MYTH, LANGUAGE, AND ETHNOLOGY
IN THE CHEROKEE AND IROQUOIS RELATIONSHIP

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INTRODUCTION

The primary contention of this thesis is that the myths of the Cherokee Indians of the Southeastern Cultural Area are derived from the mythology of the Iroquois Indians of Upper New York State. The intention of the research is to provide evidence that the Cherokee and Iroquois were at one time united both culturally and historically. Archaeology and linguistics will be used in determining to what degree groups were related and at what time divergence occurred.

The Relevance of a Mythological Comparison

The importance of a mythological study of the Cherokee and Iroquois Indians rests with the fact that while social and technological aspects of a given culture are susceptible to change from environmental and cultural factors, the belief systems, expressed in myth, tend to remain more constant, taking a much longer period of time to reflect diffusional or intrusional elements. Although two groups may be separated by geographical boundaries and may adapt to local environmental stimuli and indigenous influences, certain aspects of their culture, namely language and myth, will change less over long periods of time, thus allowing for a more systematic comparison of specific groups. This is particularly true of the Cherokee Indians, traditionally identified with the Southeastern Cultural Area, but upon close examination, show proto-Iroquoian ties.

Previous Research

Previous comparisons of Cherokee and Iroquoian culture have been made in several areas. Perhaps the earliest and most widely recognized approach is the linguistic comparison. Acknowledgment of the linguistic connections began as far back as 1769 when Moravian missionary, David Zeisberger, traveled among both the Onondaga and the Cherokee Indians. Horatio Hale (1883), A.S. Gatchet (1886), and H.N.B. Henitt (1887), also wrote (in the late nineteenth century) arguments supporting the Cherokee-Iroquois affinity (King 1977:401). However, one of the more comprehensive linguistic studies is by Floyd G. Lounsbury (1961). According to Lounsbury, the Cherokee and Iroquois groups show a common linguistic heritage, splitting from each other at least two thousand years ago. Evidence supporting this connection can be observed in certain features found in both dialects, such as in the use of prefixes, and in certain words, as in the terms used to designate the number four and the paternal aunt, both of which reflect the same Iroquoian root.

Another avenue for the comparison of Cherokee and Iroquoian culture is archaeology. Archaeologists such as Joffrey L. Coe (1969), Richard MacNeish (1952), and Roy S. Dickens (1976), have discovered certain attenuated similarities between pottery of the early Cherokee Pisgah phase and the early Iroquoian Castle Creek phase. From this evidence, one may suspect that other areas of Cherokee and Iroquoian culture may reveal similar links between these two groups.

Much of our present knowledge regarding Native American culture derives from historic sources. In the northwest, the records of such noted explorers as John Cartier (1534), Sir Walter Ralegh (1587), and Giovanni da Verrazzano (1524), provide an excellent firsthand account of Indian life along the Upper Atlantic coast region (Tooker 1978). John Cartier's voyage records contain well-documented information on Saint Lawrence Iroquoian language and culture, while Samuel de Champlain's records provide an informative description of Huron culture in the same region (Tooker 1978).

By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a more critical approach to the study of native Americans developed, becoming an integral part of the newly emerging scientific and academic discipline of anthropology. A direct result was the work of better-educated scholars, such as Lewis Henry Morgan. Morgan interviewed Iroquois Indians living on reservations in New York State and sought the aid of authorities, such as Henry R. Schoolcraft. These ethnographic accounts formed the basis for his work, *League of the Ho-De-Nu-Sau-Nee* (1857), the first modern ethnography of an Indian tribe.

For information on the Southeastern Indians, scholars have consulted the eighteenth-century accounts of James Adair, William Bartram, and Benjamin Hawkins. Synthesized accounts of these ethnographic informants are provided by James Mooney and John R. Swanton. Mooney is best known for his work with the Eastern Cherokee, particularly with their principal medicine man, Swimmer (Mooney 1982:310). From Swimmer, Mooney obtained much of the

Cherokee mythology, as well as the basic sacred formulas, written in Cherokee script. As a result, "The Myths of the Cherokee" and "Sacred Formulas of the Cherokee" were produced and published as *Bureau of Ethnology Reports* (1886), numbers seven and nineteen. John Swanton also did extensive field work among the Southeastern Indians, especially the Creeks, and produced such notable works as The Early History of the Creek Indians (1922) and The Indians of the Southeastern United States (1929).

Mythological Studies

In addition to ethnological accounts of Cherokee and Iroquois culture, another avenue of study, which is the primary focus of this thesis, is that of comparative mythology. Several definitions are used in providing a more comprehensive understanding of the subject. The English word 'myth' is derived from the Greek 'mythos,' meaning word or story. From this, ancient myths can be described as stories by means of which our forbearers were able to assimilate the mysteries that occurred around and within them (Leeming 1990:3).

Another definition describes myth as a sacred story set in a time and a place outside history, describing in fictional form the fundamental truths of nature and human life, reaching beyond the personal to express an imagery inflective of archetypal issues (Moore 1992:220). Ellade (1954:118) describes myth as an extremely complex cultural reality that narrates a sacred story, relating an event that took place in primordial time. Myth is also related to metaphor, history,

philosophy, theology, and science, and may have been an attempt to explain the relationship of man with the universe. As noted by Joseph Campbell, the chronicle of our species, from its earliest page, has been not simply an account of man the toolmaker, but, more tragically, a history of the pouring of blazing visions into the minds of seers and the efforts of early communities to incarnate unearthly covenants.

As with native studies, the critical study of myth could not be construed as scientific until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Among the schools of thought used in the study, interpretation, and criticism of myth, the anthropological and psychological approaches seems to have received the most attention.

The Anthropological Approach

The anthropological school maintains that the seemingly unrealistic aspects found in mythology are actually manifestations from an earlier age, and when these elements appear in modern mythology, such as in modern legends, they are in fact carry-overs from a more remote past. E.B. Tyler, one of the principal founders of this approach, elaborates on myth by stating that:

> The general thesis maintained is that myth arose in the savage condition prevalent in remote ages among the whole human race, and that it remains comparatively unchanged among the modern tribes who have departed least from these primitive conditions, while even high and later

> grades of civilization, partly by retaining its actual principles, and partly by carrying on its inherited results in the form of ancestral tradition, have continued it not merely in toleration but in honor. (Spence 1921:54)

The anthropological school maintains that the more primal elements within our modern myths are a result of archaic imagery arising from ancient history, that the comparison of various myths brings about new facts on primitive myth, and that the comparison of similar myths among differing peoples may actually reveal an underlying core or theme within each (Spence 1921:54).

Three theories within the school of anthropology and sociology were once widely used in the critical study of myth. These are functionalism, ritualism, and structuralism.

Functionalism

Functionalism claims that myth is advanced and used because it actually contributed to social stability and group integration (Day 1984:249). This theory was first put forth by French sociologist Emile Durkheim. Myth serves the function of establishing, maintaining, and expressing social solidarity and social group identity (Day 1984:254).

Anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski supports the functionalist approach by pointing out that myth is an important aspect of human civilization and a practical representation of primitive faith and wisdom (Day 1984:264). Reacting to the prevailing nineteenth-century view that myth and ritual were primarily

entertainment products, stories and activities intended for the enjoyment of the masses, Malinowski contends that myth is not an outdated form of communication, but a comprehensive, extremely important cultural force (Day 1984:264). Specifically, myth fulfills in primitive culture an indispensable function by expressing, enhancing, and codifying belief, as well as safeguarding and enforcing morality (Doty 1986:44).

Ritualism

Both ceremony and ritual refer to an established pattern of action and possibly words solemnly and repetitiously performed to mark a specific occasion (Day 1984:269). Ritual is thought to have transcendent power. From a sociological standpoint, ritual ranges from channeling the emotions of the group and individual to strengthening morale and confidence.

With regard to myth, ritual expresses itself in a variety of interrelated relationships. These relationships are as follows: myth preceding ritual and causing ritual, ritual and myth tied together and complementing each other, myth as metaphor in ritual, and ritual as metaphor of myth (Day 1984:270). Both ritual and myth have importance in large measure because they represent universal themes, meanings that transcend individualistic concerns, providing a mechanism for enabling unified interaction among individuals who otherwise might remain independent and detached (Doty 1986:49). Anthropologist Richard Comstock adds further credence to the social significance of myth and ritual by

pointing out that myth and ritual serve a validating performatory and heuristic function, as well as providing assistance in the symbolic articulation of social patterns and in solving personal and social dilemmas (Doty 1986:49).

Structuralism

According to anthropologist Levi Strauss, the significance of structuralism is that mythic plots are universal, that myths must be interpreted serially to understand any specific social group, that myths can be organized into pairs of opposites, and that conflict or tension is resolved or mediated in a reconciliation of the opposites (Day 1984:294). Myth then, as the structuralists view it, is the great storehouse of mankind's philosophical and imaginative thought processes, providing answers to the perplexing questions of life. It is the supportive structure of human reasoning.

The Psychological Approach

The psychological school of thought maintains that myth springs from the unconscious and enables one to coordinate familial and personal backgrounds and capabilities with societal and transcendental factors (Doty 1986:164). In particular, myth is concerned with the psyche or soul dimension of humanity and serves the cause of mental health in both society and in individuals through a rationalization of hopes and fears and reworking these drives to a solution (Doty 1986:133). Myth is an aesthetic device for bringing preternatural imagery into

manageable terms with the objective facts of life in such a way as to unite the unconscious and the conscious mind (Day 1984:278).

The earliest pioneers of the psychological approach are Sigmund Freud and Carl G. Jung. Both are psychoanalysts who stressed the relationship between myths, dreams, and symbols. They differ, however, in their interpretation of these mythic dreams and images. According to Freud, both dreams and myth stem from the infantile or early stages of life and serve the purpose of redirecting or transforming unacceptable behaviors or desires into consciously acceptable modes. In particular, myths, according to Freudian theorists, may be thought of as a cultural dream, in that they are the distorted vestiges of the wish-fantasies of whole nations (Doty 1986:136). By studying both myth and dream as a whole, an analyst may find the root of psychological problems, such as incest, the drive for power, or hostility toward society.

In contrast to the Freudian interpretation of myth is the depth approach initiated by Carl G. Jung. While originally a colleague of Freud, Jung differs in his approach to myth and dreams by developing archetypal psychology as a field in which the mythological dimensions of the materials presented by his patients would be of great importance (Doty 1986:149). Specifically, Jung maintains that myths were the most mature aspect of humanity, not arising from an infantile psyche as Freud thought. During his research, Jung recognized that themes in fairytales, graphic representations, and mythology, could provide clues to personal meaning for his patients, clues that otherwise might emerge only very

slowly, if at all. Dreams are viewed as a means of projectively pointing the way toward a potential future wholeness and that myths and dream images represent projections from the unconscious rather than conscious inventions (Doty 1986:165).

Geographical Overview

The Cherokee and the Iroquoian tribes inhabited the Eastern Woodlands, a region extending from beyond the St. Lawrence River in Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the eastern boundary of the prairies to the Atlantic Ocean. It includes all of New York and the Middle Atlantic states, southern New England, and most of the Southern states as far west as Louisiana (Driver 1969:21). The north portion of this region contains vast forests of birch and spruce, while the Appalachian Mountain region is dominated by deciduous and coniferous trees. An area of prairie land also extends from what is now Iowa to the northern part of the Appalachians. Within this region, the eastern Great Lakes, upstate New York and the central St. Lawrence Valley are of aboriginal importance, for the Iroquoian groups arose in this area.

The Iroquois were originally divided into five separate tribes, but by the sixteenth century they had formed a confederacy comprised of the Mohawk, Oneida, Cayugas, Senecas, and Onondaga tribes. These tribes are regarded as the Iroquois proper. Likening this political alliance to a symbolic longhouse, the Iroquois divided their land into five sections, each controlled by a different tribe.

The eastern door of this symbolic longhouse, which opened onto the Hudson Valley, was controlled by the Mohawk tribe. The western door, overlooking the Niagara River region, was protected by the Senecas. Between these two regions was a middle portion, located in the area of what is now present day Syracuse, New York, which was protected by the Oneidas, Cayugas, and Onondaga tribes. By the late seventeenth century, as other tribes were defeated, the influence of the Iroquois spread over an enormous area, from New England to the Mississippi, and from Ontario to Tennessee.

In the Southern portion of the Eastern Woodland region lies the area inhabited by the Cherokee, Creek, and other Southeastern tribes. This area stretches westward from the Atlantic Ocean to the lower Mississippi River, southward, from Virginia and Kentucky to the Gulf of Mexico, and north to the colder regions of the Mississippi and Ohio Valleys.

At the southernmost point of this geographic and cultural region, lies a broad coastal plain extending several hundred miles. Beyond the shore is an area known as the flatwoods. Conifers and scrub oak stud the flatwoods in the north, while toward the south they give way to salt palmetto and coarse savanna grasses, to cypress, tupelo, and cane (Spencer and Jennings 1977:402).

Further inland, and at a higher elevation, lies the inner belt of this coastal plain. The north part of this region marks the areas of the Piedmont and the Appalachian Mountain chain. The Piedmont is a plateau fringing the highest lands to the west, extending approximately 200 miles long and some 150 miles

wide at its widest point in North Carolina. At the highest elevation this plateau is 1,500 feet above sea level. The Appalachians, on the other hand, rise to approximately 6,684 feet at their highest point and are home to the southern hardwood forests.

Occupying the Appalachian Mountain chain, the Cherokee resided in the area of the Kanawha and Tennessee Rivers southward almost to the region near Atlanta, Georgia, and from the Blue Ridge on the east to the Cumberland range on the west, an area of approximately 40,000 square miles, included in what is now Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. Their primary towns were located on the Hiwasee, Tuckasegee, and Savannah Rivers.

Cultural Overview

Culturally, the northern Iroquoian groups reflect the way of life of the upper Eastern Woodlands, having established themselves in the area several millennia ago (Spencer and Jennings 1977:374). Iroquoian villages are built along lakes or streams, generally elevated and surrounded by a palisade of logs (Morgan 1962:313). These sites are permanent and occupied throughout the year. Surrounding the village are fields, consisting of several hundred acres of cultivated land. Within each village, matrilineal extended family groups form a household occupying a long house (Spencer and Jennings 1977:346). Longhouses are generally from fifty to one hundred and thirty feet in length by

about sixteen feet in width, with partitions at intervals of approximately ten to twelve feet (Morgan 1962:315). Individual families occupy each section within these houses, with groups sharing the central fireplaces in the aisle. Control of the longhouse rests with the elder females. The matrilineal family group along with the clan form the kinship pattern.

The subsistence pattern is a combination of horticulture and hunting, horticulture being primarily the female's responsibility, while hunting is the male's. Corn, beans, and squash are the staple crops, while deer is the primary game animal. Closely associated with the subsistence pattern is a variety of seasonal ceremonies, held mainly as a form of thanksgiving. Among these are the Green Corn Ceremony, the Maple Festival, the Planting Festival, the Strawberry Festival, the Harvest Festival and the New Year's Festival (Morgan 1962:182).

Politically, each clan segment within a village appoints its own chiefs who represented them at village councils. Although the chiefs, or sachems, are men, they are chosen and advised by the prominent women of the lineage, headed by the clan mother. As with other Indian groups, the Iroquois possess both civil and war chiefs who preside over the civil council and war councils (Morgan 1962:106). Civil councils address such issues as the construction of longhouses and settling disputes, while the war councils determine whether or not to wage war, of which retribution is the primary cause.

