North Carolina Archaeology



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by Mary Elizabeth Fitts

Abstract

The disciplinary boundary between archaeology and ethnohistory is both created by and promotes the use of different sources of information to learn about American Indian history during the time of European contact and colonization. Such a segregation of practice limits the range of questions asked concerning the social and political transformations that took place during this time. I combine information from documentary sources, spatial analysis, and ten pottery assemblages to examine the process of Catawba coalescence from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries. In the sixteenth century, political interaction existed between Catawba valley Mississippian peoples and groups living downriver in the Wateree region, but two different communities of potters seem to have lived in these areas. As the fur trade intensified during the seventeenth century, the trail that linked the lower Catawba valley peoples to the Virginia colony came to replace the river as the favored resource near which new settlements were established. Refugees and Iroquois raiders both traveled this trail, and contributed in different ways to the character of the political organization created by members of the Catawba confederacy in the early eighteenth century.

All narratives have beginnings. In discourses about the past, the narrative *need* for beginnings and the seeming *existence* of beginnings often become intertwined. While the role of narrative in the construction of history has been carefully scrutinized (e.g., White 1987), the idea of origins remains central to most backward-gazing disciplines. Archaeologists in particular are famous for chasing these moving targets. For ethnohistorians, the concept of ethnogenesis (Sturtevant 1971) has served as a tool for defining the circumstances surrounding the origins of corporate social identities. European colonialism in the "New World" can be readily implicated in social and political transformations that took place within and between American Indian polities. However, I would argue that the concept of "ethnogenesis," connoting an almost biblical emergence of novel ethnic groups, is in part an artifact of academic disciplinary practice. By limiting their sources of evidence to textual documents, ethnohistorians by default created an artificial boundary between European textual history and earlier American Indian history, as

well as between discourse and practice. In the following discussion, I combine documentary evidence with archaeological data in an effort to understand the relationships that existed between American Indian groups living in the central Carolina piedmont during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries. These networks of social relationships, materialized in trails and settlements and craft, enabled the coalescence of the polity that came to be known as the Catawba Nation.

Studies of coalescent communities that developed in southeastern North America during the colonial period have shown that while these groups struggled with problems similar in kind, such as raiding, disease, and population displacement, the extent to which they experienced these forces differed in magnitude. Weisman (2000:308) suggests that the formation of Seminole identity was a direct response to the external stress and opposition they experienced as a target of EuroAmerican militaristic aggression. Depopulation, on the other hand, may have been the single most important factor in the formation of the Choctaw confederacy (Galloway 1995:6). For groups living in the central Carolina piedmont, depopulation, Iroquois raiding, changes in the fur trade, and wars were all important factors of culture change (Davis 2000:143). It is clear that American Indian groups living during the colonial period faced formidable challenges, and the study of these constraints is necessary for critical (re)constructions of their struggles, transformations, and survival. It is equally important, however, to examine the resources that community members could bring to bear on these problems and the strategies they chose to pursue. In my discussion of Catawba coalescence. I attempt to examine some of these resources and strategies, focusing specifically upon the knowledge of possible forms of political organization possessed by community members, social networks and alliances, features of the landscape that allowed for the exchange of objects and ideas, and the selection of village locations with respect to these resources.

The seeming "genesis" of novel American Indian ethnicities during the colonial period is perhaps most vividly associated with changes in the names used to identify specific groups. I seek to show how the naming of the Catawba was a dialectic process of self-naming and external, imposed naming which can be traced as far back as the sixteenth century. This investigation was inspired by a deerskin map thought to be drawn by a resident of the lower Catawba valley and presented to South Carolina Governor Francis Nicholson around 1721. In this document, the Carolina piedmont is shown to be dense with sociopolitical groups, none of which are named "Catawba." I use this map is as a resource for

examining political organization imagined and practiced into existence by the coalescent Catawba communities. This process appears to have taken place in two general phases, divided by the pivotal Yamasee War. These two phases, first of political, and then of both political and geographical coalescence, correspond to the English Contact (1675– 1715) and Coalescent (1715–1759) periods of Catawba history as described by Davis and Riggs (2004:2–3). The rivers and trails that cross the Carolina piedmont enabled the construction of this organization, and I next examine the role that trails played in the daily lives of Catawba valley residents during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Documents provide details that illuminate the perceptions and experiences of individuals who lived in the past, but they also raise questions that can only be answered with reference to the material residue of daily practice. For example, while Spanish records indicate that the inhabitants of the Catawba and Wateree River valleys were interacting during the sixteenth century, the nature of this interaction remains poorly understood. Similarly, while the 1721 deerskin map displays a number of seemingly distinct and independent polities, the degree of social interaction between these groups cannot be readily ascertained from historic documents. Finally, how the lower Catawba valley groups organized their settlements in relation to the trails that enabled the transportation of people, commodities, and knowledge is another topic that cannot be satisfactorily considered using textual information alone. I attempt to engage these matters by mapping the possible location of trading paths in use at the turn of the eighteenth century and considering this information in conjunction with an analysis of ten pottery assemblages from the lower Catawba valley. By identifying practices of pottery production that changed from the sixteenth through the early eighteenth centuries, and comparing this evidence to the documentary record, I seek to determine the extent to which political and social relationships overlapped. This information can in turn be used to examine how historical precedents may have informed the strategies enacted by American Indian inhabitants of the central Carolina piedmont during the period of English colonization.

Charles Hudson (1970:124), after conducting ethnographic fieldwork among the Catawba and residents of nearby Rock Hill, South Carolina, observed that these two groups tended to have differing attitudes regarding the subject of Catawba origins. One difference he observed was that "whites appear to be rather more interested in the origin of the Catawbas than the Catawbas themselves are." Hudson

(1970:124) attributes this difference to white conservatism, or an "interest in keeping Indians in their place." My intent is to add to the body of information that documents the Catawba's "struggle for survival as a sovereign nation" (Sanders, in Blumer 1987:xi). I also seek to examine history as an array of possibilities, rather than simply something that *has happened*, and could not have occurred in any other way. By comparing historical outcomes to "ideal-typical" constructions (Weber 1978:21), the decisions enacted by individuals in the past can be better understood. At the same time, it is important to remember that webs of social, political, and geographic circumstance, as well as habitual patterns of thought and practice (Bourdieu 1977), limit the range of possible decisions that can be enacted at any given time. My goal in combining these two perspectives is to develop a nuanced understanding of changes in Catawba social and political organization during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Naming Catawba

The act of naming is an undertaking so mundane and pragmatic, and yet so entangled with authority, privilege, and even spirituality, that it has been scrutinized within the context of subject areas ranging from religious identity (Rytnes 1999) to gender construction (Gengenbach 2002; Schrepher 2005) to cultural property rights and state regulation (Scott et al. 2002). For this project, naming is considered essential to the concept of ethnicity. Anthropological definitions of ethnicity that emphasize the emic, or self-naming aspect of identity construction (after Barth 1969) have been incorporated into studies of culture change in southeastern North America (Galloway 1995:265; Plane 2004:61; Stojanowski 2005:423). While the distinction between self-naming and imposed naming is critical for analyzing the transformation of ethnic identities, it is important that the relationship between self and imposed naming be understood in a dialectical, rather than dualistic, manner (Nagel 1994). It is also important to recognize that ethnic identity is composed of the multiple overlapping, but not necessarily coincident, spheres of kin, geography, language, and political affiliation.

Moore (2002:45) observes that histories of the Catawba people (Hudson 1970, Baker 1975, Merrell 1989) have tended to divide English colonial uses of the name "Catawba" into three phases. During the first phase, around 1701, the name Catawba referred to "a town or group located near the confluence of the Catawba River and Sugar Creek" (Moore 2002:45). Between 1710 and 1730, the word was used as "a

referent for a larger group of ethnically diverse peoples living in the same vicinity," and by the mid-nineteenth century, the name Catawba evoked "the Catawba nation, a more extensive and inclusive amalgamation of peoples" (Moore 2002:45). These phases, taken together, tell the story of an original host community that first sheltered, and then incorporated distinct clusters of refugees possessing varying degrees of ethnic difference. Merrell (1989:95) describes this process in terms of the polities depicted on the 1721 deerskin map: "the collapse of these many circles into one." In an attempt to investigate the dialectic of self and external naming associated with the construction of the political entity known as the Catawba Nation, I examine Catawba ethnic epistemology. How did a group named Catawba come to be understood as the host community of the nation?

Eighteenth-century sources provide details that insinuate the primacy of the Catawba element of the confederated groups living along the Wateree-Catawba River. Adair (2005[1775]:246), for example, refers to the "Kátahba" language as "the standard, or court-dialect" of the Catawba Nation. Also suggestive is Lawson's identification of an individual he calls the "Kadapau King" (Lawson 1967[1709]:49). Yet it is the "Esaw Indians, a very large Nation containing many thousand People," who Lawson (1967[1709]:46) sets out to visit after his stay with the Waxhaw. The fact that Lawson does not describe the Kadapau Indians as a "Nation" is reminiscent of the absence of the name Catawba on the 1721 deerskin map. Is this simply an inadvertent omission, or can it be read as Lawson's perception of different scales of organization among the entities he names Esaw, Sugaree, and Kadapau? What was the relationship between the Kadapau Indians and "the powerful Nation of *Esaws*" (Lawson 1967[1709]:49)? Sixteenth-century Spanish records provide information critical for the formulation of possible answers to this question.

