yv: wi	di:sdaso	lí:ga²	no:gwo	
now	listen	person (s	s) you (2)	small one	s now	
sdvyago:dhani:ga sdadi:dawe:hiyu gohú:sdi I have just come to show you (2) great wizards, you (2) something						
	hl (i) di you (2)	nige: not		nnuwo: gi oth	une: ga white	

^{1.} uwe:da:sadh(i) Medicine Book No. 57.

^{2.} The Thunder Boys, the sons of Thunder (cf. op. cit., pp. 23-24).

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sdvve:sdv:ne:li:ga ugi:sdo?di I have just come to spread it for you (2) to take with, he [or she] nv:wo:dhi sdvdhavoseli: ga une:gv no:gwo medicine white I have just come to ask you (2) now sgino:dhlvhi:sa?ne:li:ga3 no:gwo no:gwo you (2) have just come to "remake" it for me now now sgino:dhlvhi:sa?ne:li:ga u: tsihna: wagwó: hno: you (2) have just come to remake it for me relief, just, and wigage:sadi:se:sdi4

over there I will be aiming it

FREE TRANSLATION

(This Is To Use When One Is Hunting Medicine)

Now! Listen, You Two Little Persons!

Now I have just come to show You Two Great Wizards: You Two fail in nothing.

I have just come to spread for You Two the White Cloth, the taker of the White Medicine.

Now I have just come to ask of You Two.

Now You Two have just come to "remake" it for me.

And now You Two have just come to "remake" relief.

I will be aiming it over there.

In Cherokee medicine-making some roots are boiled, others are merely soaked. If they are boiled, they are placed over a fire in a container, nearly full of water, approximately a foot and one-half in diameter. While they are boiling, the medicine man takes a piece of hollow cane, a foot or so in length, and with it slowly stirs in a counterclockwise direction the preparation while saying the following. He then blows his breath through the cane into the liquid. The stirring, the recitation, and the blowing are done four times.

The U:tsawi and Nv:tsawi invoked are probably the Thunder Boys. The allusion to their resuscitation of a dead person is doubtedlessly drawn from the myth. "The Origin of Death," recorded in Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick (Eastern Cherokee Folktales).

^{3.} The stem—odhlvhi:s—, although actually meaning "repair" or "remake," in a ritualistic sense means to infuse with supernatural powers.

^{4.} Uwe:da:sadh(i) Medicine Book No. 57.

Kilpatrick]	CHEROKEI	e Rituals		27
nv:wo:dhi medicine	go:dhlvhiso?d to "remake" it		hi?a? this	sv:lida cane
gh (v) dhó∶dhi⁵ to use with, one	vgo:dhlvs in making	0		
sgwane: hlanv: hi provider to me	hu:dhlegi open it, you	(imp.)	ani:sgaya men	
tsun (a) sdí: i little, they	ani: dawe: ? wizards, the		ali: gohv: ga t us join toget	her (imp.)
2010. ISA 2010. C. C. C. C. C. BRODERICK	ido:dhlv:na let us make it ((imp.)	hi?a? this	iyu:sdi kind
udlv:gv gah sick, he seve	l (i) gwo: gi ⁷ en	edi:nvv let us cu	wv:ga ure him (imp	ale .) and
tse:dale:da edhi:iyv from which let us help him stand (imp.) ancient times				
nudadv:ne:lv they did it to	nasgi:ya the same	nidadv let us c	r:ga do it to (imp.)	nv:do sun
dighalv:gv rising, it	tsuna:hnigi:se which they le			awe:? rds, they
u:tsawi nv:tsawi U:tsawi Nv:tsawi			0	g down, it
dunu:gh(i)didi:sv going in the dire	ection, they	yv:wi person	uyohusv:hi she died	
unina:widy:dhane	S:i	gyno	:nunv:nelé:i ⁸	

unina:widv:dhane:i gvno:nunv:nelė:18 they carried her with them (w.p.k.) alive, they made her (w.p.k.)

FREE TRANSLATION

(This Is to "Remake" Medicine. To Use the Cane in Making It)

Provider⁹ to me, open it!

Little Wizard Men, let us join together to make the medicine: this is the nature of his illness, (Seven!) Let us cure him, and let us help him stand up.

Let us do the same as they did in ancient times, when those Wizards named U:tsawi and Nv:tsawi left the East

The first syllable is erroneously written gi.
The first syllable is erroneously written hv.
This is a written out interpolation of this supremely sacred number.
Uwe:da:sadh(i) Medicine Book No. 25.

^{9.} The Supreme Being.

and went to the West and carried with them the dead person whom they restored to life.¹⁰

Southern Methodist University Dallas, Texas

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---- Medicine Book No. 57. MS. in possession of the authors.

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