The Cherokee Indians reside in the southern portion of the Eastern Woodlands' cultural area. The elements of the aboriginal material, social, and political culture are typically Southeastern (Gilbert 1943:198) (Tables A, B, C). Residing in chiefdoms, or towns, the Cherokee construct their villages on the banks of rivers or large streams, close to the fertile soils in which their crops are planted. Each town has a ceremonial center, built around a plaza, and contain three distinct features: the town house, or rotunda, the public square, or summer council house, and a chunkey yard, or ball ground. The rotunda is circular, while the public square is an open, rectangular structure. Private dwellings consist of one to four buildings depending on a family's wealth, the most important being the winter lodge and the summer house (Hudson 1976:219). The winter lodge is circular and is comprised of a wooden frame upon which wattle and daub walls are fashioned; the summer house is rectangular in shape and built upon a framework of wooden posts and woven cane.

The subsistence pattern is a combination of hunting, gathering, and horticulture. Corn, beans, and squash are the primary crops, along with several types of roots, berries, and nuts. Deer is the most important animal foodstuff among the Cherokee. The social significance of the subsistence pattern culminates in holding the Green Corn Ceremony, which not only marks the celebration of summer and harvest season, but is a ritual feast in which the natural social order was restored (Hudson 1976:375).

TABLE A
Characteristics of Cherokee-Iroquois Material Culture

CHEROKEE	IROQUOIS
Dwellings: Winter Lodge - circular shape. Summer Lodge - rectangular shape.	Dwellings: Palisaded Villages - located on lakes and streams. Longhouses - 50 to 130 feet in length by 10 to 16 feet in width; divided into a series of open-sided cubicles where familiar resided.
Towns: Ceremonial center. Plaza with rotunda, public square or council house, and chunkey yard.	
Utilitarian Objects: Clothing - breech cloth, moccasins, skirts, leggings, matchcoat. Jewelry - rings, bracelets, gorgets, collars, necklaces. Pottery - pipes (clay tempered, usually with sand or quartz).	Utilitarian Objects: Pottery - pipes (often black clay tempered with pulverized quartz, or fashioned from soapstone), moccasins (deer and elk skin), canoes (birth or bark) ranged from 12 to 40 feet.

TABLE B
Characteristics of Cherokee-Iroquois Social Culture

CHEROKEE	IROQUOIS
Subsistence:	Subsistence:
Agriculture - communal affair.	Agricultural: female task.
Hunting - male task.	Hunting - male task.
Kinship:	Kinship:
Matrilineage and clan.	Matrilineage and clan.
Warfare:	Warfare:
Seasonal - spring, summer.	Seasonal - primarily summer.
Purpose - revenge, retaliation.	Purpose - retribution or acquisition of territory.

TABLE C
Characteristics of Cherokee-Iroquois Political Culture

CHEROKEE	IROQUOIS
Chiefdoms: Chief - head of chiefdom. Council - council exercised real power. War Chief - in addition to Civil Chief. By eighth century had developed tribal organization.	League of Iroquois - each of the five nations united under one confederacy. Villages - each clan segment within the village, each village appoints its own chiefs (civil and war chiefs).

The kinship pattern among the Cherokee is matrilineal, while the political system is the chiefdom. The primary social unit under this system is the matrilineage. Closely associated with the matrilineage is the clan, which is a group of lineages thought to be related by blood and linked ancestrally. In short, the kinship system as a whole provides a set of ready-made categories that determine who a person's enemies were, who his allies are, when he could and

could not marry, and to whom he will leave his property and social prerogatives to after he dies (Hudson 1976:189). Politically, the prehistoric Cherokee are divided into a series of chiefdoms, which by the eighteenth century had been replaced by tribal organization. Closely associated with towns, a chiefdom is a type of political organization ranked between the tribe and the state. At the head of each chiefdom is a chief (uku). Chosen from among the most distinguished clan in the town, the chief is responsible for a variety of tasks, ranging from receiving important visitors from other towns to distributing foodstuffs. Under him is the council of the chiefdom, comprised of other distinguished members of the town and ranked in terms of a rigid hierarchy, based for the most part on age, military accomplishments, and religious status. The Cherokee also have a war chief whose responsibility is to determine when and on what occasion war is desired. Retribution is the primary cause of Southeastern warfare (Swanton 1929:704).

ANTHROPOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

From a geographical perspective, the northern Iroquoian tribes and the various tribes of the Southeastern portion of North America occupy environmentally distinct regions, but on an anthropological level, these groups display similar characteristics best observed through language, pottery design, and certain aspects of their belief systems. Specifically, it is the Cherokee with whom the Iroquois seem to share certain fundamental cultural characteristics, which, when viewed as a whole, tend to support the theory that these two groups were at one time united both culturally and historically.

Ethnological Comparison

A cultural comparison of the Cherokee and Iroquois Indians reveals both similarities and differences. While differences can be attributed to geographical and indigenous influences, traits expressing a high degree of similarity attest to the fact that some type of contact has occurred, either through diffusion of ideas or through more specific contact at some point in history.

Three cultural traits are shared by the belief system of the Cherokee and Iroquois: belief in witchcraft, belief in a race of little people, and the prevalent use of masks in ceremony and ritual. These traditions were passed down orally for several centuries, until collected and written down by scholars such as Swanton,

Mooney, and Morgan. These traits are non-existent or poorly developed in the neighboring ethnic groups of the Cherokee and Iroquois.

Witchcraft

The first of these, witchcraft, is a widespread core belief among both the Cherokee and Iroquois. As noted by Charles Hudson (1976), with witchcraft, we enter a realm of human affairs that is full of hidden meaning, deceit, and ambiguity (Hudson 1976:174). Unlike our modern belief in witches, among Native Americans witchcraft is the belief that serious misfortune is caused by individuals working through mystical means.

In both Cherokee and Iroquoian society, witches represent the epitome of evil. It is believed that any person, no matter what age or sex, can be possessed by an evil spirit and be transformed into a witch. Thus, a person possessed can assume, at will, the form of any animal, bird, or reptile, and, having accomplished his evil deeds, can resume his original form, or, if necessary, to elude capture, can transform himself into an inanimate object (Morgan 1962:165). Aside from animals, witches also appear frequently as elderly people, particularly old women, as well as "small flames" or sparks, which usually appeared at night (Mooney 1982:375). In Cherokee mythology, witches also take on the guise of creatures collectively referred to as man-killers (Hudson 1976:175). These personages range from a race of water cannibals which live at the bottom of river

systems, to a more specific entity, spear-finger, an old woman, clad in stone, who seeks to eat the livers of victims (Hudson 1976:176).

The underlying similarity with witchcraft in both Cherokee and Iroquoian society is that witches are anomalous both in person and in behavior. By anomalous, it is meant that the witch stands outside the established norms of behavior and organizational categories. As noted by Morgan (1962:166), they are wholly bent upon deeds of wickedness, and a person, upon becoming a witch, ceases to be himself. It is here that the universal fear of these creatures probably resides, for witches violate the order, balance, and purity of the societies they afflict. Stated another way, witches are agents of social disharmony.

Several common elements are found in witchcraft among the Cherokee and Iroquois. The first is the direct association of witches with evil. This fact is observed in the anti-social behavior of these creatures, particularly in the cause of illness and death. The second characteristic is the witch's ability to transform at will into other guises, namely animals. This ability is referred to in many stories on witches and is largely part of the fear surrounding them. The final characteristic of witchcraft among the Cherokee and Iroquois Indians is how well this belief fits into the overall belief system of these groups, providing an acceptable explanation to events considered abnormal or outside conventional, small-scale society thought. Witchcraft among other Southeastern groups is either non-existent or undeveloped.

Belief in a Race of Little People

Another interesting cultural trait shared by both the Cherokee and Iroquois Indians is their belief in a race of Little People. According to both traditions, the Little People are a category of spiritual beings who remained invisible unless they wished to be seen (Witthoft 1946:414). They are described as being about the height of a man's knee, physically well-formed, with long hair almost reaching the ground. Although they resemble little people found in European folklore, because of the conservative nature of both the Cherokee and Iroquoian traditions, a European origin seems improbable as a general explanation for their existence (Witthoft and Hadlock 1946:413); meaning that the belief in Little People is an indigenous trait. Cherokee Little People give one the impression that they are an integral part of a highly elaborate tradition, while Iroquois Little People have become involved in religious concepts, some of which appear to be of considerable antiquity (Witthoft and Hadlock 1946:414).

Residing primarily in rock shelters and caves, the Little People are of a dual nature. While they are known to aid both hunters and children and to assist with such activities as harvesting crops, they are also mischievous and unpredictable, playing tricks on people, which often led to great harm. For example, when disturbed, they can bring about both psychological and physical ailments. Furthermore, to see the Little People means misfortune, but to tell someone of the encounter means almost certain death. The Iroquois also believe in the Little People's control over certain illnesses and so performed the

Dark Dance Feast as a form of propitiation toward them and other spiritual beings (Witthoft and Hadlock 1946:420). The Cherokee have no such elaborate ceremony as the Dark Dance Feast for placating the Little People, but showed them due respect through avoidance. Also, conjurers will sometimes address them in certain sacred formulas, thus attesting to the Little People's association with the spirit realm.

Certain common elements appear between the Little People of the Cherokee and Iroquois (Witthoft and Hadlock 1946:414,420). The first of these is the location where they reportedly live. As both traditions reveal, this is primarily in various rock shelters and caves, generally in the side of a mountain. They are also known to live in wooded areas. The first element is unique in that it points to the similarity of topography of the Eastern Woodland physiographic region. The second common characteristic of the Little People is their dual nature, referring to the fact that they exhibit both good and evil traits. As mentioned, these beings are known to aid people as well as harm them, either through physical or psychological means.

The final element is that between both groups, the Little People are considered spiritual beings and are treated accordingly. Commenting on the unique relationship of the Little People with Native Americans, Cayuga Chief Deskaheh suggests that because the Indians have been in America so long and have been in such intimate contact with their natural environment, they have

formed relationships with beings and things of which Europeans had no knowledge (Witthoft and Hadlock 1946:421).

Ceremonial and Ritual Mask Use

The third cultural trait found within both Cherokee and Iroquoian society is the prevalent use of masks in ceremony and ritual. According to Fenton (1987:3), among the Iroquois these masks are known as False Faces. Associated with curing ceremonies, these masks form the basis for the formation of medicine societies, groups of associated individuals whose task is to diagnose, to placate, and to effect cures by manipulation of supernatural forces (Spencer and Jennings 1977:390). Always acting as a group, the False Faces will enter the home of a sick person and move about in a grotesque fashion, uttering strange sounds and generally grunting and crying. Ashes and rattles are then used in an attempt to scare away the illness, or, more precisely, the spirit which inflicts the illness. Upon completion of the ceremony, the participants are given special gifts or even food. As in the case of several Native American groups, the effect of group activity in a matter such as curing is to create a sense of social cohesion, through which individuals are brought to a fuller awareness of participation in society and universe (Spencer and Jennings 1977:391).

Aside from individualistic curing ceremonies, the False Faces also participates in the Iroquoian Midwinter Festival, a sequence of thanksgiving, propitiatory, and curing ceremonies held annually, usually in the month of

February (Spencer and Jennings 1977:389). The Midwinter Festival probably originates as response to a prolonged period of illness and later marks the passage from the old year to the new, or from the season of darkness to the time of light. When the False Face society performs, specialized songs and dances are used in an attempt to prevent the reoccurrence of illness. These curing ceremonies involve group shamanistic practices used in conjunction with medicinal herbs and are directed toward propitiating the supernatural agent responsible for the illness (Spencer and Jennings 1977:389). As among the Cherokee Indians, the Iroquois believe disease is caused by supernatural elements, and a restoration of balance is sought.

The masks themselves are carved from the trunks of living trees. Assuming spellbinding forms, the masks represent an array of spiritual or mythological beings, many being fashioned from the carver's own dreams. William Fenton classifies False Faces into at least twelve types: the crooked-mouth mask, the straight-lip mask, the spoon-mouthed mask, the hanging-mouth mask, the protruding-tongue mask, the smiling mask, whistling mask, the divided mask, long-nosed mask, horned mask, animal masks, and the blind mask (Fenton 1987:31-48).

The Cherokee parallel to the Iroquoian false face is the Booger Mask. Unlike the false faces, the Boogers do not form a collective society, but are the main participants and focus in the Booger Dance. Primarily a dramatic performance, its main purpose is to serve as an antidote to disease and

misfortune (Fenton 1987:476). By parodying foreigners, such as white Europeans, negroes, and other Indians, order and balance was believed to be restored. The actions of the maskers portray the Cherokee vision of the European invader as awkward, ridiculous, lewd, and menacing, a dramatic perpetuation of the tradition of hostility and disdain (Speck and Broom 1951:36). The names of Boogers usually are obscene, generally having anal, sexual, or alien references.

The masks are made of wood, the dimensions being suited to fit the male face, approximately ten to twelve inches long and six to eight inches wide. Several masks are fashioned from gourds as well. According to Will West Long, a modern mask maker residing at the Qualla Reservation, there are a dozen types of Booger masks, most representing foreign invaders, but a few represent animals, such as the bear or wasp (Speck and Broom 1951:27). The exaggerated features of these masks display both the humor of the Cherokee Indians as well as the contempt for the evil spirits which sometimes plague their people, particularly the white man, who for centuries have brought misfortune. The act of parodying them perhaps serve to diminish their threat to the community (Speck and Broom 1951:27).

While there are differences between the Iroquoian False Faces and the Cherokee Booger Masks, several features are common. Perhaps the most important is the association of the masks with combating illness and misfortune. This would attest to both the Cherokee and Iroquoian belief that illness is caused

primarily by supernatural forces or beings. The mask ceremonies are used in placating or frightening away these forces. Although the Boogers do not form a medicine society as did the False Faces, they are sometimes called in by medicine men to aid in curing. The two cultures also share the common traits of maskers speaking in foreign tongues, whispering, doing caricatures, masquerading as hunters, carrying bows, having a gross distortion of the figure to represent pregnancy, handling offal, and the use of augmented names (Fenton 1987:476). In both cases, the maskers evoke anxiety and represent invaders or visitors from afar who enter, disrupt social dances, and request dances of their own choice (Fenton 1987:476).

Linguistical Evidence

Of the evidence linking the Cherokee and Iroquoian Indians, perhaps the most convincing is that which points to a linguistic relationship. As Floyd G. Lounsbury states in his work, *Iroquois-Cherokee Linguistic Relations* (1961), there are a fair number of seemingly important isoglosses which cut through the Iroquoian family in a different place from that of its largest division. This implies that while the widest division in the Iroquoian family is certainly that between the Cherokee and the rest of the groups; on a linguistic level, a bridge can be established that seems to link these various groups.

Examples of linguistic ties are seen in the use of prefixes. Each of the Iroquoian languages possesses a set of pronominal prefixes which indicate the

various transitive combinations of pronominal subject and pronominal object, distinguishing person, number, and gender, with varying degrees of specificity (Lounsbury 1961:12). Specifically, the use of prefixes with a plural formative *ka-* can be found in some of the Iroquoian languages, including Cherokee. The similarities are observed in the combination of the first person singular subject with the third person plural object, 'I-to-them.' In Cherokee, the prefix *katsi-* is used to imply this relation, while in Tuscarora and Cayuga, the prefix is *Kakhe-*, both of which possess the *ka* plurals (Lounsbury 1961:13).

Another example of a linguistic connection is found in the words designating the number four and the term used to designate the paternal aunt. In Cherokee, the word *nvhki* is used to designate four, while the Laurentian word is *hy nahko* and the Tuscarora is *hv tahk*. Iroquoian words for the numeral four go back to the two separate protoforms, *hv nakh* and *kayari*. The Cherokee, Tuscarora, and Laurentian tribes employ the first term, while the Seneca, Oneida, and Mohawk use the second. As for the term designating the paternal aunt, the word *e.hloki* is used among the Cherokee, *akharak* among the Tuscarora, and *ake-hak* among Seneca. The forms in these languages are cognate, going back to the proto-Iroquoian root, *nahak* (Lounsbury 1961:13).