The earliest European references to names considered to be translations of Catawba and Esaw were made during the Juan Pardo expeditions of 1566 and 1567 (Hudson 1990). Expedition records identify native officials called Yssa Orata and Catapa Orata; the Spanish used the title "orata" to refer to a cacique or chief (Hudson 1990:61–63). The expedition did not pass through the home town of Catapa Orata, but its location is believed to have been in close proximity to Yssa, which is thought to have been located near Lincolnton, North Carolina, on the South Fork of the Catawba River (Hudson 1990:25, Moore 2002:21). This position is approximately 50 miles northwest of the area occupied by these groups during the first half of the eighteenth century. Both

names appear to have been translated from Catawban, which consists of a set of dialects distantly related to Siouan languages (Gatschet 1900; Rudes et al. 2004:301). Catapa is derived from the Catawba name "yi kátapu," which can be translated as "people in the fork of the river" (Rudes et al. 2004:315). Similarly, Yssa is believed to be a Spanish rendition of "iswa," the Catawban word for river; Hudson (1990:75) has argued that the English translated "Iswa" as Esaw. Thus, three general assertions about the names Catapa (Kadapau/Catawba) and Yssa (Esaw) can be derived from the Spanish records: they were provided to the Spanish by people with very similar linguistic backgrounds; they referred to two distinct groups; and the Spanish perceived these groups to have equivalent political status.

There is little documentary evidence related to the Catawbaspeaking groups from the century and a half between the Juan Pardo expeditions and Lawson's journey. Yet, as Galloway (1995:163) asserts, we must consider that knowledge and interpretations of Spanish behavior had "as profound effect on Native American thought as the discovery of alien people in a New World had upon European thought." Moreover, when seeking to understand the history of this time period we must consider the effect of European diseases on American Indian populations. A review of the literature on epidemiology is beyond the scope of this project; for present purposes, it is sufficient to recognize that the "demographic collapse" most likely was not a uniform phenomenon, in the sense that variation in local histories, political organization, and habitation preferences would have resulted in differential numerical losses in epidemics (Thornton 1997; Zubrow 1990). Archaeological investigations in the northern piedmont region of North Carolina have not identified evidence of epidemic disease at sites inhabited during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Ward and Davis 1999:258). This finding, however, cannot be applied to the central Carolina piedmont since relevant archaeological data from this area are "woefully" lacking (Moore 2002:193). In addition, the groups living in the northern and central Carolinian piedmont prior to and during the period of Spanish contact are thought to have had different sociopolitical systems, a circumstance most often inferred from the presence of temple mounds in the southern piedmont, and their absence to the north (Baker 1975:160; Moore 2002:189; Ward and Davis 1999:4-5).

Did communities living in the Wateree and lower Catawba River valleys during the second half of the sixteenth century suffer such losses from epidemic disease that they could not maintain autonomous viability, forcing survivors to abandon their homes and seek refuge elsewhere?

Moore (2002:47) suggests that most of the valley was probably depopulated before the mid-seventeenth century. He argues that survivors living in the upper Catawba valley moved south in order to command an advantageous position for trade with Virginia and Carolina colonists after the establishment of Charlestown in 1670 (Moore 2002:48). These settlements became the host community for Catawba coalescence. Assuming Hudson's (1990:25) placement of sixteenth-century Yssa is correct, this southward movement of peoples would explain the presence of groups known to the English as Esaw and Kadapau in the vicinity of present Fort Mill, South Carolina, at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

At least two suggestions may be proposed to reconcile the accounts of Pardo and Lawson. Despite the likelihood of demographic and philosophical challenges instigated by the Spanish entrada, it may be possible to understand the socio-geography of the Catawba-Esaw host community without the mechanism of population movement from the upper Catawba Valley. For example, if the name Yssa is indeed derived from the Catawba name for "river," then any Catawba-speaking individuals who described the position of their village with reference to the river may have become identified as Esaw by the English. While the name Catapa was probably associated with a specific fork in the Catawba River during the middle of the sixteenth century, this word for "people at the fork of the river" would also seem to possess a certain amount of flexibility. This leads to perhaps the simplest of explanations, which is that the sixteenth-century geographic location of the Yssa-Catapa groups is the same as that of the Esaw-Kadapau groups of the early eighteenth century. This is the position argued by Mooney (1894:69) and Baker (1975:45). At present, however, there is no archaeological evidence, such as the identification of sixteenth-century Spanish artifacts at York County sites, to support this suggestion. In addition, extensive research has led Hudson (1990:25) to posit the Lincolnton, North Carolina, location of Yssa. The existence of a population movement from the upper and middle Catawba River valley to the lower valley is a matter that can be confirmed or refuted through additional archaeological research.

The scale and form of demographic change in the project area during the seventeenth century are poorly understood. Nevertheless, there appears to have been a shift in the relative political importance of the Yssa and Catapa groups. While no mention of the latter occurs during the period between the visits of Pardo and Lawson, English records dating to the late seventeenth century contain references to the

Yssa, translated as "Esaw" (Baker 1975:44–46). During the initial occupation of Charles Town, the Esaw agreed to help the English subdue the Westos, and also appear to have captured Winyah, Cherokee, and Westo slaves (Baker 1975:45). The fierce reputation Catawba warriors enjoyed during the eighteenth century may stem in part from these exploits of the Esaw (Heath 2004:84). The political and militaristic prominence of the Esaw during the late seventeenth century also may explain why Lawson (1967[1709]:49) expected to encounter "the powerful Nation of *Esaws*" and did not ask his guides to lead him to the Kadapau. At the turn of the eighteenth century, it would seem that the names Esaw and Kadapau distinguished two groups, with "Esaw" also being used to refer to the totality of allied groups living in the lower Catawba valley. Through a dynamic process of self-identification and external reference, this situation became reversed during the next twenty years, and the first step in this process may be manifest in the appearance of the name "Nauvasa," or "Nasaw."

Writing in 1728, Colonel William Byrd of Virginia noted that the first Catawba town traders encountered on their way to the Cherokee was called "Nauvasa" (Rights 1989[1931]:56). The name Nauvasa seems to be a different spelling of "Nasaw," recorded on the deerskin map presented to South Carolina Governor Nicholson in 1721 (Waselkov 1989:306). The derivation of this name appears to be the same as that of Yssa and Esaw, in that all three are transformations of the Catawban word for "river," iswa. "Nasaw," however, contains the preposition *nie/nea*, abbreviated from *nieya* or *nieye*, a term meaning "people" or "Indians" in Catawban (Mooney 1894:69). Is the shift from Esaw to Nasaw purely incidental, or does the insertion of nie constitute an assertion of identity and a recognition of difference — some people are Indians of the River, but others are not? The attribution of the name Nasaw to a single town, rather than an entire Nation, may also be critical for understanding how "Catawba" came to replace "Esaw" as the name for the groups living in the central Carolina piedmont. To understand this renaming, which took place during a period of intensified negotiations among American Indian and English groups during the first half of the eighteenth century, it is first necessary to identify the strategies piedmont groups employed during this time to maintain their autonomy in an increasingly hostile political landscape.

Documents of Deerskin

Previous interpretations of aboriginal sociopolitical maps of the southeastern North America have contrasted their organizational parameters with those of maps meant to convey geographical information, noted their status as products of the elite, or most prestigious members of a given group, and described their ethnocentric biases. Waselkov's (1989, 1998) analyses of Southeastern aboriginal maps remain the most systematic and comprehensive approaches to the subject from an anthropological perspective. He observes that while some aboriginal maps relate the locations of villages to rivers, paths, and other elements of the geographical landscape, others convey primarily social and political information (Waselkov 1989:300-301, 1998:206-207). In such maps, social and political distances were recorded by "replacing absolute measures of Euclidian distance with a flexible, topological view of space" (Waselkov 1989:300). In other words, geographical, political, and social relationships were combined to produce a ranking of similarity between groups, and attempts were made to preserve this ranking in a two-dimensional drawing. Today, this reduction of complex relationships into two dimensions can be accomplished through use of a computerized statistical technique known as multidimensional scaling; aboriginal cartographers achieved the same end using qualitative, intuitive information.

Of course, the specific outcome of such a project depends upon the intentions of the mapmaker. Two Chickasaw maps presented to French officials in 1723 and 1737, as well as the map presented to Governor Nicholson by an inhabitant of the Carolina piedmont in 1721, were drawn by community leaders and as such "are our only cartographic glimpses of the region from the viewpoint of Southeastern Indian elite" (Waselkov 1998:216). While the authority and status granted to these individuals may have varied from nation to nation, along with the degree to which their geographic and political knowledge was shared among members of their communities, it is clear that the maps they presented to colonial officials were formal documents. Not only were they developed by individuals with the authority to do so; these maps were also created specifically to communicate particular situations and perspectives to European authorities. Like all documents, they also contain evidence of certain assumptions and ways of perceiving the world that were taken for granted by their authors. For example, the maps differentiate bounded social spaces, and the corridors between them, from a surrounding matrix

of undifferentiated hunting grounds (Hammett 1992:125–128). In each case the cartographers have placed their own nation or village in the center of the map with paths radiating outwards, resulting in a concentric, seemingly hierarchical organization of social space (Waselkov 1989:302). In the Catawban map of the Carolinas, the village of Nasaw is centrally located — no fewer than seven paths are shown to connect this community to other social groups. Another ethnocentric tendency is seen in the size of the groups as depicted on the map. Members of the central piedmont confederacy are represented as circles roughly equivalent in size to their respective populations. Groups outside of the region, like the Cherokees and Chickasaws, who were considerably more numerous than the piedmont peoples, are not drawn to scale (Waselkov 1989:306).

Yet the organizational characteristics of the Catawban map that appear to be manifestations of ethnocentrism may also be interpreted as evidence for a political campaign to inform Governor Nicholson of the importance of the central piedmont confederacy. It is notable that the word "Catawba" appears nowhere on this map, although the English imagined it to be representative of such an entity. Rather than illustrating a people united under one name, the mapmaker "pictured a collection of independent nations" (Merrell 1989:94). The piedmontdwelling groups that *are* labeled on the map are the Waterie (Wateree), Wasmisa (Waccamaw), Casuie (Coosah), Nustie (Neustee), Charra (Cheraw/Sara), Youchine (Yuchi), Wiapie (Wawee), Nasaw (Esaw/Usheree), Suttirie (Sugeree), Succa (Sugha/Tansequa), and Saxippaha (Sissipahaw) (Waselkov 1989:320–324). It is also worth noting that paths are shown connecting the Cherokee and Chickasaw to Nasaw, although not directly. From a quick glance at the map (Figure 1), categorical differences are apparent not between the piedmont and mountain-dwelling groups, but between aboriginal groups and the European colonists. Galloway (1998:224) suggests that the aboriginal convention of using circles as abstract representations of social groups may be linked with fire symbolism, since the circular hearth of a community was meaningfully associated with its unity through social, genealogical, and ceremonial ties. The rectilinear presentation of Charlestown and Virginia suggests the mapmaker believed fundamental differences existed between native and European communities. This understanding is reminiscent of comments made by headmen from the Carolinas visiting Fort Christiana in April 1717, when Virginia Governor Spotswood asked them to embrace English culture. A colonist recorded that the visitors "asked leave to be excused from becoming as we are for



Figure 1. Copy of the deerskin map a Catawba leader presented to South Carolina Governor Nicholson in 1721 (from Waselkov 1989).

they thought it hard, that we should desire them to change their manners and customs, since they did not desire us to turn Indians" (Merrell 1989:91).

Recognition that a graphical strategy was used to communicate the importance of the piedmont groups to Governor Nicholson through their central placement, minimizing difference between themselves and nations to the west, and maximizing difference between aboriginal and European communities is an important step in understanding Catawban political coalescence. One critical question remains unexplored, however. Why did these politically allied groups present themselves, through the efforts of a sanctioned and well-informed mapmaker, as eleven communities instead of one? Chickasaw mapmakers, in contrast to the piedmont cartographer, depicted their group as a political unity on maps that date to 1723 and 1737. Such consistency did not always extend to the depiction of their neighbors. For example, the 1723 Chickasaw map illustrates the Creeks as a single political unit. A 1737 mapmaker, believed to be a Chickasaw due to the central place of the Chickasaws on the map (see Waselkov 1989:332), chose to depict individual towns instead; the name "Creek" does not appear on the map (Waselkov 1989:304). In contrast to the maps produced by Chickasaw drafters, a map created by an Alabama Indian for the French in 1737 shows individual Chickasaw towns. Contrasting the Chickasaw and Alabama maps reminds us of the importance of scale, as well as the tendency for a group, when seeking to compete with "external" forces, to present a unified front to the outside world, regardless of the pluralities contained within.

The Carolina mapmaker, and by extension the group of individuals involved in organizing the collective knowledge and understandings the map depicts, *could* in theory have chosen to present the piedmont communities as a single, large circle on the map to assert their political and economic importance. Does the absence of such a depiction indicate a refusal to do so, or an inability to speak with one voice? The latter possibility has often been suggested. Baker (1975:87) notes that Adair's description of the polyglot "Catawba Nation" has led researchers to the conclusion that the Catawba were "little more than a heterogeneous amalgam of refugees from diverse broken societies." Besides the variety of languages or dialects Adair recorded, the formation of a cohesive political entity was presumably hampered by variation in the political histories of the piedmont groups. Certain members, such as the Wateree and the Congaree, the latter often considered to have been incorporated within the confederacy despite their omission from the 1721 map (Baker 1975:63; Merrell 1989:105), were descendents of individuals who lived within the Cofitachique chiefdom. Others, like the Sara (Cheraw), were originally from the northern piedmont of what is today North Carolina, where forms of centralized political organization had not become as entrenched as they did farther south.

Emergent class differences were another set of social conditions that may have limited the development of a singular Catawban political entity. The principal documentary source that can be used to suggest variable economic conditions existed in the Carolinas at the beginning of the eighteenth century is Lawson's (1967 [1709]:38–39) description of the Wateree. His low opinion of their living conditions would appear to be supported independently by the comments of their Waxhaw neighbors, who wondered why Lawson and his party had chosen to stay with "such a poor Sort of *Indians*" (Lawson 1967[1709]:39). Although it may be too hopeful to classify Lawson as an "unbiased" observer (Baker 1975:31), the Waxhaw appear to have been more successful in securing European goods than the Wateree group Lawson visited. Such differences may be attributable in part to the length of time a given town had been inhabited, with younger refugee settlements having less access to or familiarity with local resources (Merrell 1989:27).

The social conditions that would have made political unity difficult are also compatible with the idea of a conscious refusal to create such an entity. Despite the window into aboriginal lifeways provided by colonial documents, it must be remembered that what can be learned of Catawban social interaction from these materials is but a fraction of what actually took place; we are left to imagine that the "Theater or State House[s]" Lawson (1967[1709]:46) saw in each town on the way from the Waxhaw to the Saponi were the sites of numerous deliberations, from which arose the social order presented graphically to Governor Nicholson.

Why was a confederation of nations chosen as the model for Catawban political organization? A potential answer lurks within the map itself, in the form of a giant figure, with its feet in the mountains, head and arms raised towards Nasaw. While this figure has been interpreted as a female, since it appears to be wearing a skirt (Waselkov 1989:321), other characteristics suggest it is a representation of the Iroquois warriors that had been menacing Carolina piedmont groups since the late 1670s (Merrell 1989:12). These include its location on the map, its size, especially in comparison to the figure in the hunting scene taking place on the map near Charlestown, and its red shading (Waselkov 1989:321) — red being a color equated with war in the aboriginal southeastern metaphorical lexicon. Furthermore, the clothing worn by

both the "giant" and the hunting figure are depicted in the same manner, and the "feather" worn by the larger figure may also be a representation of hair. This figure reminds us that the piedmont groups would most likely have chosen a political order that was both compatible with existing social realities, and, based upon the knowledge they possessed, seemed to yield the greatest amount of success to its members. Lawson (1967[1709]:36, 43) was surprised at the attention that was paid to the elderly among the groups he visited, and it does not seem that truly catastrophic demographic collapse affected Catawban society until the 1759–1760 smallpox epidemic (Merrell 1989:193–196; McReynolds 2004:53), when two-thirds of the population succumbed. If just a few elders survived earlier epidemics, their knowledge, combined with contemporary information obtained from travel and the accounts of aboriginal and European traders, would have yielded a variety of political models from which piedmont councils could draw. The structure of the map presented to Governor Nicholson could be taken as evidence that the model judged to be most viable was the confederacy, a decision conceivably based upon existing social differences, the collapse of the Southeastern chiefdoms, and the success of the Iroquois.

Living by the Trail

Demography, defense, commerce, and tradition were all contributing factors to the geographical coalescence of the Catawban confederacy after 1715. Prior to the Yamasee War, population estimates of the Nasaw and allied groups from historical sources range between four and ten thousand; it is clear that different methods were employed to arrive at these numbers (McReynolds 2004:43-44). Estimates after the war, but prior to the first documented epidemic of 1718, range from approximately fifteen hundred to two thousand men, women, and children. By 1720, these survivors had begun to consolidate their villages with an eye to both mutual protection and advantageous placement within the trade network (Baker 1975:69). The latter desire appears to have had at least a slight priority over safety, for if security were their sole concern, it would have been possible to fade into obscurity with maroon communities and others that removed themselves from the "grid" of colonial interaction. From this perspective, it would appear that the documented population decline of the Catawban confederacy after the Yamasee War reflects both defection and mortality. Those that remained both alive and committed to engagement with Euro-Americans seated their nation at the crossroads between the Virginia-

Cherokee trading path and the trail that came to be known as Salisbury Road. This is the route John Lawson appears to have taken from the Congaree to the Esaw (Nasaw) in 1701. We can begin to understand the significance of these trails to the daily lives of the people living alongside them by considering their importance as routes of communication and as symbols in regional aboriginal discourse.