With vocabulary, certain analogous items tend to be either cognate or noncognate in nature, referring to the fact that words may have been separately inherited from the same vocabulary items in the ancestral language. Words that are borrowed or adopted from related languages show nonaccidental similarities.

However, the greater the time differential between related languages, the fewer the cognate forms of words that remain, which is the case with the Cherokee language and the primary Iroquoian languages.

Within these two languages, few words display cognitive characteristics. The Oneida word *waha'sehte* and the Cherokee word *ko-ho-hnta* are an example. These words, which mean 'he dropped it,' contain cognate verb roots. Both words are causative forms based on verb roots for 'to fall.' This root is *-e-* in Oneida, and *-o-* in Cherokee. It is the regularity of these phonetic letters in each language that proves that they are in fact cognate roots. Another example is seen is the verb stems *-atawe-* and *-atawo-*, both meaning 'to swim.' Such regularities greatly decrease the probability of chance as the explanation of any particular instance of such a correspondence (Lounsbury 1978:342).

Other linguistic characteristics are unique to the whole of the Iroquoian language group. In morphology, the branch of linguistics that deals with the internal structure and forms of words, the Iroquoian languages are of a polysynthetic, fusional, and incorporating type, which means that words may be made up of a great many component parts, whose relative order is strictly determined. Specifically, these parts are variable in their phonetic forms and are unintelligible and without meaning if taken out of proper context (Lounsbury 1978:336). Verb forms may also incorporate noun roots as direct objects with transitive verb roots and as subjects with intransitive verb roots (Lounsbury

1978:337). These elements combine in various fashions to form the verb stem and the inflection of the stem.

Although the phonetic forms of cognate lexical and the inflectional elements have undergone many changes, the phonemic inventories of the languages have remained quite similar. The features of this phonemic inventory are two oral step consonants (*apico-alveolar* and *dorso-velor*, usually written t and k), a sibilant (s), from three to five resonant consonants (y, w, r or l), two laryngeals, and from five to seven vowels (Lounsbury 1978:337). Interesting aspects of these systems include the lack of labials, the nondistinctiveness of voicing, and the small number of unit consonant phonemes. The small number of consonant phonemes is balanced by their combinability into complex clusters, while the stop and resonant consonants may either be voiced or voiceless depending on the context, the same being true for vowels in two of the languages (Lounsbury 1978:337). As for the lack of labials, there are no sounds for *b* or *p*, while, *m*, *f*, and *v* are also lacking in most of the languages.

All of these various features are found in most of the branches of the Iroquoian language groups, thereby establishing a common base through which each geographical and dialectic variation may be connected. While the rift between Cherokee and Iroquoian culture is wide, the linguistic evidence indicates a common proto-Iroquoian origin (Lounsbury 1961:16).

Archaeological Analysis

Further evidence of a Cherokee and Iroquoian cultural connection is offered by archaeology. Specifically, it is in the realm of ceramic ware that this relationship is best depicted. Archaeologist, Joffre L. Coe, acknowledges this possible connection in his paper *Cherokee Archaeology* (1961). He notes that Cherokee pottery at the end of the Woodland period possessed such characteristics as thickened rims, the formation of collars, and decoration produced through incising and punctation. Castellations and nodes also appear as an important feature of this ware as well. The significance of these early ceramic traits is that they also appear early in the Iroquois area. It is also significant that these characteristics appear on pottery that seems to be ancestral to that used by at least some of the historic Cherokee (Coe 1968:59). This relationship is best revealed through the study of ceramics of the Pisgah phase of the early Mississippian period. Dickens describes these sherds as pseudo-Iroquoian since they manifest an attenuated resemblance to prehistoric Iroquoian pottery in the northeastern United States (Dickens 1976:131).

The Pisgah phase of the Mississippian Culture Complex is the first division of Cherokee prehistory in the South Appalachian Summit region (Keel 1976:44). Estimated between A.D. 1000 and 1550, Pisgah sites are found throughout an area of approximately 14,000 square miles, with the geographic center considered to be western North Carolina, particularly the French Broad River drainage where the best and most recent data have been obtained (Keel

1976:45). Artifacts of this period are made of stone, clay, bone, shell and wood, and include such items as rectanguloid celts, awls, elbow pipes, and hammerstones, as well as a variety of pottery vessels.

The basic vessel is a globular jar with an everted rim, on top of which has been attached an additional clay strip to form a collar (Dickens 1976:42). Thickened rims, straight rims, and inslanted rims are also present on several specimens, with decoration consisting of rows of diagonal punctations or incised patterns. Rim appendages in the form of handles, nodes, vertical lugs, appliqued striped, and castellations are also distinctive features of this ware. Clay is generally tempered with fine-to-coarse river sand or crushed quartz, with interior color ranging from light gray to black (Keel 1976:47).

In regard to typology, the Pisgah Ceramic Series is grouped, on the basis of surface finish, into four types: Pisgah Rectilinear Complicated Stamped, Pisgah Curvilinear Stamped, Pisgah Check Stamped, and Pisgah Plain (Keel 4). The Rectilinear Series, which is also the most prevalent at archaeological sites, consists of three designs. These forms range from groups of parallel lines set perpendicular to each other in a series of ladder-like patterns, to less frequent variations consisting of slanted lines either on the central or the flanking portions of the design element (Keel 1976:47). Rims are of three types: collared, thickened, or unmodified. Appendages include appliqued strips, vertical lugs, nodes, and small castellations, all found on collared rims.

Owasco period pottery of Iroquoian pre-history displays certain features with Pisgah Phase pottery of Cherokee pre-history. Specifically, it is in the Castle Creek Phase of Iroquoian pre-history that specific ceramic traits emerge with which South Appalachian Pisgah Phase pottery is compared. General characteristic of Owasco pottery include grit-tempered paste, smooth interior surface finish, and exterior surface treatment applied by malleation with a cord-wrapped, fabric-wrapped, or carved wooden paddle (Tuck 1978:329). Several vessels also possess pronounced collars, often castellated, which seems to have evolved in the Northeast from thickened and/or everted lips of an earlier stage (Tuck 1978:329). Decorative designs consist of simple linear motifs, characterized by plats, herringbones, and horizontal, vertical, and oblique arrangements. Incising also becomes more pronounced in this period as well, a decorative technique which will later become the predominant type among the historic Iroquois. The horizontal, chevron, and oblique collar motifs, so common on later Iroquoian vessels, are also well established by the year A.D. 1300 (Tuck 1971:22). Vessel size ranges from two to twelve gallon containers.

The Castle Creek Phase of Iroquoian pre-history, from which many of the comparable ceramic elements emerge, takes its name from a hilltop in Broome County, New York, excavated in the early 1930s. The defining characteristics of this phase, while clearly indicating its earlier Owasco heritage, foretell many of the patterns of Iroquois culture which follow. Of the features distinguishing this phase, it is the material culture which presents the most definable

characteristics, particularly among ceramic ware. Pottery of the Castle Creek phase comprises of rounded vessels with a well-differentiated rim area, often collared and castellated. Decoration consists of simple linear motifs, confined for the most part, to the rims, collars, necks, and occasionally shoulders of the vessels (Tuck 1971:23). Three style phases are generally associated with this phase: Castle Creek Punctate, Castle Creek Beaded, and Castle Creek Incised (Tuck 1971:24).

The first of these, Castle Creek Punctate, is characterized by a small grit paste, decoration consisting of rows of punctations on the collar, associated with either incised lines, punctations, plats of cord-wrapped stick, or oblique lines of similar impressions on the neck, and collared rims (Tuck 1971:24). Castellations, or rim points, are often present, along with appendages such as vertical lugs applied to the collar. Castle Creek Beaded is also made of a small grit paste with decoration consisting of two or three horizontal rows of short vertical lines on the outer rim (Tuck 1971:24). Below this area lines on the neck which are either incised triangles or horizontal lines of cord-wrapped stick impressions. Rims contain a flattened lip with a ridge or small bead below it, with appendages consisting of castellations, appearing as slight elevations of the lip. In the third phase, Castle Creek Incised, pottery is distinguished by small to large grit paste formed from pulverized crystalline rock. Regarding decoration, the primary element consists of groups of rudely incised parallel lines placed obliquely on the neck to form open triangles (Ritchie and MacNeish 1952:149).

The rim area is decorated with either a single or double oblique line, sometimes forming a herringbone design, with weak rim points or castellations common. The necks are concave and smooth and also display incising.

Summary

Through archaeological, ethnological, and linguistical evidence, it appears that the Cherokee Indians of the Southeastern portion of North America and the Iroquois Indians of the northeast share several cultural traits. Under ethnology, this includes a belief in witchcraft, belief in a race of Little People, and the prevalent use of masks in ceremony and ritual. Under linguistics, several distinctive features are present in both the Cherokee and Iroquoian languages, such as in the use of prefixes and the words designating the number four and the term used to designate the paternal aunt, both of which are positive evidence of a proto-Iroquoian origin. Within archaeology, these common characteristics reveal themselves through certain phases of pottery design. All of these features support the contention that these groups were at one time united both culturally and historically.

MYTH

Aside from linguistic evidence connecting the Cherokee and Iroquois, it is myth which serves as the most stable link in establishing historical and cultural relatedness. The reason is that while other aspects of culture are more susceptible to change from environmental and cultural factors, language and myth remain more constant. The consistency of myth and language is particularly true of the Cherokee and Iroquois Indians, both groups having resided in their respective regions for hundreds of years, the Cherokee emerging from a Mississippian Cultural Complex dating to A.D. 1000 (Keel 1976:45), while the Iroquois developed from the late Woodland Owascoid culture at approximately the same time (Tuck 1971:22). Although residing in these separated areas for several centuries, adapting to and adopting characteristics of other groups within these regions, the language and myth of the Cherokee and Iroquois groups retained common characteristics, establishing that they were at one time united both historically and culturally. Based on linguistic tests, such as glottochronology, the estimated time for this union is 3,500 to 4,000 years ago (Lounsbury 1978:223).

A comparison of Cherokee and Iroquoian creation and hero myths reveals several common characteristics not shared with the neighboring Creek Indians or other Southeastern groups. First, both the Cherokee and Iroquois creation

myths are earth-diver myths. In this particular type of tale, creation is brought about by a divine being, usually an animal, diving into water to bring up the first particles of earth, becoming the foundation for the development of the universe. Symbolism associated with the earth-diver myth includes descent into the water and the antagonism between the divine beings (Long 1963:189). Water is the unformed, unstable and pregnant chaos out of which the universe springs (Long 1968:188). It is also a symbol of purity and a sign of destruction. The descent into the water represents a descent into the underworld or a return to the womb, the purpose being renewal and stability. The antagonism between the divine beings is seen as dualism, and is revealed through such imagery as good versus evil, protagonist antagonist concept.

Four specific traits appear in both the Cherokee and Iroquois creation belief systems. The first is the concept of a sky world. According to both tales, life existed in these sky worlds, and from there penetrated the primal waters below. The second significant trait found in both creation myths is the descent into the water by an animal. In the Iroquoian story, it is the toad or the muskrat who makes this dive to retrieve mud from the bottom of the ocean. Among the Cherokee, it is the Water Beetle who descends the depths. The third, and perhaps the most unique belief, found in both Iroquois and Cherokee stories of creation is Sky-Woman, known as Star-Woman in Cherokee mythology. Sky-Woman was believed to be responsible for the creation of the universe by digging a hole through the sky world and penetrating the cosmic waters below.

The development of agriculture is also attributed to this divine figure. Finally, in both Cherokee and Iroquoian mythology, the appearance of twin boys is also associated with the female figure (Table D).

The creation myths of the Cherokee and Iroquois reflect elements different from that of the Creek and other Southeastern groups. First, Creek creation is achieved through a process known as emergence, as opposed to the Cherokee-Iroquois process of the earth-diver. Second, the Creek creation tale makes no reference to a Sky-Woman or Sky-Vault, features prevalent in both Cherokee and Iroquoian stories. A third feature found in the Creek creation story, not in the Cherokee and Iroquoian versions, is the emphasis placed on light and color. While found within the overall belief systems of all three of these various Indian groups, especially in reference to the cardinal directions, only among the Creeks does the image of various colors seem to symbolize every aspect of life. Finally, the appearance of the animals in both the Cherokee and Iroquois tales, not found in the Creek story, tends to further support the theory that these two groups share a similar mythological system.

Similar features are also reflected in the hero myths of the Cherokee and Iroquois (Table E). The mythic hero is the man or woman who leaves the ordinary world of waking consciousness, enters the dark world of the supernatural, overcomes those who would destroy him there, and then returns to

TABLE D
Creation Myths

	IROQUOIS	CHEROKEE	CREEK
Earth-Diver Myth:	Yes	Yes	No
Emergence Myth:	No	No	Yes
Appearance of Sky-Woman:	Yes	Yes	No
Appearance of Animals:	Yes	Yes	No
Appearance of Twins:	Yes	Yes	No
Color Symbolism:	No	No	Yes
Water Symbolism: (Descent into water)	Yes	Yes	No

the ordinary, possessed of power and new knowledge for his people (Campbell 1949:70). The hero moves, metaphorically, into the darker side, into the unconscious realm that we tentatively explore in our own dreams, into the world where our nightmares become real, where the monsters inside of us take on terrifyingly real forms, and where our deepest wishes are sometimes fulfilled (Leeming 1990:217).

TABLE E
Hero Myths

	CHEROKEE	IROQUOIS	CREEK
Appearance of Twins:	Yes	Yes	No
Union with Father Figure:	Yes	Yes	Yes
Death of Mother Figure:	Yes	Yes	No
Creation of or Releasing of Animals:	Yes	Yes	No
Dual and Divine Nature of Twins:	Yes	Yes	No
Shamanistic Traits of Twins:	Yes	Yes	No
Emergence of Agriculture:	Yes	Yes	No

In the mythology of the Cherokee and Iroquois, the image of the Twin Heroes or Twin Gods appear in both tales. Closely connected with the twins are the death of the mother figure and the emergence of agriculture, the creation of or releasing of animals into the world, the appearance of or union with the father figure, and the dual nature of the twins themselves.

In both mythologies, the death of the mother figure and the sprouting of plants from her body is an important image. In the Iroquoian version, the mother figure is killed after the left-handed twin is born from her armpit. In the Cherokee version, the mother figure, Selu, is killed by her two sons, believing her to be a witch. In both cases, corn, beans, and squash emerge from their dead bodies. The significance of this act lies int two things. First, the death of the mother figure and the sprouting of plants from her body marks the emergence and presentation of plant foods into the world. The twins' role in this act is important, for it was the killing of the mother which set this process in motion. They are co-creators in the emergence of agriculture, themselves offering the male seed in this creative venture. The death of the mother and the sprouting of plants represents birth and renewal, a continuous process in nature. Finally, the death of the mother figure marks the initial stage in the hero cycle, where the twins are called to adventure, for it is after this that the boys embark on their life journey (Campbell 1949:52).

Another feature of both the Cherokee and Iroquoian tales is the act of creating or releasing animals into the world. In the Iroquoian version, the right-handed twin creates such animals as the deer, squirrel, raccoon, and porcupine, while his brother, the left-handed twin, creates predatory creatures, such as the bear, mountain lion, and weasel. The left-handed twin is also said to have introduced anomalous creatures to the world, such as the bat. In the Cherokee version, the twins release various animals into the world after removing a large

rock from the side of a mountain. Deer are the first animals released from the rock, followed by many species of four-footed animals, as well as insects. The creating or releasing of animals into the world is a significant act of creation; the Iroquoian twins creating animals from their own power, or from themselves, while in the Cherokee tale, the animals are released from the side of a mountain by removing a rock. This creative act attests to the divine nature of the twins, for creation belongs to the realm of the gods.