Writing in 1728, Colonel William Byrd describes the route Virginia traders followed to make the 250-mile journey from the Roanoke River valley to go "traffik with the Catawbas and other Southern Indians" (Rights 1989[1931]:55). He relates that traders leading teams of packhorses could travel approximately twenty miles a day, and that they tended to split the journey into two parts by resting at the Yadkin River crossing, where they "commonly lie Still for some days" (Rights 1989[1931]:56). Continuing south, travelers would pass the Uwharrie Mountains — a situation that confused the German explorer John Lederer to a considerable degree (Rights 1989[1931]:70). By the time of Lederer's travels in 1670, it appears that the main trail branched into two paths in the vicinity of modern-day Charlotte. One branch went directly to Nasaw; the other, which Lederer appears to have followed, was the Salisbury route leading more directly to the Waxhaws (Rights 1989[1931]:71). This situation may explain the animosity between the Nasaw and Waxhaw, which led to physical violence in 1716 (Merrell 1989:103), as well as Byrd's observation that "So soon as the Catawba Indians are inform'd of the Approach of the Virginia Caravans, they send a Detachment of Warriors to bid them Welcome, and escort them Safe to their Town" (Rights 1989[1931]:56). While the English were likely to interpret this custom as a sign of their own importance, it is also a practice that would assure the traders did not decide to wander into the nearby town of another member of the confederacy.

Just as, or even more valuable, than the goods carried back and forth along the trails were the messages carried weightlessly beside them. Although Lawson observed a Saponi "ambassador" among the Waxhaw, encountered a war captain of the "Esaw Nation" who escorted him for two or three miles "to direct us in our Path" before heading off to visit with the Congaree and Savanna, and found it necessary to weigh down one of his Indian guides "with a good heavy Pack…by which Means we kept Pace with him," Lawson still found it "very odd, that News should fly so swiftly among these People" (Lawson 1967[1709]:37, 42–49). Comments made by John Stewart, a trader Lawson met among the "Kadapau" (Catawba), suggest they were connected to an extensive communication network through which they were informed of events

that had taken place 125 to 175 miles away (Hudson 1970:30). These existing channels of communication among the piedmont groups were strengthened during the next two decades as they cooperated in armed conflicts such as the Tuscarora and Yamasee Wars (Davis 2002:145). The Catawba and Chickasaw deerskin maps are diagrams of these communication routes; rivers and trails are only differentiated in the captions, emphasizing their function as conduits of information, and the limits of mapped space are defined not by geographic features but by the size of the communication network depicted (Waselkov 1989:301).

For the native Southeasterners, these well-worn routes not only connected living people to each other, but linked the past with the present, and life with death. The trails were themselves historical documents, serving as mnemonic devices for recalling significant elements of past individual and collective experience. During his travels, Lawson (1967[1709]:29, 50, 52) passed at least three locations where commemorative monuments had been constructed for individuals killed along the trail. These monuments, which Lawson describes as piles of stones or sticks, were maintained by "every Indian that passes by, [who] adds a Stone, to augment the Heap, in Respect to the deceas'd Hero" (1967[1709]:29). Given their facilitation of human movement through space and their association with memory, it is not surprising to find that trails played an important role in the spiritual beliefs of aboriginal groups. The Saponi guide known as Bearskin, who led Virginia and North Carolina surveyors on their mission to determine the boundary between the two colonies, "believed that after death people are conducted by a strong guard into a great road, which forked into two paths" (Mooney 1894:48). Nabokov (1998:256, 264) describes the linked concepts of the road, trail, path, and journey as "one of the most fertile, wide-spread tropes in American Indian consciousness," and argues that by "expressing collective and individual movement through a moral universe, the road and its journey remain dominant metaphors in Indian thought." In the eighteenth century, southeastern Indians used this metaphor in their attempts to communicate with colonial officials, often when explaining the status of political and social relationships. The path could be "clean or bloody, white or dark, clear or obstructed, straight or crooked" (Merrell 1989:148). This use of path conditions as metaphors for social relations is also present on the 1723 Chickasaw map, where communication routes are "portrayed either as continuous lines, representing open roads to allies and trading partners, or lines that end abruptly before entering the Chickasaw homeland, paths interrupted by wars and unusable for trade or hunting" (Waselkov 1998:217).

Colors are used to the same effect on the 1737 Chickasaw map, with white roads symbolizing peaceable relations and red roads symbolizing war.

Trails not only enabled the development of the Catawban confederacy by facilitating communication across the piedmont; they were themselves an idiom that could be used to communicate desires, intentions, and circumstances. The trail that led to Virginia was particularly important for the allied piedmont groups, for it served as a conduit for the traders, enemies, and refugees who came to the crossroads of the confederacy in search of a social entity called Catawba. Upon their arrival in the seat of the Nation, these travelers would ultimately be forced to reconcile their expectations with their reception and experiences. How can we, separated from these events by history and a different manner of being-in-the-world, attempt to do the same?

Mapping Catawba

Historical documents can provide a wealth of information about the formation of the Catawban confederacy. Names and political alliances leap off the page, while intent and purpose can be retrieved from between the lines. Yet documents also leave much unsaid, either by design or assumed irrelevance, and it is these silences that the consideration of material remains can help redress. Often, such omissions hinder the study of social history, preventing researchers from addressing relationships between politics and everyday practices — a dialectic central to all social constructionist approaches. The following analysis will investigate three questions regarding the social history of the Catawban confederacy that cannot be investigated convincingly using the documentary record alone. While the names Yssa and Catapa were in use at least as early as the mid-sixteenth century, differing opinions exist as to whether the social groups which these names identified lived on the South Branch of the Catawba River, or in the general area where John Lawson encountered them in 1701. Was there a population movement down the Catawba River valley during the seventeenth century? Secondly, how did the political organization of the Catawba groups articulate with social relations — is the deerskin map a diagram of distinct kin groups, as well as of political alliances? Finally, how did intensified use of the trail system affect the settlement pattern of the people living in the lower Catawba valley? Did the criteria they used to select new town locations change through time?

I will use two kinds of information to address these questions: the spatial position of towns and trails, and the characteristics of pottery assemblages collected from ten archaeological sites located on the left bank (north side) of the Catawba River between Twelve Mile Creek and Lake Wylie. While archaeologists' records can be used to determine the location of town sites identified in the field, little information exists regarding the geographic location of historic trails in the study area. Thus, for my project it was necessary to (re)construct the likely position of trails that were in use during the first half of the eighteenth century. As part of this process, for which I utilized historic maps to help make judgments regarding the position of trail routes, I was able to correlate recorded archaeological sites with the names of towns mentioned in the documentary record, facilitating the articulation of textual and archaeological information. Of the ten pottery assemblages examined for this project, four were collected in 1940 by Robert Wauchope, an archaeologist for the Research Laboratories of Archaeology (RLA) at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Two other sites, located east and south of those visited by Wauchope, were surface collected by RLA archaeologists in the 1960s and 1970s. Most recently, surface collections have been made at four sites in the vicinity of Fort Mill as part of the Catawba Project undertaken by RLA archaeologists Stephen Davis and Brett Riggs.

Trail Routes

The identification in modern geographical space of trails that passed though the Catawba homeland at the turn of the eighteenth century is a task complicated by a number of factors. Two main types of documents can be used as evidence to pursue this objective: historic maps, and the land itself. The challenge of investigating the land as a document is the need to differentiate between routes that were present in the early 1700s, and subsequently worn into the ground surface through years of wagon traffic, and those created more recently. While portions of the historic trading paths that were later used as wagon roads still exist in areas that have not been reshaped by heavy machinery during the last century, this situation is exceptional. Of course, it has been long-recognized that many roads now paved and traversed daily in sports utility vehicles are built on top of historic routes (Hulbert 1902; Rights 1931; Brierer 1972; Cooper 1995). Taking this situation as a given, however, precludes research into the subject. I have sought to combine information from the land itself, using aerial imagery and topographic maps, with details of

historic maps to create a working hypothesis about the geographic location of the routes traveled by members of the eleven nations, their guests, and their enemies during the first half of the eighteenth century.

Historic maps, while invaluable for the outcome of my project, have the ability to obscure as well as enlighten; the character and quality of the information they contain is dependent upon the conditions of their production. During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, most individuals who had the mathematical skills to produce relatively accurate maps were sailors, who remained in coastal communities. The inland hydrogeography and trails shown on maps from this period were often based on narrative descriptions from explorers and native informants (Galloway 1995:213, 1998). Even when trained surveyors began to produce maps of the interior Southeast, details of areas beyond the transects they walked were conjectural representations of information they accumulated from other sources. For example, surveyors who mapped the boundary between North and South Carolina in 1772 carefully recorded every marked tree, stream crossing and trail they passed, but were unsure how many of the streams connected to each other and the Catawba River. This resulted in either blank spaces on the maps or the creation of imaginary waterways. Historic maps like these not only pose interpretive difficulties; they are also few in number. Whether due to the low levels of education possessed by early English explorers (Galloway 1995:257), the desire of traders to maintain control over information that would be advantageous to their competitors (Merrell 1989:35), or the vagaries of preservation, few maps of the Catawban homeland are known from the time period under consideration. I used maps from the nineteenth and turn of the twentieth century, such as a 1907 highway map of Fort Mill, South Carolina, to identify historic routes that may have been superseded by later highway projects.