In both mythologies, the appearance of and union with the father figure plays an important role in the lives of the twins. In the Iroquoian tale, it is the right-handed twin, Sapling, who seeks the aid of his father. After reaching a lake and diving to the bottom, Sapling comes to a lodge in which a man dwells. After talking with the figure, he realizes that this is the father which he seeks. The father, who was in reality, the Great Turtle, supporter of the universe, gave his son a bow and arrow and two ears of corn. Both of these gifts are to be used in combating the tricks of the left-handed twin and their grandmother, Sky-Woman. In another version of the story, the father figure is described as the West Wind. Once traveling to where the wind begins, the twin confronts his father, asking him for the gift of game animals so that he might populate the earth with them. Before his request is granted, however, the father devises a test in the form of a race. Completing the race, the West Wind grants the twin his wish.

In the Cherokee tale, the two boys decide to search for Kanati, their father, who left after the death of his wife, Selu. After rolling a gaming wheel in

the four directions, Wild Boy concludes their father was dwelling in the Sunland, or east. Kanati devises two tests designed to throw off the twins. First, the boys shoot a cougar in the head, proving their bravery. In the second trial, lightning emerges from the body of Wild Boy, killing a tribe of cannibals.

An interesting aspect of the twins' character in both traditions is that they exhibit a dual nature, possessing both creative and destructive (or mischievous) traits. In the Cherokee tale, the creative aspect is seen primarily in the introduction of domesticated food plants, and the releasing of game animals into the world. The introduction of food plants occurs after the boys kill their mother, Selu. Symbolically, this represents a sexual act, or union, in which the twins implant the male seed of life into the mother figure, corn, beans, and squash emerging.

In the Iroquoian tale, the creative aspect of the twins is seen in the creation of animals and various features of the landscape. As the story relates, the right-handed twin made animals such as the deer, squirrel, raccoon, and porcupine, while the left-handed twin created predators such as the bear, weasel, bat, and mountain lion. The twins also creates rivers, streams, cascades, and a variety of plants. As in the Cherokee tale, the Iroquoian twins are connected with the emergence of agriculture, which results from the death of their mother, the daughter of Sky-Woman.

The twins of the Cherokee and Iroquois myths also display a destructive (or mischievous) side. In the Iroquois tale, the negative side is displayed through

the left-handed twin, Flint, whose monstrous creatures and predatory animals stand in opposition to the creations of the right-handed twin. The left-handed twin also attempts the building of a stone bridge, stretching across a great lake, in order to release deadly monsters from the invisible shore. As described by Campbell (1988:161), the figure of the left-handed twin, Flint, is an antithetical creator, counterpart of the Persian Angra Mainyu, the Deceiver, Lord of Darkness, who as negative counterplayer to the Lord of Truth and Light, Ahura Mazda, cannot truly create, but only imitate and undo, pouring darkness, evil and imperfection into a universe already made of light, harmony, and perfection.

In the Cherokee tale, the destruction element of the twins is displayed in a mischievous aspect. In the tale of the Wild Boy and his brother, many of their exploits have a dual nature of being both mischievous pranks and creative acts, as revealed in the killing of the mother figure, Selu, and in the releasing of the animals from the side of the mountain, both acts starting as mischievous or negative pranks, the result being the creation or emergence of new life into the world.

According to Iroquoian mythology, the name of the right-handed twin, Sapling, means smooth, young, green, fresh, and innocent. It also means one who is straight-forward, straight-growing, and teachable. Because he is said to reside in the Sky World, this twin is also known as "He Holds Up the Skies," and watches over the affairs of man from above. The smoke from sacred tobacco is burned as an offering to this twin. The left-handed twin also has several names,

the primary one being Flint, or Old Stoney One. He is devious and stubborn in nature and thought to be dark in color, symbolic of his disposition. Residing in the underworld, he knows the ways of man and is pleased with the prospect of warfare. The right-handed twin is honored by rituals performed during daylight, while the left-handed twin, with song and dance at night.

As described by Campbell, the battle of these twin brothers resembles a shamanic combat-challenge, expressed through the various creations and in the final battle, when the left-handed twin is defeated with the antler of a deer. The final two acts of the right-handed twin, Sapling, are also of a shamanic challenge type. After defeating a giant in a test of strength, Sapling gains from his challenger the promise of aid for mankind, particularly in the curing of disease. The Iroquoian False Face society emerges as an organization to carry out this task. As one version of their origin claims, the False Faces are village organizations of spiritually endowed, local visionaries, dedicated to the corporal act of mercy of visiting, masked, in full membership, and attempting thereby to cure the sick by a kind of shock effect, as well as by magically suggestive shamanistic means (Campbell 1988:161).

As in many mythological tales, the story of the Cherokee twins is an attempt to explain how various conditions of the world came about. Described as braggarts and reckless rule-breakers, who brings uncertainty into a perfectly orderly world, Wild Boy and his brother also serve as intermediaries between man and the Upper World (Hudson 1976:155). When people are faced with a

serious problem, the twins may be called upon to intervene. The fact that their acts are simultaneously prankish and creative in nature is indicative of the Trickster figure, a divine being who possesses both creative and destructive traits. As with the Iroquoian counterparts, the Cherokee twins look upon the affairs of man from the Upper World.

A comparison of Cherokee and Iroquoian mythology reveals common characteristics, which when paired with the commonality of language and the fact that the specific features of the creation and hero myths of the Cherokee are not found in the mythology of other Southeastern Indians, offers firm support for a cultural and historical link between the Cherokee and Iroquois. Under the creation myth, both the Cherokee and Iroquois display an earth-diver type, meaning that creation was brought about by a divine being, usually an animal, diving into water to bring up the first particles of earth. Specific symbolism associated with earth-diving myths include water, descent into the water, and the antagonism between the divine beings. Other characteristics of both Cherokee and Iroquois creation are the appearance of a Sky World, descent into the water by an animal, appearance of a Sky-Woman, and the appearance of twins.

With the hero myth, both the Cherokee and Iroquois possess the Twin Heros or Twin Gods. Associated with the twins are the death of the mother figure and the emergence of agriculture, the creation of or releasing of animals into the world, the union with the father figure, and the dual nature of the twins

themselves. In both tales, the twins' connection with creation and the emergence of agriculture are important features.

CONCLUSION

As determined by linguistic tests, such as glottochronology, at some time between B.C. 1500 and B.C. 2000, the ancestors of the historic Cherokee Indians, split from their Northern Iroquoian homeland and migrated into the Appalachian Mountain region of the southeast portion of North America. Once established in this region, the Cherokee adopted many traits of the Southeastern Cultural Area, particularly social organization and subsistence technology. However, upon closer examination, certain features of Cherokee culture, specifically mythology and linguistics, more closely resemble features of the Iroquoian tribes to the north. Because of the resistance to change over long periods of time, both myth and language serve as conservative cultural indicators that the Cherokee and Iroquois were at one time united both culturally and historically. Other evidence, provided by archaeological and ethnographic data, also support a cultural link.

With archaeology, it is in the realm of ceramic ware that this relationship is best depicted. Specifically, a comparison of early Cherokee and Iroquoian pottery reveals similar features. Characteristics of this ware include thickened rims, the formation of collars, decoration produced through incising and punctation, and castellations and nodes. The significance rests with the fact that in the Cherokee area there appear, apparently as early as in New York, certain

characteristics that have become closely identified with the northern Iroquois (Coe 1961:59). In Cherokee pre-history, this period is known as the Pisgah Phase of the Mississippian Culture Complex. In Iroquoian pre-history, the corresponding phase is the Castle Creek Phase.

Under ethnology, similarities are found in the belief of witchcraft, the use of masks in ceremony and ritual, and the belief in a race of little people. The first of these, witchcraft, is a widespread core belief among the Cherokee and Iroquois. Unlike modern notions of witches, witchcraft among Native Americans is the theory that serious misfortune is caused by individuals working through mystical means. In both traditions, witches represent the epitome of evil. It is believed that any person could be possessed by an evil spirit and transformed into a witch. Witches can also take the form of an animal. The underlying similarity with witchcraft in both Cherokee and Iroquoian society is that witches were anomalous, both in person and in behavior.

Another interesting cultural trait shared by both the Cherokee and Iroquois Indians is their belief in a race of little people. According to both traditions, the Little People are a category of spiritual beings who remain invisible unless they wished to be seen (Witthoft 1946:414). They are described as being about a foot tall, several inches taller than the European variety, with long hair almost reaching the ground. Residing primarily in rock shelters and caves, the Little People are of a dual nature, aiding lost children and hunters as well as causing mischief. Common elements in both belief systems include location of where the

Little People live, their dual nature, and the fact that they are considered spiritual beings.

The third ethnological trait found within both Cherokee and Iroquoian society is the prevalent use of masks in ceremony and ritual. Iroquoian masks are known as False Faces. Associated with curing ceremonies, these masks form the basis for the formation of medicine societies, groups of associated individuals whose task is to diagnose, to placate, and to effect cures by manipulation of supernatural forces (Spencer and Jennings 1977:396). As in the case of several Native American groups, the affect of group activity in a matter such as curing was to affect a sense of social cohesion, through which individuals are brought to a fuller awareness of participation in society and universe (Spencer and Jennings 1977:391).

The Cherokee parallel to the Iroquoian False Face is the Booger Mask (Fenton 1987:475). Unlike the False Faces, the Boogers do not form a collective society, but are the main participants and focus in the Booger Dance, a dramatic performance whose main purpose is to serve as an antidote to disease and misfortune. By parodying foreigners, such as white Europeans, negroes, and other Indians, order and balance is hoped to be restored. The names of Boogers usually are obscene, generally having anal, sexual, or alien reference.

While there are differences between the Iroquoian False Faces and the Cherokee Booger Masks, several features are common. Perhaps the most important is the association of the masks with combating illness and misfortune.

The masked ceremonies are used in placating or frightening away these forces. The two cultures also share the common traits of maskers speaking in foreign tongues, whispering, doing caricatures, masquerading as hunters, carrying bows, having a gross distortion of the figure to represent pregnancy, handling offal, and the use of augmented names (Fenton 1987:476).

Of the evidence linking the Cherokee and Iroquois, the most compelling is offered by mythology and linguistics. A language connection was realized as far back as 1769 when missionary, David Zeisberger, traveled among both the Onondaga and the Cherokee Indians. Recent studies undertaken by Floyd G. Lounsbury (1961) confirm that the Cherokee and Iroquois groups do share a common linguistic heritage and that these groups split from each other at least two thousand years ago.

An example of a linguistic tie is seen in the use of prefixes, such as with the plural formative *ka-*. The prefix *katsi-* in Cherokee and *kakhe-* in both Tuscarora and Cayuga, possess the *ka-* plurals. Another linguistic example is found in the words designating the number four and the term used to designate the paternal aunt. The Cherokee use the word *nvhki* to designate four, while the Laurentian word is *hv nahko* and the Tuscarora is *hv tahk*. The term designating the paternal aunt is *e.hloki* in Cherokee, *akharak* in Tuscarora, and *ake-hak* in Seneca. The forms in these languages are cognate, going back to the proto-Iroquoian root, *nakak-* (Lounsbury 1961:13). This linguistic evidence suggests that while the split between Cherokee and Iroquoian culture is large in many

particulars, certain linguistic features in both languages point to a proto-Iroquoian origin.

After language, which establishes a correlation with the Iroquoian groups, it is myth which offers the most interesting and compelling means of establishing a relationship between the Cherokee and Iroquois. The primarily reason for this, is that certain features found in Cherokee mythology are not displayed in the mythologies of other Southeastern groups. Specifically, it is the creation and hero myths which reveal characteristics found in the belief systems of both the Iroquois and Cherokee. With the creation myth, both the Cherokee and Iroquois tales are an earth-diver type. This refers to the fact that creation is brought about by a divine being, usually an animal, diving into the water to bring up the first particles of earth. Symbolism associated with the earth-diver myth includes water, descent into the water, and the antagonism between the divine beings (Long 1963:189). Also found in both creation tales is the concept of a Sky World, descent into the waters by an animal, and the appearance of a Sky-Woman. The Creek and Choctaw Indians, on the other hand, possess an emergence myth, in which people emerge into the world by way of one or more underworlds. Man and the various other forms of life are regarded as seeds of life within the earth.

Similar features are also reflected in the hero myths of the Cherokee and Iroquois. Specifically, in both tales, the appearance of the Twin Heroes or Twin Gods is an important image. Closely connected with the twins are the death of

the mother figure and the emergence of agriculture, the creation of or releasing of animals into the world, the appearance of a union with the father figure, and the dual and divine nature of the twins themselves. The Creek and other Southeastern Indians do not display a hero myth of this type, but do possess the trickster figure, reflected in rabbit, who becomes a hero through his theft of fire. All of these mythological features combine to provide positive evidence that the Cherokee myths are derived from the Iroquois to the north.

APPENDIX

The following myths were taken from the most conservative sources available on native American mythology. Both the Cherokee creation and hero myths were taken from James Mooney's *Myths of the Cherokee*, Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington D.C., 1922. Mooney obtained these tales at the end of the nineteenth century from the Cherokee medicine man, swimmer. A portion of the Cherokee creation myth was taken from David Leeming's *Encyclopedia of Creation Myths*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. The Creek Emergence myth was obtained from John R. Swanton's *Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy*, Forty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington D.C., 1928. The myth itself was obtained from A.S. Gatschet, who recorded the tale in 1835. Swanton's *The Myths of the Southeastern Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, No. 88, Washington D.C., 1929, was also consulted for use in the paper as well. The Iroquois myths were obtained from J.N.B. Hewitt's *Iroquois Cosmology*, Twenty-First Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington D.C., 1899.

CHEROKEE CREATION MYTH

Mooney, James. *Myths of the Cherokee*, Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington D.C., 1900.

There was a time long ago when everything was covered by water. Anything that was alive then lived in Galunlati, the vault above the sky, where it was so crowded that it was hard even to move. Desperate for more space, the animals sent Water Beetle out to explore. He dove to the bottom of the waters and came back to the surface with a bit of mud. The mud spread out and became the earth-island, which the Great Spirit fastened to the rock sky with four rawhide cords stretching from the four sacred mountains of the four sacred directions.

The earth was still muddy, though -- too soft to hold the weight of the creatures. Buzzard was sent to find a dry spot, and eventually he came to one that was at least beginning to dry. This was the place that would become the Cherokee country. That country has many mountains and valleys, created by the furious movements of Grandfather Buzzard's wings.

When the new country was dry and hard enough, the animals descended from the vault above the rainbow, but they were bothered by the darkness in their land. They decided to pull Sister Sun down from behind the rainbow. They did this and then assigned to her a regular path to follow.

It is said, too, that the Great Spirit made all the plants to go with the animals, and that he asked them to stay awake for seven days. He asked the animals to stay awake, too. Most of the animals fell asleep before the eighth day, but the owl stayed awake and was given the power of night sight. The few plants that did not sleep -- the pine, the holly, and laurel, and a few others -- were allowed to keep their hair all through the winter. The other plants shed each year.

The Great Spirit also made a man and a woman. The man pushed a fish against the woman and made her pregnant, and she gave birth to a child every seven days until the Great Spirit regulated things so she could only give birth once a year.

Many people say it was Star Woman who was the primal cause. One story says she was in her father's garden, that is in Galunlati, when she heard drumming under a tree and dug a hole to see what was going on. Star Woman fell through the hole and spun toward the earth. At that time the earth was under

the primeval flood, and earth creatures lacked the spark of deep consciousness or understanding. They did have feelings, however.

The father watched his daughter fall and called on the winds to get the earth creatures to help her. Turtle suggested that his back become a landing place for her, so the animals dove into the depths to find something soft to place on Turtle's back. Only Water Spider -- some say Muskrat -- succeeded. She brought up a bit of earth and placed it with her last bit of strength on Turtle's back; then she sank to her death.

Now the earth on Turtle's back grew, and Buzzard made mountains and other beautiful places by stirring the earth up through the flapping of his great wings. All was ready for Star Woman, who landed on Turtle's back and immediately produced corn, beans, other plants, and rivers from her body. Most of all, she brought the spark of consciousness, symbolized by the Cherokees' sacred fire, which is always kept alive for the ceremonies.

IROQUOIS CREATION MYTH

Hewitt, J.N.B. *Iroquois Cosmology*, Twenty-First Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington D.C., 1899.

In the beginning there was no world, no land, no creatures of the kind that are around us now, and there were no men. But there was a great ocean which occupied space as far as anyone could see. Above the ocean was a great void of air. And in the air there lived the birds of the sea; in the ocean lived the fish and the creatures of the deep. Far above the unpeopled world, there was a Sky World. Here lived gods who were like people -- like Iroquois.

In the Sky World there was a man who had a wife, and the wife was expecting a child. The woman became hungry for all kinds of strange delicacies, as women do when they are with child. She kept her husband busy almost to distraction finding delicious things for her to eat.

In the middle of the Sky World there grew a Great Tree which was not like any of the trees that we know. It was tremendous; it had grown there forever. It had enormous roots that spread out from the floor of the Sky World. And on its branches there were many different kinds of leaves with different kinds of fruits and flowers. The tree was not supposed to be marked or mutilated by any of the beings who dwelt in the Sky World. It was a sacred tree that stood at the center of the universe.

The woman decided that she wanted some bark from one of the roots of the Great Tree -- perhaps as a food or as a medicine, we don't know. She told her husband this. He didn't like the idea. He knew it was wrong. But she insisted, and he gave in. So he dug a hole among the roots of this great sky tree, and he bared some of its roots. But the floor of the Sky World wasn't very thick, and he broke a hole through it. He was terrified, for he had never expected to find empty space underneath the world.

But his wife was filled with curiosity. He wouldn't get any of the roots for her, so she set out to do it herself. She bent over and she looked down, and she saw the ocean far below. She leaned down and stuck her head through the hole and looked all around. No one knows just what happened next. Some say she slipped. Some say that her husband, fed up with all the demands she had made on him, pushed her.

So she fell through the hole. As she fell, she frantically grabbed at its edges, but her hands slipped. However, between her fingers there clung bits of things that were growing on the floor of the Sky World and bits of the root tips of the Great Tree. And so she began to fall toward the great ocean far below.

The birds of the sea saw the woman falling, and they immediately consulted with each other as to what they could do to help her. Flying wingtip to wingtip they made a great feathery raft in the sky to support her, and thus they broke her fall. But of course it was not possible for them to carry the woman very long. Some of the other birds of the sky flew down to the surface of the ocean and called up the ocean creatures to see what they could do to help. The great sea turtle came and agreed to receive her on his back. The birds placed her gently on the shell of the turtle, and now the turtle floated about on the huge ocean with the woman safely on his back.

The beings up in the Sky World paid no attention to this. They knew what was happening, but they chose to ignore it.

When the woman recovered from her shock and terror, she looked around her. All that she could see were the birds and the sea creatures and the sky and the ocean.

And the woman said to herself that she would die. But the creatures of the sea came to her and said that they would try to help her and asked her what they could do. She told them that if they could find some soil, she could plant the roots stuck between her fingers, and from them plants would grow. The sea animals said perhaps there was dirt at the bottom of the ocean, but no one had ever been down there so they could not be sure.

If there was dirt at the bottom of the ocean, it was far, far below the surface in the cold deeps. But the animals said they would try to get some. One by one the diving birds and animals tried and failed. They went to the limits of their endurance, but they could not get to the bottom of the ocean. Finally, the muskrat said he would try. He dived and disappeared. All the creatures waited, holding their breath, but he did not return. After a long time, his little body floated up to the surface of the ocean, a tiny crumb of earth clutched in his paw. He seemed to be dead. They pulled him up on the turtle's back and they sang and prayed over him and breathed air into his mouth, and finally, he stirred. Thus it was the muskrat, the earth-diver, who brought from the bottom of the ocean the soil from which the earth was to grow.

The woman took the tiny clod of dirt and placed it on the middle of the great sea turtle's back. Then the woman began to walk in a circle around it, moving in the direction that the sun goes. The earth began to grow. When the earth was big enough, she planted the roots she had clutched between her fingers when she fell from the Sky World. Thus the plants grew on the earth.

To keep the earth growing, the woman walked as the sun goes, moving in the direction that the people still move in the dance rituals. She gathered roots and plants to eat and built herself a little hut. After a while, the woman's time came, and she was delivered of a daughter. The woman and her daughter kept walking in a circle around the earth, so that the earth and plants would continue to grow. They lived on the plants and roots they gathered. The girl grew up with her mother, cut off forever from the Sky World above, knowing only the birds and the creatures of the sea, seeing no other beings like herself.

One day, when the girl had grown to womanhood, a man appeared. No one knows for sure who this man was. He had something to do with the gods above. Perhaps he was the West Wind. As the girl looked at him she was filled with terror, and amazement, and warmth, and she fainted dead away. As she lay on the ground, the man reached into his quiver, and he took out two arrows, one sharp and one blunt, and he laid them across the body of the girl, and quietly went away.

When the girl awoke from her faint, she and her mother continued to walk around the earth. After a while, they knew that the girl was to bear a child. They did not know it, but the girl was to bear twins.

Within the girl's body, the twins began to argue and quarrel with one another. There could be no peace between them. As the time approached for them to be born, the twins fought about their birth. The right-handed twin wanted to be born in the normal way, as all children are born. But the left-handed twin

said no. He said he saw light in another direction, and said he would be born that way. The right-handed twin beseeched him not to, saying that he would kill their mother. But the left-handed twin was stubborn. He went in the direction where he saw light. But he could not be born through his mother's mouth or her nose. He was born through her left armpit, and killed her. And meanwhile, the right-handed twin was born in the normal way, as all children are born.

The twins met in the world outside, and the right-handed twin accused his brother of murdering their mother. But the grandmother told them to stop their quarreling. They buried their mother. And from her grave grew the plants which the people still use. From her head grew the corn, the beans, and the squash -- "our supporters, the three sisters." And from her heart grew the sacred tobacco, which the people still use in the ceremonies and by whose upward-floating smoke they send thanks. The women call her "our mother," and they dance and sing in the rituals so that the corn, the beans, and the squash may grow to feed the people.

But the conflict of the twins did not end at the grave of their mother. And, strangely enough, the grandmother favored the left-handed twin.

The right-handed twin was angry, and he grew more angry as he thought how his brother had killed their mother. The right-handed twin was the one who did everything just as he should. He said what he meant, and he meant what he said. He always told the truth, and he always tried to accomplish what seemed to be right and reasonable. The left-handed twin never said what he meant or meant what he said. He always lied, and he always did things backward. You could never tell what he was trying to do because he always made it look as if he were doing the opposite. He was the devious one.

These two brothers, as they grew up, represented two ways of the world which are in all people. The Indians did not call these the right and the wrong. They called them the straight mind and the crooked mind, the upright man and the devious man, the right and the left.

The twins had creative powers. They took clay and molded it into animals, and they gave these animals life. And in this they contended with one another. The right-handed twin made the deer, and the left-handed twin made the mountain lion which kills the deer. But the right-handed twin knew there would always be more deer than mountain lions. And he made another animal. He made the ground squirrel. The left-handed twin saw that the mountain lion could not get to the ground squirrel, who digs a hole, so he made the weasel. And although the weasel can go into the ground squirrel's hole and kill him, there are lots of ground squirrels and not so many weasels. Next the right-handed twin

decided he would make an animal that the weasel could not kill, so he made the porcupine. But the left-handed twin made the bear, who flips the porcupine over on his back and tears out his belly.

And the right-handed twin made berries and fruits of other kinds for his creatures to live on. The left-handed twin made briars and poison ivy, and the poisonous plants like the baneberry and the dogberry, and the suicide root with which people kill themselves when they go out of their minds. And the left-handed twin made medicines, for good and for evil, for doctoring and for witchcraft.

And finally, the right-handed twin made man. The people do not know just how much the left-handed twin had to do with making man. Man was made of clay, like pottery, and baked in the fire. [At a later time the idea was added that some men were baked too little: these were white men. Some men were baked too much: these were Negroes. But some were baked just right: these were Indians. Those who were baked too little or too much were thrown away, but the Indians were settled upon the land.]

The world the twins made was a balanced and orderly world, and this was good. The plant-eating animals created by the right-handed twin would eat up all the vegetation if their number was not kept down by the meat-eating animals which the left-handed twin created. But if these carnivorous animals ate too many other animals, then they would starve, for they would run out of meat. So the right- and the left-handed twins built balance into the world.

As the twins became full-grown, they still contested with one another. No one had won, and no one had lost. And they knew that the conflict was becoming sharper and sharper and one of them would have to vanquish the other.

And so they came to the duel. They started with gambling. They took a wooden bowl, and in it they put wild plum pits. One side of the pits was burned black, and by tossing the pits in the bowl, and betting on how these would fall, they gambled against one another, as the people still do in the New Year's rites. All through the morning they gambled at this game, and all through the afternoon, and the sun went down. And when the sun went down, the game was done, and neither one had won.

So they went on to battle one another at the lacrosse game. And they contested all day, and the sun went down, and the game was done. And neither had won.

And now they battled with clubs, and they fought all day, and the sun went down, and the fight was done. But neither had won.

And they went from one duel to another to see which one would succumb. Each one knew in his deepest mind that there was something, somewhere, that would vanquish the other. But what was it? Where to find it?

Each knew somewhere in his mind what it was that was his own weak point. They talked about this as they contested in these duels, day after day, and somehow the deep mind of each entered into the other. And the deep mind of the right-handed twin lied to his brother, and the deep mind of the left-handed twin told the truth.

On the last day of the duel, as they stood, they at last knew how the right-handed twin was to kill his brother. Each selected his weapon. The left-handed twin chose a mere stick that would do him no good. But the right-handed twin picked out the deer antler, and with one touch, he destroyed his brother. And the left-handed twin died, but he died and he didn't die. The right-handed twin picked up the body and cast it off the edge of the earth. And some place below the world, the left-handed twin still lives and reigns.

When the sun rises from the east and travels in a huge arc along the sky dome, which rests like a great upside-down cup on the saucer of the earth, the people are in the daylight realm of the right-handed twin. But when the sun slips down in the west at nightfall and the dome lifts to let it escape at the western rim, the people are again in the domain of the left-handed twin -- the fearful realm of night.

Having killed his brother, the right-handed twin returned home to his grandmother. And she met him in anger. She threw the food out of the cabin onto the ground, and said that he was a murderer, for he had killed his brother. He grew angry and told her she had always helped his brother, who had killed their mother. In his anger, he grabbed her by the throat and cut her head off. Her body he threw into the ocean, and her head, into the sky. There "Our Grandmother, the Moon," still keeps watch at night over the realm of her favorite grandson.

The right-handed twin also has many names. One of them is Flint. He is called the devious one, the one covered with boils, Old Warty. He is stubborn. He is thought of as being dark in color.

These two beings rule the world and keep an eye on the affairs of men. The right-handed twin, the Master of Life, lives in the Sky World. He is content

with the world he helped to create and with his favorite creatures, the humans. The scent of sacred tobacco rising from the earth comes gloriously to his nostrils.

In the world below lives the left-handed twin. He knows the world of men, and he finds contentment in it. He hears the sounds of warfare and torture, and he finds them good.

In the daytime, the people have rituals which honor the right-handed twin. Through the daytime rituals they thank the Master of Life. In the nighttime, the people dance and sing for the left-handed twin.

CREEK CREATION MYTH

Swanton, John R. *Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy*, Forty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington D.C., 1928.

At a certain time the Earth opened in the West, where its mouth is. The Earth opened and the Cussitaws came out of its mouth, and settled nearby. But the Earth became angry and ate up their children; therefore, they moved further West. A part of them, however, turned back, and came again to the same place where they had been, and settled there. The greater number remained behind, because they thought it best to do so. Their children, nevertheless, were eaten by the Earth, so that, full of dissatisfaction, they journeyed toward the sunrise.

They came to a thick, muddy, slimy river -- came there, camped there, rested there, and stayed over night there. The next day, they continued their journey and came, in one day, to a red, bloody river. They lived by this river, and ate of its fishes for two years; but there were low springs there; and it did not please them to remain. They went toward the end of this bloody river, and heard a noise as of thunder. They approached to see whence the noise came. At first they perceived a red smoke, and then a mountain which thundered; and on the mountain was a sound as of singing. They went to see what this was; and it was a great fire which blazed upward, and made this singing noise. This mountain they named the King of Mountains. It thunders to this day; and men are very much afraid of it.

They here met a people of three different Nations. They had taken and saved some of the fire from the mountain; and, at this place, they also obtained a knowledge of herbs and of other things.

From the East, a white fire came to them; which, however, they would not use. From Wahalle (the South) came a fire which was blue; neither did they use it. From the West, came a fire which was black; nor would they use it. At last came a fire from the North, which was red and yellow. This they mingled with the fire they had taken from the mountain; and this is the fire they use today; and this, too, sometimes sings. On the mountain was a pole which was very restless and made a noise, nor could any one say how it could be quieted. At length they took a motherless child, and struck it against the pole; and thus killed the child. They then took the pole, and carry it with them when they go to war. It is like a wooden tomahawk, such as they now use, and of the same wood.

Here they also found four herbs or roots, which sang and disclosed their virtues: First, *Pasaw* (pasa), the rattlesnake root; second, *Micoweanochaw* (miko hoyanidja), red root; third, *Sowatchko* (sowatcko), which grows like wild fennel; and fourth, *Eschalapootchke* (hitci laputcki), little tobacco. These herbs, especially the first and third, they use as the best medicine to purify themselves at their Busk. At this Busk, which is held yearly, they fast, and make offerings of the first fruits. Since they have learned the virtues of these herbs, their women, at certain times, have a separate fire, and remain apart from the men five, six, and seven days, for the sake of purification. If they neglected this, the power of herbs would depart; and the women would not be healthy.

About this time a dispute arose, as to which was the oldest, and which should rule; and they agreed, as they were four Nations, they would set up four poles, and make them red with clay which is yellow at first, but becomes red by burning. They would then go to war; and whichever Nation should first cover its pole, from top to bottom, with the scalps of their enemies, should be the oldest.

They all tried, but the Cussitaws covered their pole first, and so thickly that it was hidden from sight. Therefore, they were looked upon, by the whole Nation, as the oldest. The Chickasaws covered their pole next; then the Atilamas (Alabamas); but the Obikaws (Abihkas) did not covered their pole higher than to the knee.

At that time there was a bird of large size, blue in color, with a long tail, and swifter than an eagle, which came every day and killed and ate their people. They made an image in the shape of a woman, and placed it in the way of this bird. The bird carried it off, and kept it a long time, and then brought it back. They left it alone, hoping it would bring something forth. After a long time, a red rat came forth from it, and they believed the bird was the father of the rat. They took council with the rat how to destroy its father. Now the bird had a bow and arrows; and the rat gnawed the bow-string, so that the bird could not defend itself, and the people killed it. They called this bird the King of Birds. They think

the eagle is also a great King; and they carry its feathers when they go to War or make Peace; the red means War; the white, Peace. If an enemy approaches with white feathers and a white mouth, and cries like an eagle, they dare not kill him.