My comparison of aerial imagery, topography, and historic maps was facilitated through the use of spatially referenced digital data in a geographic information system (GIS). Digital orthophoto quarter quadrangles (DOQQ) obtained from the South Carolina Department of Natural Resources, and digital raster graphics (DRG) obtained from the U.S. Geological Survey were manipulated in ArcMap (Version 9.1), along with other features including modern political boundaries, hydrography, and documented archaeological sites (based on information from the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, and the Research Laboratories of Archaeology at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill). Proceeding from a small extant portion of the

Virginia/Cherokee trail, field-verified in the summer of 2005, I traced paths thought to exist during the first half of the eighteenth century by flipping back and forth between the digital aerial images and topographic maps, in consultation with historic cartography. Figure 2 documents the sources consulted to (re)construct each portion of the trail system.

Systematic efforts were made to document only paths that existed on the north side of the Catawba River between Twelve Mile Creek and Lake Wylie, coincident with the area containing the ten archaeological sites from which the pottery assemblages examined for this study were obtained. Based on interpretations of Lederer's journal (e.g., Rights 1989[1931]), this project proceeded under the assumption that at least two main trails led into Catawba lands. One crossed the Catawba River at Nation Ford and was considered to be, from the Virginians' perspective, the main trading path to the Cherokee. Another, to the east, came to be known as Salisbury Road. Possible secondary roads, shown in a 1756 map by John Evans¹ and documents from the 1772 boundary survey, were mapped only as far as they are depicted in this particular source. Another assumption made during the course of this project was that the "River" John Lawson (1967[1709]:48) crossed on January 22, 1701, which he compares to the River Derwent in Yorkshire, was either Twelve-Mile Creek or Sugar Creek. Finally, I assumed that the number of river and stream crossings would have been minimized, in order to ensure that the trails were reliable for foot traffic at all times of the year.

Communities of Potters

Having mapped the trail network of the Catawban confederacy in space, my next task is to propose an occupational history of the ten archaeological sites considered in this study. This has been accomplished in two ways: by comparing site locations (Figure 3) to towns depicted in the 1756 Evans map (Figure 4), and by conducting a correspondence analysis of pottery attribute counts from each site to identify the greatest sources of variation among the assemblages, which can be interpreted with reference to published ceramic chronologies of the region. Using these sources of information, I seek to determine where people chose to live in the lower Catawba valley, and whether the criteria they used to select locations for new settlements changed through time. By identifying contemporaneous settlements, I will also be able to examine the nature of social interaction during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries in terms of relationships between communities of potters.



Figure 2. Map of trading path routes based on John Evans' map of 1756 (Merrell 1989), a map of the 1772 NC-SC boundary survey (Darby 1772–1802), plats in the Catawba Plat and Lease Book (Superintendents of the Catawba Nation 1810–1825), topographic survey in the early twentieth century (USGS 1907), modern topography, and field verification.



Figure 3. The location of ten archaeological sites in the lower Catawba valley from which the analyzed pottery assemblages were collected.



Figure 4. Map by John Evans, 1756: "Cuttahbaw Nation, men fit for Warr 204...." The estimate of "7 Mile" between Sucah and Weyane is most likely a transcription error, and should probably read "1 Mile" (Merrell 1989).

Historians who use Evans' map in their research (Baker 1975:114; Merrell 1989:163) have identified the stream along which Sucah, Weyane, and Charraw Towns lay as Sugar Creek. However, if the crossing shown on the map is Nation Ford, then it appears more likely that the waterway in question is a stream that runs from the southern end of Fort Mill into the Catawba River. Although unnamed on modern topographic maps, this stream is identified as "Spring Branch" in the Catawba Plat Book (p. 60). Figure 5 shows the resultant configuration of the "Cuttahbaw Nation" given the identification of the main waterway in Evans' map as Spring Branch. If this interpretation is correct, it appears that archaeological sites SoC629 and SoC630 (8Yk17) can be identified as Wevane and Charraw Towns, respectively, while approximate positions can be proposed for Nasaw, Noostee, and Sucah Towns.² It is possible that site 38Yk403, discovered during a cultural resource assessment survey (Green 2001), represents the southern extent of Sucah Town. Finally, while the area containing sites SoC20 (38Yk3) and $SoC21 (38Yk4)^3$ appears to be empty on Evans' map, it is possible that one or both of these sites are the remains of earlier eighteenth-century settlements that were abandoned after the 1718 or 1738 epidemics, as colonial records contain references to an "Old Sugar Town" (Baker 1975:112). Given this documentary comparison, it seems reasonable to propose that sites SoC629 and SoC630 (38Yk17) were occupied during the mid-eighteenth century, while SoC20 (38Yk3) and SoC21 (38Yk4) are the remains of earlier habitations.

Historic maps are only one source of information about the location of past communities. In order to gain a better understanding of settlement in the lower Catawba valley prior to the middle of the eighteenth century, I next examined ten pottery assemblages collected from this region. For each assemblage, I recorded the number of sherds possessing specific macroscopic attributes (Table 1). The classification of sherds according to these attributes is essentially a determination regarding the types of tools used to shape and decorate the pot.⁴ My approach to quantitative analysis is undertaken from the perspective of experimental data analysis (Velleman and Hoaglin 1981). Experimental data analysis emphasizes inferential pattern recognition rather than strict deductive hypothesis testing, especially during the initial stages of a project. I employ correspondence analysis as a means to search for these patterns.

Several caveats regarding the nature of the ceramic assemblages are necessary prior to presenting and interpreting the results of the correspondence analysis. The pottery fragments examined for this study



Figure 5. A region of the lower Catawba valley thought to approximate the area mapped by Evans in 1756, showing paths, recorded archaeological sites, and the proposed locations of villages.

Table 1. Pottery attributes used to analyze ten assemblages from the lower Catawba River valley and the practices associated with their production.

Practice/Attribute	Description				
Burnishing ^a	Use of a hard, smooth tool like a stone to "polish" vessel surfaces.				
Cord marking ^b	Wooden paddle wrapped in cord was used to shape exterior surface of vessel.				
Fine cord marking ^b	The cord wrapped around paddle was less than 1 mm thick.				
Burnished cord marks	Cord-wrapped paddle was used to shape vessel, but cord marks are partly "erased" by burnishing.				
Simple stamping ^b	Parallel lines have been carved into wooden paddle used to shape the vessel.				
Cross hatched	Eroded sherds with cross-hatching pattern could not be definitely categorized as to the type of tool used; may be cord marked, simple stamped, or brushed.				
Brushing ^b	Use of a tool with multiple pointed elements fastened together to produce roughly parallel striations on a vessel surface.				
Fabric marking	Surface of vessel is impressed with cloth or mat-like material.				
Cob marking	Corn cobs used to make impressions on surface of vessel.				
Check stamping	Use of a wooden paddle that has been carved with two sets of intersecting parallel lines, producing similar-sized rectangular or diamond-shaped indentations.				
Rectilinear stamping	Wooden paddle used to shape vessel was carved with design consisting primarily of straight lines.				
Curvilinear stamping	Wooden paddle used to shape vessel was carved with design consisting primarily of curved lines.				
Complicated stamping	Wooden paddle was used to shape vessel, but sherd is too small to determine whether the pattern carved into the paddle was primarily curvilinear or rectilinear.				
Rectangular punctating	Stylus with flattened, rectangular tip used to make indentations, usually at regular intervals.				

Table 1 continued.

Practice/Attribute	Description
Circular punctating	Round reed-like stylus used to make indentations, usually at regular intervals.
Other punctation	Stylus of indeterminate shape used to make indentations.
Notching	Use of either the edge of a paddle tool or the fingers to make indentations on the rim of a vessel.
Bold incising	Stylus with point greater than 1 mm thick used to draw lines into clay below rim of cazuela-shaped bowls.
Fine horizontal incising	Stylus with point less than 1 mm thick used to draw fine, parallel lines.
Cross-hatched incising	Stylus used to draw lines diagonal to vessel rim.
Inverted "v" incising	Stylus used to draw acute-angled design element.
Other incised	Incised pattern is present but sherd is too small to allow for identification.
Folded rim	Vessel rim is thickened by folding edge outward.
Everted rim	Vessel rim made to flare outward.
Rounded lip	Edge of vessel rim has been rounded.
Flattened lip	Edge of vessel rim has been flattened.

^a Both the interior and exterior of a vessel can be burnished. For this analysis, I categorized sherds as "burnished" only when they had come from vessels that had burnished exterior surfaces.