After this they left that place, and came to a white footpath. The grass and everything around were white; and they plainly perceived that people had been there. They crossed the path, and slept near there. Afterward they turned back to see what sort of path that was, and who the people were who had been there, in the belief that it might be better for them to follow that path. They went along it to a creek called *Coloose-hutche*, that is Coloose-creek, because it was rocky there and smoked.

They crossed it, going toward the sunrise, and came to a people and a town named Coosaw. Here they remained four years. The Coosaws complained that they were preyed upon by a wild beast, which they called man-eater or lion, which lived in a rock.

The Cussitaws said they would try to kill the beast. They digged a pit and stretched over it a net made of hickory-bark. They then laid a number of branches, crosswise, so that the lion would not follow them, and, going to the place where he lay, they threw a rattle into his den. The lion rushed forth in great anger, and pursued them through the branches. Then they thought it better that one should die rather than all; so they took a motherless child, and threw it before the lion as he came near the pit. The lion rushed at it, and fell in the pit, over which they threw the net, and killed him with blazing pine-wood. His bones, however, they keep to this day; on one side, they are red, on the other, blue.

The lion used to come every seventh day to kill the people; therefore, they remained there seven days after they had killed him. In remembrance of him, when they prepare for War, they fast six days and start on the seventh. If they take his bones with them, they have a good fortune.

After four years they left the Coosaws, and came to a river which they called *Nowphawpe*, now *Callasi-hutche*. There they tarried two years; and, as they had no corn, they lived on roots and fishes, and made bows, pointing the arrows with beaver teeth and flint-stones, and for knives they used split canes.

They left this place, and came to a creek, called *Wattoola-hawka-hutche*, Whooping-creek, so called from the whooping of cranes, a great many being there; they slept there one night. They next came to a river, in which there was a waterfall; this they named the *Owatunka-river*. The next day they reached another river, which they called the *Aphoosa pheeskaw*.

The following day they crossed it, and came to a high mountain, where were people who, they believed, were the same who made the white path. They, therefore, made white arrows and shot at them, to see if they were good people. But the people took their white arrows, painted them red, and shot them back. When they showed these to their chief, he said that it was not a good sign; if the arrows returned had been white, they could have gone there and brought food for their children, but as they were red they must not go. Nevertheless, some of them went to see what sort of people they were; and found their houses deserted. They also saw a trail which led into the river; and, as they could not see the trail on the opposite bank, they believed that the people had gone into the river, and would not again come forth.

At that place is a mountain, called *Moterell*, which makes a noise like beating on a drum; and they think this people live there. They hear this noise on all sides when they go to war.

They went along the river, till they came to a waterfall, where they saw great rocks, and on the rocks were bows lying; and they believed the people who made the white path had been there.

They always have, on their journeys, two scouts who go before the main body. These scouts ascended a high mountain and saw a town. They shot white arrows into the town; but the people of the town shot back red arrows. Then the Cussitaws became angry, and determined to attack the town, and each one have a house when it was captured.

They threw stones into the river until they could cross it, and took the town (the people had flattened heads), and killed all but two persons. In pursuing these they found a white dog, which they slew. They followed the two who escaped, until they came again to the white path, and saw the smoke of a town, and thought that this must be the people they had so long been seeking. This is the place where now the tribe of Palachucolas live, from whom Tomochichi is descended.

The Cussitaws continued bloody-minded; but the Palachucolas gave them black drink, as a sign of friendship, and said to them: "Our hearts are white, and yours must be white, and you must lay down the bloody tomahawk, and show your bodies as a proof that they shall be white." Nevertheless, they were for the tomahawk; but the Palachucolas got it by persuasion, and buried it under their beds. The Palachucolas likewise gave them white feathers, and asked to have a chief in common. Since then they have always lived together.

Some settled on one side of the river, some on the other. Those on one side are called Cussetaws, those on the other, Cowetas; yet they are one people, and the principal towns of the Upper and Lower Creeks. Nevertheless, as the Cussetaws first saw the red hearts, which are, however, white on one side and red on the other. They now know that the white path was the best for them: for, although Tomochichi was a stranger, they see he has done them good; because he went to see the great King with Esquire Oglethorpe, and hear his talk, and had related it to them, and they had listened to it, and believed it.

CHEROKEE HERO MYTH

Mooney, James. *Myths of the Cherokee*, Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington D.C., 1900.

When I was a boy this is what the old men told me they had heard when they were boys.

Long years ago, soon after the world was made, a hunter and his wife lived at Pilot knob with their only child, a little boy. The father's name was Kana'tĭ (the Lucky Hunter), and his wife was called Selu (Corn). No matter when Kana'tĭ went into the woods, he never failed to bring back a load of game, which his wife would cut up and prepare, washing off the blood from the meat in the river near the house. The little boy used to play down by the river every day and one morning the old people thought they heard laughing and talking in the bushes as though there were two children there. When the boy came home at night his parents asked him who had been playing with him all day. "He comes out of the water," said the boy, "and he calls himself my elder brother. He says his mother was cruel to him and threw him into the river." Then they knew that the strange boy had sprung from the blood of the game which Selu had washed off at the river's edge.

Every day when the little boy went out to lay the other would join him, but as he always went back again into the water the old people never had a chance to see him. At last one evening Kana'tĭ said to his son, "Tomorrow, when the other boy comes to play, get him to wrestle with you, and when you have your arms around him hold on to him and all for us." The boy promised to do as he was told, so the next day as soon as his playmate appeared he challenged him to a wrestling match. The other agreed at once, but as soon as they had their arms around each other, Kana'tĭ's boy began to scream for his father. The old folks at once came running down, and as soon as the Wild Boy saw them he struggled to free himself and cried out, "Let me go; you threw me away!" but his brother held on until the parents reached the spot, when they seized the Wild

Boy and took him home with them. They kept him in the house until they had tamed him, but he was always wild and artful in his disposition, and was the leader of his brother in every mischief. It was not long until the old people discovered that he had magic powers, and they called him I'năge-utăsûñhĭ (He-who-grew-up-wild).

Whenever Kana'tĭ went into the mountains he always brought back a fat buck or doe, or maybe a couple of turkeys. One day the Wild Boy said to his brother, "I wonder where our father gets all that game; let's follow him next time and find out." A few days afterward Kana'tĭ took a bow and some feathers in his hand and started off toward the west. The boys waited a little while and then went after him, keeping out of sight until they saw him go into a swamp where there were a great many of the small reeds that hunters use to make arrow shafts. Then the Wild Boy changed himself into a puff of bird's down, which the wind took up and carried until it alighted upon Kana'tĭ's shoulder just as he entered the swamp, but Kana'tĭ knew nothing about it. The old man cut reeds, fitted the feathers to them and made some arrows, and the Wild Boy -- in his other shape -- thought, "I wonder what those things are for?" When Kana'tĭ had his arrows finished he came out of the swamp and went on again. The wind blew the down from his shoulder, and it fell in the woods, when the Wild Boy took his right shape again and went back and told hi brother what he had seen. Keeping out of sight of their father, they followed him up the mountain until he stopped at a certain place and lifted a large rock. At once there ran out a buck, which Kana'tĭ shot, and then lifting it upon his back he started for home again. "Oho!" exclaimed the boys, "he keeps all the deer shut up in that hole, and whenever he wants meat he just lets one out and kills it with those things he made in the swamp." They hurried and reached home before their father, who had the heavy deer to carry, and he never knew that they had followed.

A few days later the boys went back to the swamp, cut some reeds, and made seven arrows, and then started up the mountain to where their father kept the game. When they got to the place, they raised the rock and a deer came running out. Just as they drew back to shoot it, another came out, and then another and another, until the boys got confused and forgot what they were about. In those days all the deer had their tails hanging down like other animals, but as a buck was running past the Wild Boy struck its tail with his arrow so that it pointed upward. The boys thought this good sport, and when the next one ran past the Wild Boy struck its tail so that it stood straight up, and his brother struck the next one so hart with his arrow that the deer's tail was almost curled over his back. The deer carries his tail this way ever since. The deer came running past until the last one had come out of the hole and escaped into the forest. Then came droves of raccoons, rabbits, and all the other four-footed animals -- all but the bear, because there was no bear then. Last came great flocks of turkeys,

pigeons, and partridges that darkened the air like a cloud and made such a noise with their wings that Kana'tĭ, siting at home, heard the sound like distant thunder on the mountains and said to himself, "My bad boys have got into trouble I just go and see what they are doing."

So he went up the mountain, and when he came to the place where he kept the game he found the two boys standing by the rock, and all the birds and animals were gone. Kana'tĭ was furious, but without saying a word he went down into the cave and kicked the covers off four jars in one corner, when out swarmed bedbugs, fleas, lice, and gnats, and got all over the boys. They screamed with pain and fright and tried to beat off the insects, but the thousands of vermin crawled over them and bit and stung them until both dropped down nearly dead. Kana'tĭ stood looking on until he thought they had been punished enough, when he knocked off the vermin and made the boys a talk. "Now, you rascals," said he, "you have always had plenty to eat and never had to work for it. Whenever you were hungry all I had to do was to come up here and get a deer or a turkey and bring it home for your mother to cook; but now you have let out all the animals, and after this when you want a deer to eat you will have to hunt all over the woods for it, and then maybe not find one. Go home now to your mother, while I see if I can find something to eat for supper."

When the boys got home again they were very tired and hungry and asked their mother for something to eat. "There is no meat," said Selu, "but wait a little while and I'll get you something." So she took a basket and started out to the storehouse. This storehouse was built upon poles high up from the ground, to keep it out of the reach of animals, and there was a ladder to climb up by, and one door, but no other opening. Every day when Selu got ready to cook the dinner she would go out to the storehouse with a basket and bring it back full of corn and beans. The boys had never been inside the storehouse, so wondered where all the corn and beans could come from, as the house was not a very large one; so as soon as Selu went out of the door the Wild Boy said to his brother, "Let's go and see what she does." They ran around and climbed up at the back of the storehouse and pulled out a piece of clay from between the logs, so that they could look in. There they saw Selu standing in the middle of the room with the basket in front of her on the floor. Leaning over the basket, she rubbed her stomach -- so -- and the basket was half full of corn. Then she rubbed under her armpits -- so -- and the basket was full to the top with beans. The boys looked at each other and said, "This will never do; our mother is a witch. If we eat any of that it will poison us. We must kill her."

When the boys came back into the house, she knew their thought before they spoke. "So you are going to kill me?" said Selu. "Yes," said the boys, "you are a witch." "Well," said their mother, "when you have killed me, clear a large

piece of ground in front of the house and drag my body seven times around the circle. Then drag me seven times over the ground inside the circle, and stay up all night and watch, and in the morning you will have plenty of corn." The boys killed her with their clubs, and cut off her head and put it up on the roof of the house with her face turned to the west, and told her to look for her husband. Then they set to work to clear the ground in front of the house, but instead of clearing the whole piece they cleared only seven little spots. This is why corn now grows only in a few places instead of over the whole world. They dragged the body of Selu around the circle, and wherever her blood fell on the ground the corn sprang up. But instead of dragging her body seven times across the ground they dragged it over only twice, which is the reason the Indians still work their crop but twice. The two brothers sat up and watched their corn all night, and in the morning it was full grown and ripe.

When Kana'tĭ came home at last, he looked around, but could not see Selu anywhere, and asked the boys where was their mother. "She was a witch, and we skilled her," said the boys; "there is her head up there on top of the house." When he saw his wife's head on the roof, he was very angry, and said, "I won't stay with you any longer; I am going to the Wolf people." So he started off, but before he had gone far the Wild Boy changed himself again to a tuft of down, which fell on Kana'tĭ's shoulder. When Kana'tĭ reached the settlement of the Wolf people, they were holding a council in the townhouse. He went in and sat down with the tuft of bird's down on his shoulder, but he never noticed it. When the Wolf chief asked him his business, he said: "I have two bad boys at home, and I want you to go in seven days from now and play ball against them." Although Kana'tĭ spoke as though he wanted them to play a game of ball, the Wolves knew that he meant for them to go and kill the two boys. They promised to go. Then the bird's down blew off from Kana'tĭ's shoulder, and the smoke carried it up through he hole in the roof of the townhouse. When it came down on the ground outside, the Wild Boy took his right shape again and went home and told his brother all that he had heard in the townhouse. But when Kana'tĭ left the Wolf people, he did not return home, but went on farther.

The boys then began to get ready for the Wolves, and the Wild Boy -- the magician -- told his brother what to do. They ran around the house in a wide circle until they had made a trail all around it excepting on the side from which the Wolves would come, where they left a small open space. Then they made four large bundles of arrows and placed them at four different points on the outside of the circle, after which they hid themselves in the woods and waited for the Wolves. In a day or two a whole party of Wolves came and surrounded the house to kill the boys. The Wolves did not notice the trail around the house, because they came in where the boys had left the opening, but the moment they went inside the circle the trail changed to a high brush fence and shut them in.

Then the boys on the outside took their arrows and began shooting them down, and as the Wolves could not jump over the fence they were all killed, excepting a few that escaped through the opening into a great swamp close by. The boys ran around the swamp, and a circle of fire sprang up in their tracks and set fire to the grass and bushes and burned up nearly all the other Wolves. Only two of three got away, and from these have come all the wolves that are now in the world.

Soon afterward some strangers from a distance, who had heard that the brothers had a wonderful grain from which they made break, came to ask for some, for none but Selu and her family had ever known corn before. The boys gave them seven grains of corn, which they told them to plant the next night on their way home, sitting up all night to watch the corn, which would have seven ripe ears in the morning. These they were to plant the next night and watch in the same way, and so on every night until they reached home, when they would have corn enough to supply the whole people. The strangers lived seven days' journey away. They took the seven grains and watched all through the darkness until morning, when they saw seven tall stalks, each stalk bearing a ripened ear. They gathered the ears and went on their way. The next night they planted all their corn, and guarded it as before until daybreak, when they found an abundant increase. But the way was long and the sun was hot, and the people grew tired. On the last night before reaching home they fell asleep, and in the morning the corn they had planted had not even sprouted. They brought with them to their settlement what corn they had left and planted it, and with care and attention were able to raise a crop. But ever since the corn must be watched and tended through half the year, which before would grow and ripen in a night.

As Kana'tĭ did not return, the boys at last concluded to go and find him. The Wild Boy took a gaming wheel and rolled it toward the Darkening land. In a little while the wheel came rolling back, and the boys knew their father was not there. He rolled it to the south and to the north, and each time the wheel came back to him, and they knew their father was not there. Then he rolled it toward the Sunland, and it did not return. "Our father is there," said the Wild Boy, "let us go and find him." So the two brothers set off toward the east, and after traveling a long time they came upon Kana'tĭ walking along with a little dog by his side. "You bad boys," said their father, "have you come here?" "Yes," they answered, "we always accomplish what we start out to do -- we are men." "This dog overtook me four days ago," then said Kana'tĭ, but the boys knew that the dog was the wheel which they had sent after him to find him. "Well," said Kana'tĭ, "as you have found me, we may as well travel together, but I shall take the lead."