^b Potters who practiced these techniques often produced cross-hatched designs by over stamping or brushing.

are just that — fragments — and in many cases it is possible that several sherds, although counted individually, were originally part of the same vessel. In addition, the small size and eroded surfaces of some sherds allowed for only tentative identification of exterior surface treatment. While these problems are common to most ceramic analyses, the greatest interpretive difficulty for this study is the fact that the assemblages are surface collections and may contain pottery from more than one occupation. Since the seriation of surface collections using traditional methods is inherently problematic,⁵ correspondence analysis has been selected as a method of analysis. Correspondence analysis converts abundances, in this case pottery sherd counts, into standardized chisquare residuals that are subjected to multidimensional scaling. The two dimensions that contain the greatest range of variation, or inertia, can then be graphed and interpreted. The results of the correspondence analysis will allow for observation of which pottery attributes, if any, occur in frequencies greater or less than would be expected if they were present in equal amounts at every site, and will also illustrate the relationships among the attribute frequencies. While it is expected that some patterns of pottery attribute distribution in the data set will have chronological significance, it is also possible that other patterns may be the result of contemporaneous differences among communities of craft teachers and learners, differing collection strategies of the archaeologists who collected the pot sherds,⁶ or random variation exacerbated by small sample size. During the following discussion, previous studies of ceramic attributes will be referenced in an effort to choose among these different possibilities.

Figure 6 is a biplot showing the results of the correspondence analysis, which was conducted using SYSTAT version 9.0. The horizontal and vertical axes of the graphs illustrate Factors 1 and 2, the two dimensions containing the greatest range of deviation from expected values in the data set (Appendix A). Factor 1 contains 35 percent of this variation, and Factor 2 contains 22.5 percent. Thus, it should be remembered that the two-dimensional rendering of the data shown in Figure 6 "explains" just under 58 percent of the total variation present in the counts of pottery attributes from each site. In order to understand the relationships among the sites, it is necessary first to examine the relationships among the ceramic attributes by interpreting Factors 1 and 2. Burnishing and fine cord marking are the individual attributes that contribute the most variation to Factor 1 (Table 2), such that assemblages with greater numbers of burnished and fine cord-marked sherds have high negative loadings on Factor 1, while assemblages with other types



Figure 6. Biplot illustrating the results of correspondence analysis of ten ceramic assemblages from the lower Catawba valley. The results for the dependent variables (archaeological sites) are on top, and those for the independent variables (pottery attributes) are on the bottom.

Table 2. Correlation analysis statistics calculated from counts of pottery sherds displaying specific attributes in ten assemblages from the lower Catawba valley. Data are for the pottery attributes.

				Contribution ^a		Correlation ^b	
Pottery Attribute	Mass	Quality	Inertia	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
Burnished	0.082	0.707	0.126	0.268	0.012	0.688	0.019
Cord marked	0.109	0.168	0.036	0.008	0.017	0.071	0.096
Fine cord marked	0.107	0.849	0.088	0.214	0.024	0.791	0.058
Burnished cord marked	0.023	0.853	0.057	0.268	0.012	0.688	0.019
Simple stamped	0.066	0.295	0.077	0.053	0.026	0.224	0.071
Cross hatched	0.076	0.947	0.070	0.078	0.195	0.362	0.585
Brushed	0.049	0.873	0.043	0.053	0.095	0.408	0.465
Fabric marked	0.023	0.177	0.026	0.000	0.022	0.000	0.177
Cob marked	0.016	0.372	0.016	0.013	0.008	0.272	0.100
Check stamped	0.037	0.486	0.020	0.029	0.001	0.477	0.008
Rectilinear stamped	0.025	0.637	0.012	0.023	0.000	0.629	0.008
Curvilinear stamped	0.016	0.095	0.032	0.000	0.014	0.002	0.093
Complicated stamped	0.152	0.875	0.120	0.114	0.327	0.307	0.568
Rectangular punctation	0.006	0.154	0.034	0.010	0.009	0.097	0.058
Circular punctation	0.010	0.008	0.029	0.000	0.001	0.001	0.007
Other punctation	0.014	0.112	0.023	0.001	0.010	0.018	0.094
Notched	0.016	0.325	0.009	0.008	0.000	0.322	0.003
Bold incised	0.004	0.103	0.012	0.003	0.001	0.091	0.012
Other incised	0.051	0.258	0.019	0.015	0.000	0.258	0.000
Folded rim	0.016	0.835	0.017	0.042	0.002	0.813	0.022
Everted rim	0.006	0.719	0.010	0.004	0.027	0.143	0.577
Rounded lip	0.047	0.064	0.035	0.007	0.000	0.064	0.000
Flattened lip	0.053	0.757	0.017	0.038	0.003	0.719	0.037

^a Variable contribution to factors; the proportion of inertia (deviation from expected value) in each factor that is attributable to each pottery attribute.

^b Variable squared correlation with factors; the amount of total inertia for each pottery attribute that is associated with each factor.

of surface treatment have high positive loadings on Factor 1. This sorting appears to distinguish late seventeenth and early eighteenth century ceramic production practices that have been termed Caraway (Coe 1995) and Cowan's Ford (Moore 2002) from earlier methods of pottery production.⁷ Factor 2, on the other hand, appears to distinguish burnished cord-marked and cross-hatched sherds in general ⁸ from complicated-stamped sherds. Assemblages that contain greater numbers of complicated-stamped sherds have high negative loadings on Factor 2, while assemblages containing burnished cord-marked and over-stamped sherds have high positive loadings for Factor 2. This distinction also appears to have chronological significance, separating assemblages dominated by surface treatment characteristics generally attributed to the Late Woodland period (Anderson 1990; West 2000[1987]) from those created during the Mississippian period (Coe 1995; Moore 2002; Williams and Shapiro 1990).

Sites with assemblages that contain a relatively large number of sherds displaying a given ceramic attribute will plot in the same general location of the graph as the ceramic attributes themselves. Thus, sites SoC629 and SoC630 (38Yk17), as well as the recently identified Ryan Homes and Greenway sites, plot on the left side of the graph due to the presence of higher than expected amounts burnished and fine cordmarked sherds in their assemblages. Similarly, the assemblages from sites SoC217 (38La9) and SoC218 (38La125) contain more complicatedstamped sherds than expected, while more burnished cord-marked and over-stamped sherds are present in the collection from SoC21 (38Yk4). The assemblages that plot close to the center of the graph depart less drastically from expected frequencies, or in other words, contain the ceramic attribute types that define Factors 1 and 2 in roughly equal amounts. It is possible that these sites — SoC19 (38Yk1), SoC20 (38Yk3), and SoC80 (38Yk147) — contain the remains of multiple discrete temporal habitations. It must be remembered, however, that the two dimensions of variation identified by the correspondence analysis only account for 58 percent of the variation in the data set as a whole. The compression of multidimensional information into only two dimensions introduces a certain amount of distortion, which can be assessed with reference to the "quality" statistic calculated as part of correspondence analysis. A quality value of one indicates the presence of no distortion, while assemblages with quality values approaching zero are not accurately placed on the graph. Two of the assemblages that plot near the center of the graph, SoC19 (38Yk1) and SoC80 (38Yk147),

have quality values below 0.1 (Table 3), and are thus not well described by the first two dimensions calculated by the correspondence analysis.⁹

The results of the correspondence analysis can be used to separate the ten assemblages into four groups: those from sites dating primarily to the Late Woodland [SoC21 (38Yk4)], Mississippian [SoC217 (38La9) and SoC218 (38La125)], or early "historic" periods [SoC629, SoC630 (38Yk17), Ryan Homes, and Greenway], and those that cannot be ascribed to a single category [SoC19 (38Yk1), SoC20 (38Yk3), and SoC80 (38Yk147)]. In order to visualize the spatial distribution of chronologically significant pottery attributes in the study area, and thus develop a narrative to describe the habitation sequence suggested by the correspondence analysis, four attributes were selected for visual comparison using GIS. Two of these, the relative amount of burnished and fine cord-marked sherds in each assemblage, were selected because they appear to segregate sites dating to the time of the Catawban confederacy from those dating to earlier periods. The practice of folding or thickening pottery vessel rims, which is also highly correlated with Factor 1 (Table 2), was also selected for further analysis. Given the chronological interpretation of these variables, an attempt was also made to see if certain types of incised patterns were chronological developments, or if they were produced by relatively contemporaneous communities of potters.