Soon they came to a swamp, and Kana'tĭ told them there was something dangerous there and they must keep away from it. He went on ahead, but as

soon as he was out of sight the Wild Boy said to his brother, "Come and let us see what is in the swamp." They went in together, and in the middle of the swamp they found a large panther asleep. The Wild Boy got out an arrow and shot the panther in the side of the head. The panther turned his head and the other boy shot him on that side. He turned his head away again and the two brothers shot together -- *tust, tust, tust*! But the panther was not hurt by the arrows and paid no more attention to the boys. They came out of the swamp and soon overtook Kana'tĭ, waiting for them. "Did you find it?" asked Kana'tĭ. "Yes," said the boys, "we found it, but it never hurt us. We are men." Kana'tĭ was surprised, but said nothing, and they went on again.

After a while he turned to them and said, "Now you must be careful. We are coming to a tribe called the Anăda'dûñtăskĭ ("Roasters," i.e., cannibals), and if they get you they will put you into a pot and feast on you." Then he went on ahead. Soon the boys came to a tree which had been struck by lightning, and the Wild Boy directed his brother to gather some of the splinters from the tree and told him what to do with them. In a little while they came to the settlement of the cannibals, who, as soon as they saw the boys, came running out, crying, "Good, here are two nice fat strangers. Now we'll have a grand feast!" They caught the boys and dragged them into the townhouse, and sent word to all the people of the settlement to come to the feast. They made up a great fire, put water into a large pot and set it to boiling, and then seized the Wild Boy and put him down into it. His brother was not in the least frightened and made no attempt to escape but quietly knelt down and began putting the splinters into the fire, as if to make it burn better. When the cannibals thought the meat was about ready they lifted the pot from the fire, and that instant a blinding light filled the townhouse, and the lightning began to dart from one side to the other, striking down the cannibals until not one of them was left alive. Then the lightning went up through the smokehole, and the next moment there were the two boys standing outside the townhouse as though nothing had happened. They went on and soon met Kana'tĭ, who seemed much surprised to see them, and said, "What! Are you here again?" "Oh, yes, we never give up. We are great men!" "What did the cannibals do to you?" "We met them and they brought us to their townhouse, but they never hurt us." Kana'tĭ said nothing more, and they went on.

He soon got out of sight of the boys, but they kept on until they came to the end of the world, where the sun comes out. The sky was just coming down when they got there, but they waited until it went up again, and then they went through and climbed up on the other side. There they found Kana'tĭ and Selu sitting together. The old folk received them kindly and were glad to see them, telling them they might stay there a while, but then they must go to live where the sun goes down. The boys stayed with their parents seven days and then went

on toward the Darkening land, where they are now. We call them Anisga'ya Tusunsdi' (The Little Men), and when they talk to each other we hear low rolling thunder in the west.

After Kana'tĭ's boys had let the deer out from the cave where their father used to keep them, the hunters tramped about in the woods for a long time without finding any game, so that the people were very hungry. At last they heard that the Thunder Boys were now living in the far west, beyond the sun door, and that if they were sent for they could bring back the game. So they sent messengers for them, and the boys came and sat down in the middle of the townhouse and began to sing.

At the first song there was a roaring sound like a strong wind in the northwest, and it grew louder and nearer as the boys sang on, until at the seventh song a whole herd of deer, led by a large buck, came out from the woods. The boys had told the people to be ready with their bows and arrows, and when the song was ended and all the deer were close around the townhouse, the hunters shot into them and killed as many as they needed before the herd could get back into the timber.

Then the Thunder Boys went back to the Darkening land, but before they left they taught the people the seven songs with which to call up the deer. It all happened so long ago that the songs are now forgotten -- all but two, which the hunters still sing whenever they go after deer.

IROQUOIS HERO MYTH

Hewitt, J.N.B. *Iroquois Cosmology*, Twenty-First Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington D.C., 1899.

Turning, then, to the place where she had laid the two male infants, the grandmother asked: "Which of you two destroyed my child?" One of the two answered, saying: "Truly, I believe, it was he." This one, who answered, was an especially marvelously strange person as to his form. His flesh was nothing but Flint. Along the top of his head there was a sharp comb of flint. And it had been on this account, in fact, that he had come out by way of the armpit. But the flesh of the other was in all respects like that of any man-being. He responded, saying: "It was, in fact, he himself who killed her." The other replied: "Not at all; not at all." And again he declared: "It was he who killed her." And in this manner two debated.

But the one who was, in fact, guilty of killing her held firm to his denial and finally won his point. Whereupon, the grandmother took up the body of the one whose flesh actually that of a veritable man-being and with all her might flung him far into the bushes. And the other, whose flesh was flint, was taken up by her and cherished. And it was also wonderful how much she loved him.

But then, in turn, she again laid her hands on the fleshly body of her own girl-child, who now, verily, was no longer alive. She cut off her head and said: "Thou art now dead; nevertheless, shalt continue to have a function to perform." And she took up the fleshly body and hung it on a tree that stood hard by her lodge, and said: "Thou shalt continue to give light to this here present earth." And the severed head she hung in another place and said: "Thou, too, shalt continue to serve a function. Less power shalt thou have, and yet give light." In that manner, then, she completed her preparations for supplying herself with light; having now, assuredly, made for herself the sun and likewise the moon. She laid on them the duty of furnishing her, of themselves, with light. And indeed, verily, it was the head of her girl-child who was dead that she had used to make the moon, whereas the body she had made into the sun. They were to remain fixed in place, and not to move from this place to that. Furthermore, she restricted them to herself and to her favored grandson, saying: "We two, and we two alone, shall be ever illuminated by this light. No one else shall use it, only we two, ourselves."

And when she had now, indeed, accomplished all of this task, she was surprised by a moving of the grasses about the area into which she had cast the other of her grandsons. He was alive. He had not died. She had thought when she had cast him far away that he would of course die. Nevertheless, he had not died. He walked about there among the bushes. After a while, however, he had come thence toward his grandmother's lodge. And she now ordered him away, saying: "Get thee off, far yonder. I have no desire to look on thee. For it was thou, assuredly, didst kill my girl-child. Get thee, therefore, far off, yonder." And truly, he then turned away. However, he remained moving about in a place not far from that in which her lodge stood. Furthermore, that male-child was in good health and his growth was rapid.

Presently, he made for himself a bow and also an arrow. And of course he now went about from place to place, shooting. He went about, indeed, a great deal from place to place; for the earth now of course was of considerable size. The earth indeed, verily, was continuing to grow in size. But he would return, at times, to the neighborhood of the lodge. And the younger boy, his brother, looked and saw that he had a bow; also, an arrow. Then he spoke to his grandmother, saying: "Thou shouldst make for me a bow; also an arrow; so that I, too, may have such things." So, she thereupon made for him a bow; also

an arrow; and then, therefore, they both had bows and arrows. And so now, verily, the two wandered about, shooting.

So then he whose body was like that of a man-being went in his shooting along a lake shore, even at the water's edge. And there stood a stand of bushes, whereon there rested a flock of birds. He shot at them, they flew over the lake, and the arrow fell into the water. Whereupon he went thither, to the water's edge, and cast himself into the lake.

He thought to recover his arrow. But when he had dived into the water, he did not feel that he was in water. He had fallen supine on ground. There was no water there. He got up and was surprised to see that a lodge stood there. He was at its doorway. Looking into the lodge, he saw therein a man. The man sitting in the lodge called: "Come in!" So he entered. And h who was sitting there said: "Thou hast arrived. It was I, in fact, invited thee. And here, now, is the reason. It is because of the kind of language I continually hear thy grandmother using against thee. She declares she does not love thee; for she believes that what Flint is continually telling her is true. He is of course telling her that it was thou didst kill the mother of you both. What he is thus continually telling her is untrue, yet your grandmother believes absolutely what he tells her. And so that is the reason I wanted thee to come hither. The fact is, she discriminates, loving him, but not thee. Here then, I have made for thee a bow; also, an arrow. Take them."

Thereupon, therefore, he accepted them. They were in appearance marvelously fine. He said: "As thou goest about shooting, thou art to make use of these. Hadst thou asked thy grandmother to take thee a bow somewhat better than the one thou madest for thyself, she would, in her way, not have given ear, but, in her way, have refused and ordered thee off. She would, in her way, have said: 'Get thee away from here. I have no desire to look on thee. For it was thou, assuredly, didst kill my girl child.' For this, customarily, is her kind of discourse. But now, furthermore, something else! Here are two ears of maize. These thou must take with thee. One of the ears is not yet ripe; it is still in its milky state. The other is mature. Thou art to take them with thee. And as to the one that is mature, it is for seed corn." Thereupon, when he had then finished explaining, he said: "Here they are, then." Whereupon he took them. And it was at that time, as well, that he spoke to him, saying: "And now, as to one other matter: I am thy father."

Thus it was declared by him whose lodge there stood and who, indeed, is the Great Turtle. And the young man thereupon departed.

So when he had returned, traveling, to his own place, he would habitually run along the lake shore, saying: "Yet this earth keep on growing. The name that I am called is Maple Sapling." And in truth, as far as he would thus customarily run, the earth would increase anew in size and maple saplings produce themselves. And no matter which way along the lakeshore he ran, as far as he would run, just so far would this come to pass: new earth would form of itself with maple saplings growing into trees. And as he ran along he would be saying: "Let the earth increase in size!" and again: "As Maple Sapling, I shall be known." Thus it was, and by this means, that the earth became enlarged to the size it now has when we look at the size of this world.

So then, it was also at that time that he formed variously the bodies of the animals. He would pick up a handful of earth and toss it into the air. Customarily, as many as the handfuls thrown, just so many hundreds of living things flew away in all directions. Customarily then, he would say: "This shall be your condition. When you go from place to place, you shall fly in flocks." And so, a duty would devolve upon such a species; for instance that it should habitually make nests.

And now, of course, the different animals were severally asked to volunteer to help man. Whichever species gave ear to this plea would reply: "I (I think) will volunteer." Whereupon, that species would be asked: "Well, then let us see how thou wilt act when protecting thy offspring." When the Bear volunteered, he behaved so rudely that it was very marvelously terrifying. The ugly manner in which he would act would (I should think) kill people. So that when he showed how he would protect his offspring, they said: "Not at all (we think) shouldst thou volunteer." Whereupon, of course, others also offered themselves, who however, were unacceptable because of their terrible ways of defending their offspring. One after another, they volunteered. Then, presently, the Pigeon said: "It is time now, I think, for me to volunteer." Whereupon, they answered: "How then wilt thou behave in protecting thy offspring? Let us see!" Hither and thither the Pigeon flew, uttering cries as it went. Then sometimes it would alight on the bough of a tree, and in a short time again fly, winging from place to place, uttering cries. So they said: "Now, this will be suitable." And they had lying by them a dish containing bear's oil, into which they immersed the Pigeon, saying: "So fat shall thy offspring customarily be." For which reason it is that the pigeon's young are as fat usually as a bear.

But now, Flint, during all this time, was watching what Sapling was up to. And he began to imitate him by also shaping animals. The work, however, was too difficult for him to perform correctly. He failed to fashion properly any of the bodies, as they should have been. He formed, for example, what he thought to be the body of a bird, and when he had finished, let it go. It flew. Indeed, it was

able to fly, but it flew without any objective point. It had not become a bird, but had the body of what we know as a bat.

When Sapling, on the other hand, had completed in their order the bodies of the marvelously various kinds of animals, they all began to wander over the face of this present earth. But as Sapling himself then was traveling about, he began to notice and marvel, after a while, that he could not discover anywhere any of the animals he had formed. Everywhere over the face of the earth he traveled, seeking for them. And he thought, forsooth: "This matter is astonishing. Where, perhaps, can they have gone: all the animals whose bodies I made?

So then, as he went from place to place, while searching for his animals, he went suddenly startled. A leaf nearby made a noise, and, looking at it, he was surprised to see a mouse peering up there among the leaves. The kind of mouse that he saw is called Deer-mouse and he was of course about to shoot it, when the mouse spoke to him, saying: "Don't kill me! I will tell thee where all those things have gone that thou art seeking: the animals." So he decided not to kill it, and then spoke to it, asking: "Where then have they gone?" Whereupon the Deer-mouse said: "There is in that direction a range of great mountains of rock. There in the rocks they abide. They have been shut up. If, when thou arrivest there thou wilt look about, thou wilt see a large stone placed over the cavern for the purpose of closing it up. It is Flint himself and his grandmother, who together have done this. It is they who have imprisoned all the animals.

Sapling, therefore, went that way, and found that it was true. A great stone lay over the place where there was an opening into the rock, and by which it was closed. So he removed the stone and called: "Come forth. Surely, when I gave you life, I did not intend you to be imprisoned here. I meant you to roam from place to place over this whole earth which I have caused to become enlarged." And thereupon, they indeed came forth. There was a rumbling sound as their feet came pounding as they kept on coming forth. And Flint's grandmother, at that time, asked: "What can now be happening? There is a rumbling sound." She was talking to her grandson, but before he could reply she again spoke, saying, "It is true! Sapling has found them, where thou and I imprisoned them. So let us two go immediately to where we shut them in."

They went out and ran thither without delay. And when they arrived, it was even so: Sapling stood there, having opened the rock cavern, and a line of animals ever so long was running out. The two rushed forward and, taking up the stone again, again closed in those that had not yet come out, and those are animals, great in size, that are still in there.

Sapling kept saying: "Don't again shut them away!" But Flint and his grandmother went right on, even piling on more stones. So that the sorts of animals we know are only those that at that time had got out.

So then it came to pass that Sapling, as he traveled about from place to place, was going along the shore of the lake when he saw Flint (Whose name, Tawiskaro, means also "Ice-coated") making for himself a bridge of stone (or ice) across the lake. It already extended far out on the water. And so Sapling went right up to him and when he arrived, said: "Flint, what is this thou art up to?" He answered: "I am fashioning a pathway for myself." And then pointing in the direction toward which he was building his bridge, he added: "Over there is a land inhabited by mighty beasts of fierce dispositions, and as soon as I shall have completed this work, they will be able to come over. Along this road they will continually come across the lake to eat the flesh of the human beings then living on this earth." And Sapling said to him: "Thou shouldst give up in this work. The intentions of thy mind are not good." But he answered: "I will not give up; for it is good that these great animals should come over to eat the human beings that will be living here." And of course he continued to build his bridge. Whereupon Sapling left him, and returned to dry land.

Now, growing along the shore of the sea there were shrubs, and sitting on a branch of one of these, Sapling saw a bluebird. And he said, then, to the bluebird: "Thou shalt now kill a cricket, remove one hind leg of it, and with this in thy mouth, fly to the place where Flint is laboring. Hard by that place, thou shalt alight and cry out." The Bluebird answered, "Very well!" and forthwith looked about for a cricket, which, presently, he found and killed, and pulling off one of its hind legs taking this in its mouth, flew, winging to the place where Flint was at work on his bridge. The Bluebird alighted hard by and shouted: "Kwe, kwe, kwe, kwe, kwe!" Whereupon Flint raised his head and looked and saw there sitting a bird. From what he saw he thought the bird was holding a man-being's thigh in its mouth, and that its mouth was covered with blood. Immediately, Flint sprang up and fled. And as fast as he ran the bridge behind him disappeared.

Just as (comments the recorder of this legend) "so fast as winter recedes, so rapidly the ice on rivers and lakes disappears. The bluebird (he remarks again)...is among the first of the migratory birds to return in the spring, which is a token that the spring of the year has come, and that the power of the Winter power is broken." This incident shows definitely that Flint, or rather Ice-coated or Crystal, is the Winter power. There has been a substitution of rock for ice, just as there has been in the name of this important nature force.