Ceramics produced by Catawba potters from the eighteenth century to the present are typically characterized as a ware that has burnished interior and exterior surfaces. Moore (2002:160) argues that the practice of burnishing can be traced as far back as the fourteenth century in the Middle and Upper Catawba Valley. Despite the antiquity of this technique for finishing the surfaces of pots, it does not appear to have become a frequent practice in the central Carolina piedmont until the seventeenth century (Ward and Davis 1999:137; Caldwell 1974:97; Coe 1995:160; May and Levy 2000[1988]). The use of paddles wrapped with fine cord, approximately 1 mm or less in diameter, is another practice that seems to be associated with communities of potters living in the central Carolina piedmont during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Unlike burnishing, however, this method of finishing pottery was not practiced by Catawban potters at the end of the eighteenth century. Sherds exhibiting this type of surface treatment have been found at the Belk Farm site, approximately 20 miles north of the project area (Moore 2002:155; Wilson 1985), which vielded a trade bead assemblage that has been estimated to date between 1680 and 1710 (Moore 2002:154). Of the ten assemblages examined for this study,

				Contribution ^a		Correlation ^b	
Site Name	Mass	Quality	Inertia	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
Ryan Homes	0.093	0.847	0.164	0.426	0.001	0.846	0.001
Greenway	0.051	0.646	0.092	0.170	0.050	0.604	0.042
SoC 629	0.004	0.128	0.026	0.010	0.001	0.121	0.008
38Yk17 (SoC 630)	0.070	0.385	0.132	0.156	0.000	0.384	0.001
38La9 (SoC 217)	0.068	0.567	0.119	0.027	0.280	0.074	0.493
38La125 (Soc 218)	0.025	0.191	0.094	0.023	0.050	0.079	0.112
38Yk1 (SoC 19)	0.025	0.027	0.046	0.000	0.005	0.002	0.025
38Yk3 (SoC 20)	0.428	0.723	0.060	0.075	0.090	0.408	0.315
38Yk4 (SoC 21)	0.212	0.944	0.160	0.111	0.551	0.226	0.718
38Yk147 (SoC 80)	0.023	0.033	0.038	0.002	0.003	0.016	0.017

Table 3. Correlation analysis statistics calculated from counts of pottery sherds displaying specific attributes in ten lower Catawba valley assemblages; data are for site assemblages.

^a Variable contribution to factors; the proportion of inertia (deviation from expected value) in each factor that is attributable to the assemblage from each site.

^bVariable squared correlation with factors; the amount of total inertia for each assemblage that is attributable to each factor.

those from the Ryan Homes and Greenway sites contain the greatest percentages of fine cord-marked sherds identified in the examined assemblages. The spatial distribution of burnished and fine cord-marked sherds, expressed as a percentage of the total number of sherds in each assemblage, is shown in Figure 7 (Table 4 contains the statistics used to generate the maps presented in the following discussion). Interestingly, the assemblages with the lowest percentages of burnished and fine cord-marked sherds are from the sites located closest to the Catawba River (SoC 19, 21, 80, and 218), while assemblages with the highest percentages of sherds displaying these characteristics were collected away from the river, in the northern portion of the project area (Ryan Homes and Greenway). This pattern can be taken to illustrate the disparate amounts of time these two areas have been inhabited, as well as the importance of the river in people's settlement strategies during the Late Woodland and Mississippian periods.


Figure 7. Distribution of fine cord-marked and burnished sherds in the lower Catawba valley, expressed as a percentage of the total number of sherds in each assemblage.

Assemblage	Fine Cord & Burnished/ Total ^a	Fine Cord & Burnished/ Lamar ^b	Folded Rims ^c	Bold Incised ^e	Horizontal Incised ^c	Cross Hatch Incised ^e	Inverted "v" Incised ^e
Ryan Homes	15.7	90.9	2	0	1	1	0
Greenway	19.7	100.0	1	0	0	1	0
SoC 629	11.1	100.0	0	0	0	0	0
38Yk17 (SoC 630)	8.0	91.7	2	1	1	0	0
38La9 (SoC 217)	11.8	14.8	0	0	0	0	0
(SoC 217) 38La125 (SoC 218)	2.9	25.0	0	0	0	0	0
(SoC 210) 38Yk1 (SoC 19)	4.0	50.0	0	0	0	0	1
38Yk3 (SoC 20)	6.7	32.2	2	1	1	0	0
(SoC 20) 38Yk4 (SoC 21)	4.0	35.0	1	0	0	0	0
(SoC 21) 38Yk147 (SoC 80)	0.0	0.0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 4. Statistics used to map the distribution of pottery attributes in the lower Catawba valley.

^a Fine cord-marked and burnished sherds combined, divided by the total number of sherds in each assemblage.

^b Fine cord-marked and burnished sherds combined, divided by the total number of fine cordmarked, burnished, and "Lamar" sherds in each assemblage. Total number of Lamar sherds was calculated by adding rectilinear-stamped sherds, curvilinear-stamped sherds, complicated-stamped sherds, bold incised sherds, and circular (reed) punctuated sherds (see Appendix A).

^c Expressed as sherd counts.

In order to examine the density and distribution of Mississippian communities in comparison to late seventeenth and eighteenth century settlements, percentages of burnished and fine cord-marked sherds were calculated from the total number of burnished, fine cord-marked, and Lamar-associated sherds in the assemblages.¹⁰ This comparison (Figure 8) divides the assemblages into three groups. Assemblages comprised primarily of Lamar type sherds are from sites located in the southeastern portion of the project area (SoC 80, 217, and 218), while sites containing primarily burnished and fine cord-marked sherds are located in the northern and central portion of the project area (SoC 629, 630, Ryan Homes, and Greenway). A third group of assemblages (SoC 19, 20, and 21) contains pottery produced during both time periods. These divisions generally correspond to the chronology developed using correspondence



Figure 8. Distribution of fine cord-marked and burnished sherds in the lower Catawba valley, calculated as a percentage of the summed total of burnished, fine cord-marked, and Lamar sherds in each assemblage.

analysis, with the exception that site SoC80 (38Yk147) is more clearly associated with SoC217 (38La9) and SoC218 (38La125) in Figure 8. This comparison not only shows a chronological shift, but a spatial shift as well; while Mississippian period settlements appear to have existed throughout the study area in the general vicinity of the river, the presumed late seventeenth and early eighteenth century settlements are clearly oriented along the Virginia/Cherokee trading path.

The manner in which the rims of pottery vessels are formed is another aspect of ceramic production that can be used to differentiate craft traditions in time and space. In the assemblages examined, most rims were straight and plain, but others were folded or thickened. This latter category of rim treatment has been identified as characteristic of both Caraway (Coe 1995:160-163) and late Cowan's Ford (Moore 2002:267) series ceramics. Just over 40 percent of the rims recovered from the Belk Farm site are folded or thickened (Moore 2002:156). These folded rims, which are thought to be a transformation of an earlier practice involving the use of appliqué rim strips (Wilson 1985:27; Moore 2002:157), often have finger punctuations or notches along the lower margin of the fold (Coe 1995:163; Wilson 1985:27). Perhaps not surprisingly, the distribution of folded rims in the project area (Figure 9) is very similar to that for the other attributes dated to the turn of the eighteenth century — along the proposed trajectory of the Virginia/Cherokee trail. The presence of folded rims at SoC 20 (38Yk3) and SoC 21 (38Yk4) suggests either the continuous settlement or rehabitation of these sites. The absence of folded rims from the SoC629 assemblage is not considered significant given the small size of the assemblage (i.e., nine sherds) examined from this site.

The final ceramic attribute scrutinized in this analysis is the distribution of sherds displaying incised designs. Unlike patterns created from the use of a wooden paddle, incised designs are not related to the process of fashioning the vessel itself. This makes incising an attribute more likely to be symbolically manipulated as an element of group identity (Gosselain 2000). Four distinct styles of incised decoration are present in the ten assemblages examined for this study: "bold", inverted "v", fine horizontal, and fine cross-hatched. Examples of bold incised designs were identified in the assemblages from SoC 20 (38Yk3) and SoC630 (38Yk17). These sherds, which are fragments of carinated cazuela bowls, display relatively thick horizontally-aligned incised patterns and are attributable to the Mississippian period (Moore 2002:62; Ward and Davis 1999:127, 251). Only one sherd displaying an inverted "v" incised design, carved on the shoulder of a cooking pot from SoC19



Figure 9. The spatial distribution of folded rim sherds in ten assemblages from the lower Catawba valley.

(38Yk1), was identified in the examined assemblages. Unlike bold incising, the creation of v-shaped designs appears to have been a practice that was more frequently taught to potters in the northern Carolina piedmont, particularly in the Dan River drainage (Ward and Davis 1999:108). Interestingly, at least one sherd with an inverted "v" design is present in the Belk Farm assemblage (Wilson 1985:27).

The remaining two types of incising appear to be relatively late developments, potentially attributable to the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. These designs were executed with very thin, pointed tools, which may have been knives or other objects obtained from European traders. Horizontal fine incising, identified in the assemblages from SoC20 (38Yk3), SoC630 (38Yk17), and the Ryan Homes site, appears to be a continuation of the "bold" incised tradition, simply using different tools to create horizontally-oriented designs. The fine cross-hatched designs observed in the Ryan Homes and Greenway assemblages are reminiscent of the carefully over-stamped fine cordmarked sherds also present in these assemblages. The spatial distribution of incised patterns in general (Figure 10) shows incising to be concentrated in the western potion of the project area near the main trading path. Given the variation in the sample sizes of the assemblages examined for this study, any generalizations about the spatial circumscription of specific incised patterns must be considered provisional. It is interesting to note, however, that both bold and fine horizontal incised patterns were identified in assemblages from SoC 20 (38Yk3) and SoC630 (38Yk17), near the Catawba River, while fine cross-hatched sherds were only recovered from the Greenway and Ryan Homes sites, farther north along the trail. It is possible, given the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century dates of SoC629, SoC630 (38Yk17), Ryan Homes, and Greenway, that the two varieties of fine incising were produced by two distinct but contemporaneous communities of potters.