Now then, verily, Sapling's father had given him sweet maize, which now he roasted; and a great sweet odor was diffused. When Flint's grandmother got

wind of it, she said: "What thing is this that Sapling is now roasting for himself?" And she spoke to Flint. "Let us go, we two, to where he has built his fire, and discover what this thing is." So now of course the two stood up and ran, arriving at the place where Sapling had kindled his fire, and they saw that it was true, that he was roasting for himself an ear of maize. The juice of it was issuing in streams among the kernels and along the rows of kernels, so fat was that ear of maize. And the grandmother asked: "Where didst thou get this?" "My father gave it to me," he replied. She answered: "And dost thou even intend that the man-beings who will dwell here on this earth, should live as pleasantly as this?" Whereupon she took up a handful of ashes, cast them on the ear of maize there roasting, and at once the fat of the maize stopped pouring from the roasting ear Sapling rebuked his grandmother sharply for this act, took up the ear and wiped off the ashes. Then he again set it to roast. But it now was possible for it to exude only a small amount of fatness, as today when ears are roasted. So little fatness shows, it is barely visible.

Another day and the grandmother was shelling some of the maize that Sapling had planted. She then poured it into a mortar and taking up the pestle, with it pounded the grain. She worked hard at her pounding and said: "Truly, thou wouldst have mankind exceedingly well provided. They should rather, however, be much wearied in getting their break to eat. And so this now is the way they shall customarily have to use the mortar and pestle." Whereupon Sapling rebuked her, saying: "That which thou hast done is not good."

Sapling, traveling, was astonished to find it becoming dark. He then mused: "Why, indeed, this would appear to be a marvelous occurrence: this thing now taking place." He returned home and, arriving there, found that the sun was nowhere to be seen. Nor could he find either his brother Flint or his grandmother. Searching about, he then perceived a glow of light that was like dawn and understood that the sun was in that place. And so now he set about seeking servants who would help him to recover it.

Spider volunteered; so also, Beaver; and Hare; and so also, Otter. And then, together, they made themselves a canoe. When they had done this, they all got in and, of course, began to paddle, directing the bow toward the place where the dawn was showing. And there lay the sun, on the top of a tree. So then Sapling said: "Thou, Beaver, do thou cut down that tree; and thou, Spider, shalt climb it, and at the top of the tree fasten the cord. Though shall then descend, hanging by thy cord, until thou reachest the ground." And to Hare he said: "As soon as the tree falls thou must seize the sun. Adept as thou art at running through the underbrush, no matter how difficult the ground, if now, at this time, thou art pursued from place to place, thou art able to escape by stealth."

And thou, "Otter," he said, "shalt care for the canoe. If it be that we all get aboard, thou shalt turn back the canoe at once."

All this then came to pass. Beaver, of course, bit out pieces from the tree. Spider, for his part, climbed to the top and, having reached it, fastened there his cord. Then letting himself down, he again alighted on the ground. And so then, when there was little left to be cut and the prospect was encouraging that it should be possible to fell the tree, Spider pulled on the cord. The tree toppled over. Hare rushed forward and seized the sun; for, indeed, both Flint and his grandmother now came running. And it was then that Hare took flight, bearing the sun away. They, of course, pursued him right and left, he fleetly scurrying through the shrubbery, but then, after a spell, coursing straight for the canoe. Because the others, indeed, his friends were already aboard. He came at a bound, jumped in, and therewith, Otter instantly pushed the canoe off, and they all began again to paddle.

So then, as they were paddling back, Otter, it is said, kept talking. They told him to keep quiet, but he kept right on until someone struck him with a paddle a blow on the mouth, and that is why the otter's mouth now looks as though it had somehow been broken. The lower jaw is shorter than the upper. You can see where someone's paddle struck him.

And so, when they were safely home, Sapling said: "It must not go on this way: that one person alone should have charge over the sun." And he flung the sun up to the center of the sky, with the command: "Up there in the heavens shalt thou henceforth remain, and besides, keep moving along." He then pointed to the west. "The place it goes down into the deep," he said, "shall be known as the place of the sunset, the down-going and immersion. Then, verily, darkness will overtake this earth. And the place where the sun comes up, people shall know as the place of thy looking forth, and they will say: "Now the sun-being has appeared." For at that time, thou shalt ascend from the depth. And in this way thou shalt have a service to perform, ever giving light to this earth." Then Sapling declared further: "Whenever thou art mentioned, they will speak of you as 'The Great Warrior, who gives us light.'"

And then too, of course, that other luminary, the Moon, which had been his mother's head and which his grandmother had also placed on the top of a standing tree, this too he tossed up to the sky, saying: "The power of thy light at night shall be less great." And he added: "They will see thee at times as full, but every night thereafter thy size shall diminish until it disappears. Then again, every night thou shalt increase in size from a small beginning, growing nightly until the time arrives when thy growth shall have been completed. And so that, now, is to be thy manner of existence." Moreover he said: "Whenever thou art

mentioned by the people who are to still here on earth, they will speak of thee as 'Our Grandmother, luminary of the night.'"

Then Sapling formed the body of a man of the race of mankind; also that of such a woman. His younger brother, Flint, was watching. And, when Sapling had caused those two to live, he placed them side by side, and then started off on a journey, to inspect the current condition of those things which he had fashioned for this earth. Presently returning to see what the man and woman were doing, he found them doing nothing at all but sleeping. He just looked at them and went away. But then again returning, he found that their condition was unchanged. They were still, just sleeping. And so it continued to be, every time he returned to them. All they did was sleep. So then he took from each a rib (there may well be a biblical influence here, though with a new and interesting application), and substituting one rib for the other, he implanted each in the other's body. And then, of course, he watched them, wondering what perhaps might now occur.

It was not long before the woman woke. She sat up and at once she touched the breast of the man lying at her side, just where her rib had been placed, and of course that tickled him. He woke. And then of course it started: that occasion which most concerns man-beings in their living, and for which, in their kind, their bodies are provided, that matter for which purpose he is a male human being and she a female human being.

Then Flint, too, fashioned a human being, but he was unable to match what Sapling had done, as the form of his poorly made creature showed. He addressed his brother. "See!" he said. "I too can make a human being." But when Sapling looked at what had been achieved, he recognized that what had been formed were not human beings at all. They had human faces, but the bodies of monsters. Sapling said to him: "This, exactly, is the reason I told thee not to try to imitate my accomplishments." Flint responded: "Thou shalt nevertheless see that I, after all, can do as well as thyself; for my power is no less than thine." And with that, the two separated. Sapling resumed his traveling from place to place, over the surface of the earth, to review the works of his creation, and in time was again strolling along the shore of the sea, when he beheld Flint there moving about. At the water's edge lay the body of a man-being as white as foam (or as snow: this man was Winter). Sapling approached his brother and said: "What is this that thou art doing?" Flint replied: "I have formed the body of a male man-being. This person's body, lying here, is better looking, surely than the one that thou hast made. I told thee that I have as much power as thou hast: yes, that my power is greater than thine. Thou canst see! This body is as white as the one that thou didst form." Sapling answered: "What thou sayest would surely seem to be true. So then, if so it be, let me see him

make some movements and get up. Let me see him stand and walk." Whereupon Flint said: "Come now! Arise!" But the one lying there did not move. Then Flint of course did everything he could to cause his creature to live and to arise. He tried everything possible, but to no avail. He had no effect; his creature did not come to life. Then Sapling said: "Is it not just as I have been saying? Thou art not able to do as I do." But he added: "What purpose, however, would be served by leaving his body here lying without life? Is he to lie here, this way, forever?" Flint replied: "Well then, do thou cause him to rise." And Sapling, consenting, went over to where the creature lay, bent down and breathed into his nostrils, when the form at once began to breathe and was alive. Sapling said to him: "Do thou arise and move about on this earth." The body of a woman had also been made there, and Sapling, at that time, caused them both to live.

Flint, in those days, went about undoing many of the works that Sapling had accomplished. The rivers in their different courses were altered, for example; for Sapling, in forming them, had provided them with two currents running in contrary courses, in such a way that objects might be floated in opposite directions. That is to say, there was down the middle of each river a division, with the water of each side flowing the opposite way to the other. Because Sapling had intended mankind should not have, as a usual thing, any difficult task while traveling. If a person, for any reason, should wish to go down a river, it would be no problem for him simply to place himself on a canoe and then, of course, ride the current; and should he then have to return, he would, of course, paddle over to the other side, and just as soon as he passed the division of the stream, his canoe would turn back and he would again be descending the current. That is what Sapling intended: That mankind should have it easy this way, while traveling on his rivers. But Flint spoiled this. It was Flint, furthermore, who made all these immense, uplifted mountains; also, all these jagged cliffs. He did all this so that the people who would be living here should have reason for trouble and anxiety as they traveled.

Sapling and Flint, at that time, were dwelling together in one lodge, each occupying the opposite side of the fire to the other. And it was while they were thus dwelling there that Flint kept questioning Sapling as to what object he most feared, what object would most quickly kill him. To which Sapling answered: "A certain weed that grows in swamps, a kind of sedge called 'it cuts a person.' I think, now that I think of it, that weed would cut through me." Flint asked: "Is there nothing else you fear?" Sapling answered: "I often think the spike of a cattail flag might kill me, if anyone should strike me with it." (Those are the two things Sapling's father had told him to say, when he had been in his father's lodge.) Then Sapling asked: "And what thing is it thou dost fear?" Flint said:

"Yellow flint; also the horns of a deer. I suppose, when I do think of it, that I should perhaps die at once if struck with either of these."

So after that, wherever Sapling traveled, if he saw a stone of the yellow chert kind, he would pick it up and set it on some high place; or if he saw a deer's horn, he would pick that up and place it, also, on a high place. Now is was so, that in their lodge the floor on one side of the fire was higher than the other. Sapling occupied the higher side and Flint the lower. Then it happened that when Sapling was increasing the fire by feeding it with hickory bark, it became so hot that the legs of Flint began to chip and flake off. He said: "Thou hast made the fire too hot. Do thou not feed it any more bark." Sapling, however, threw another piece into the fire and the heat of course increased. And so now the fire was indeed extremely hot, and Flint's whole body began flaking off in chert chips. He became very angry as Sapling kept putting bark into the flames, and besides, his side of the lodge being so low, he had very little space in which to find shelter. He writhed in the heat and became, at last, so angry that he left the lodge and running into a marsh, tore up stalks of the sedge called "it-cuts-a-person," with which he then came running back to the lodge and cried, "Sapling, I now kill thee," striking blows with stalks that he carried.

So then those two began to fight, Flint striking the other with his stalks. Then he realized that Sapling was not being cut by his blow, and again darting out, he this time went to get spikes of the cut-tail flag. Returning, he rushed at Sapling, once again dealing him blows. And again the blows failed to injure. Turning, he fled with Sapling in pursuit, and now, in every direction over the entire earth that pair of brother's ran. Wherever Sapling saw on a high place a yellow flint-stone or a deer horn, he seized it and struck at Flint. Chert chips would fly when he hit him. And he kept on striking as they went running. Every time he saw a horn or yellow chert stone, he grabbed it and struck at Flint. Thus, finally, he killed him.

And to this day, there is a range of mighty mountains here extending toward the west across the whole earth. There, so it is said, the body of Flint lies extended. There he fell, when killed. And as we look about, considering the condition of the earth as it is today, it is evident that its surface is uneven, some places high, with ranges even of mountains, while others are for their part low. That was brought about, of course, by those two as they raced from place to place, fighting as they ran. That is the reason why the surface of the earth is uneven.

Continuing in his custom of traveling about, Sapling one day met a male man-being and said to him: "What is it thou dost do as thou goest about?" The other answered: "I come inspecting the earth, to see whether it is just as I put it

forth." Sapling replied: "Well, this truly, indeed, is an amazing enterprise of thine, since it was I who completed this earth." The other responded: "Not at all; for it was I myself who accomplished this." "Well then," said Sapling, "if that be so, let it be made quite plain that it was thou that didst complete this earth. At our two backs, in the distance, there is a range of high mountains of sheer rock, in appearance like a wall. Let thee no bring them nigh to thy body. Should it be that perhaps thou art able to do this, then surely it will be shown that thou didst indeed complete this earth. Do thou, therefore, only speak, ordering that mountain range to come hither." And he added: "So now, then, go ahead!" The other answered: "I doubt not, it will come to pass." And he called out: "Come thou, yon mountain range, move thyself higher! Come stand by my body. Should it be that perhaps thou art able to do this, then surely it will be shown that thou didst indeed complete this earth. Do thou, therefore, only speak, ordering that mountain range to come hither." And he added: "So now, then, go ahead!" The other answered: "I doubt not, it will come to pass." And he called out: "Come thou, yon mountain range, move thyself higher! Come stand by my body!" But the mountain range remained where it was; the mountains were unchanged. Nothing moved. Sapling said; "So there! That is exactly what I have been saying. Thou hast not established this earth." The other replied: "Well then, let it become evident, if true, that thou art the one. Come, do thou move that wall of rock hither." And Sapling said: "Thus, indeed, will I do." Whereupon he called out to the range: "Come, move thyself this way." And verily, it moved. It approached, and at his back, close to his body, came to a standstill. The rock wall even lightly grazed his shoulder blades. Then Sapling said: "Now turn thyself around and look to see where the mountains be."

So the other thereupon turned around and his nose struck the rock and became awry.

Then he spoke and said: "Truly, indeed, thou it is who hast completed and established the earth here present. It was not I at all who did this. If, then, if thou wilt consent to it that I may live, I shall then ever continue to aid thee. I shall protect at all times thy people who are to dwell here on this earth."

And Sapling, replying said: "Truly, it shall be thus. 'Mask' shall mankind ever call thee; also 'Grandfather.'"

Another day, and Sapling was again traveling about, to inspect anew those things that he had accomplished on this earth, when he saw another male man-being. He addressed him, saying: "What art thou doing on thy way?" The other answered: "It seemed necessary for me to see thee." Sapling replied: "That is evidently true." Said the other: "I desire that thou shouldst permit me still to live. If thou wilt consent to what I say, I shall give to thee assistance. I

shall watch over their bodies and give live and support, and moreover, shall continue to defend the mankind that thou wilt cause to dwell on this earth that thou hast completed." Replying, Sapling said: "Let me see what sort of power is thine." Whereupon the male man-being, whose name is Thunder (*hi'no*), started on a run and ascended into the clouds, when, verily, rumblings were heard. It thundered in the clouds and lightnings were emitted, and moreover many flashes broke forth, so rapidly they seemed to be one. After which the man-being came down again to where Sapling stood, and said: "So now, thou hast seen what sort of power I have." And Sapling, replying, said: "So now, thou hast seen what sort of power I have." And Sapling, replying, said: "It is indeed true that thou art able to do as thou didst tell. Wilt thou be able also to cast down water on this earth, when the summertimes come?" He answered: "I can do that." Sapling said: "So then let me see how that will be." And the other replied: "Very well!" He went up again into the clouds and again it thundered, and besides, the lightning flashed and the clouds became thick and black. Then it happened: from the sea it came over the dry land, raining as it came. It was marvelous as it approached. And then of course the rain passed. And then again he returned to the place where Sapling was moving about. Whereupon Sapling spoke to him and said: "What thou art able to do is satisfactory. So let it be, as thou just now didst request. It will be thy duty continually to travel about: for thou thyself requested this. Do not ever fail in this duty. Thou must be ever vigilant. If at some time there should come dangers to the lives of men, because of great serpents moving from place to place in the depths of this earth, or in the sea; if it should come to pass that at some time these great serpents might desire to seize people moving from place to place: thou must then kill such serpents, and when thou wilt have killed them, they will be that on which thou shalt feed. Other animals also, equal in *otkon orenda* (malific magic power) to these, shall become, like them, thy fare. Thou wilt ever have these to watch, as thy adversaries. And now, of course, that is settled. Such is the office thou hast assumed. Mankind will name thee "Our Grandfather-whose-voice-is-customarily-sounded-in-divers-places." Then, indeed, the two parted.

There the legend ends.

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