Spatial analysis of the ceramic attributes examined for this project would seem to both confirm and refine the results of the correspondence analysis. While the earliest assemblage appears to be the one attributed to site SoC21 (38Yk4), which consists primarily of Late Woodland ceramics, evidence for subsequent resettlement of this site is suggested by the presence of fine incised sherds and a folded rim sherd. Sites inhabited during the Mississippian period include SoC217 (38La9), SoC218 (38La125), and SoC80 (38Yk147). In addition, the presence of a "bold" incised sherd in the SoC630 (38Yk17) assemblage may also indicate the existence of a late Mississippian period settlement in that



Figure 10. The spatial distribution of incised patterns in ten assemblages from the lower Catawba valley.

area. The collections from SoC19 (38Yk1) and SoC20 (38Yk3) are difficult to characterize; the former appears to date to the Late Woodland or Mississippian period, while the latter is an extremely diverse assemblage that appears to represent, if not continuous settlement from the Late Woodland through the turn of the eighteenth century, at least multiple episodes of settlement and abandonment. Finally, the four sites aligned along the Virginia/Cherokee trading path — SoC629, SoC630 (38Yk17), Ryan Homes, and Greenway — all appear to have been inhabited sometime during the first half of the eighteenth century.

The collections examined do not constitute a random sample from a systematic survey of the region, and it is difficult to assert that the patterns identified are representative of settlement in the project area over a span of roughly seven hundred years. Nevertheless, the gravity exerted by the main Virginia/Cherokee trading path during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries seems tangible in the observed distribution of burnished, fine cord-marked, folded rim, and fine incised ceramics in the lower Catawba Valley. As people increasingly chose to establish new settlements along this corridor, they affirmed their optimism for the incipient networks and communities that were forming along its margins. It is also possible that as refugee groups moved into the region, they seated their villages in areas that were not claimed by existing inhabitants of the area, near the most dependable resource with which they were familiar: the path.

Potters and Polities

Pots, and fragments thereof, are a critical source of information about past societies. When craft items like pottery constitute the primary source of information used to learn about these societies, archaeologists often seem to have little choice other than to collapse the analytically distinct categories of kinship and politics into monolithic "culture" areas. The visibility of potsherds, coupled with the invisibility of their deceased creators, has led to a large body of archaeological literature equating pots with people, and treating categories of pottery as ideal types rather than abstractions created by a researcher from evidence of culturally mediated activity (Ford 1954). Archaeologists may be susceptible to such approaches in part because pottery is clearly a physical product of knowledge and skills obtained by an individual within a historically contingent community of practice (Crown 2001; Kamp 2001; Wallaert-Pêtre 2001). Thus, in tracing the settlement choices of people living in the lower Catawba Valley through time using ceramic distributions, we

are tracing not only the location of villages, but also the movement and transformation of communities of teachers and learners.

It seems reasonable to propose that most pots are relatively conservative tools when created as elements of a suite of practices associated with the production, processing, and consumption of food within a regime of domestic production.¹¹ Concomitantly, as critical elements of everyday existence, it is also likely that pots and their production often fall into the realm of *doxa*, or "self-evident and undisputed" aspects of the social world (Bourdieu 1977:164). In accordance with the supposition that American Indian potters of the Carolina piedmont learned their skills within the households in which they grew up, I consider pots to be the doxic products of members of kinship groups.¹² Nevertheless, it is possible for decorative aspects of "material culture" to be consciously manipulated to communicate similarity or difference in accordance with the ethnic constructs of a specific place and time (Hodder 1982). In an effort to avoid the conflation of kinship and political affiliation, the following discussion will compare pottery attribute distributions with other sources of information in an effort to gain a better understanding of Catawba coalescence during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries.

Records of the Spanish intrusion into the Carolinian interior reference a polity with a name translated as Cofitachequi. The Spanish perceived Cofitachequi, which was seated at the juncture of the coastal plain and piedmont (Baker 1975:11; Hudson 1990:34; Swanton 1985[1939]:180), as more centralized, ranked, and powerful than the political entities that surrounded it (Hudson 1990:65). Some ethnohistorians, working primarily with the documentary record, have tended to identify the Catawba confederacy as a temporal extension, albeit transformed, of the Cofitachequi polity (Baker 1975; Waddell 2005). Archaeologists have tended to approach this issue more cautiously, given the relatively small amount of archaeological information that has been published for the lower Catawba valley (Davis 2002:137). Moore (2002:48), in particular, complicates the issue by suggesting that a southward movement of people, including potters who tended to burnish their vessels in relatively high frequencies, took place during the second half of the seventeenth century. How does the information obtained from mapping the trading path and ten pottery assemblages articulate with these proposals? Were people living in the lower Catawba valley at the time of the Spanish entrada, and what was their relationship to the polity of Cofitachequi?

Davis (2002:137) has noted that while the region occupied by the groups Lawson visited in the early eighteenth century "approximates the territory controlled by the chiefdom of Cofitachequi," archaeological investigations in this area have not been sufficient to assess the nature of any further associations between them. One type of archaeological data that can be used to examine the relationship between inhabitants of the lower Catawba valley and Cofitachequi is pottery. This data can be used to trace continuity and disjuncture among communities of craftproducing kin groups. The types of pottery most likely produced by inhabitants of the main town of Cofitachequi are those described by DePratter and Judge (1990:58) as the Mulberry series of the Wateree River valley, which date from 1450 to 1550. Pottery production practices associated with the Mulberry series include the use of complicated-stamped paddles, Lamar-like (referred to above as "bold") incising, the placement of appliqué strips below the rims of vessels, and the use of a stylus to incise vertical ticks on the shoulders of vessels. In the Wateree valley, the use of appliqué strips, as well as complicatedstamped paddles, appears to continue into the seventeenth century (DePratter and Judge 1990:58). Appliqué strips, which occur on most of the rim sherds recovered from the Mulberry site, were often fluted with a sharp stick or with the fingers (Caldwell 1974:89). Notable differences exist between the pottery types likely produced by local kin groups associated with the main town of Cofitachequi and the ten assemblages examined for this study. While complicated-stamped sherds are relatively common in the lower Catawba valley assemblages, only two examples of "bold" incising were identified, and no sherds with vertical incising or appliqué rim strips are present.

The seeming disconnect between the pottery traditions of the Mississippian people living in the Wateree valley and those living in the Catawba region has been noted by Moore (2002:168), who considers the Wateree chronology "of surprisingly little utility upriver on the Catawba." This is the case for two primary reasons. Patterns on the complicated-stamped paddles made in the Catawba valley differ from those in the Wateree, and segmented rim appliqué strips "are virtually absent" from the Catawba region. In his description of the Cowan's Ford series, Moore (2002:262) contrasts the "occasional" appearance of appliqué strips with the more frequent presence of folded rims. Any attempt to link the Catawba valley populations with those in the Cofitachequi heartland must take into account this apparent discontinuity in the practice of craft production. The possible interpretations of this situation are dependent upon determining, as precisely as possible, the

range of time during which pots with folded rims were produced in the lower Catawba valley. If folded rims were only produced later than those with appliqué rim strips, then it is possible to argue that the region was sparsely inhabited during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. However, if different communities of potters were producing pots with folded rims and pots with appliqué strips at roughly the same time, another set of proposals may be explored.

Both Wilson (1985:27) and Moore (2002:157), having examined the ceramic assemblage from the Belk site, suggest that potters developed the practice of folding rims late in piedmont ceramic history. The trade bead assemblage from the Belk site dates between 1680 and 1710 (Moore 2002:154). However, sherds from pots with folded rims also have been recovered from the Hardin site, located in Gaston County, North Carolina on the South Fork of the Catawba River (May and Levy 2000[1988]). Radiocarbon dates obtained for the Hardin site range from 1080 to 1520, and no rims with appliqué strips were identified in an analysis of half of the excavated ceramic assemblage. It currently is not possible to arrive at a satisfactory understanding of folded rim chronology. What evidence does exist seems to permit the proposition that potters were producing vessels with folded rims and appliqué strips during the sixteenth century, and possibly earlier. The presence of "bold" incised sherds in two of the assemblages examined [SoC 20 (38YK3) and SoC 630 (38Yk17)], coupled with the abundance of complicated-stamped sherds in the southeastern portion of the project area, suggests that the lower Catawba valley was inhabited at the same time people were producing Mulberry series pottery downriver.¹³ Even if more evidence accumulates to support a later date for the production of folded rim vessels, the absence of appliqué rim strips in the assemblages examined for this project can be used to infer a discontinuity of ceramic practice between the potters of Cofitachequi and groups living to the north.

The character of the relationship between Catawba valley groups and the center of Cofitachequi can be characterized, given the ceramic data, as a political alliance between otherwise autonomous networks of kin. Merrell (1989:18) has suggested that groups living in the Catawba valley prior to the Spanish entrada may have developed a more complex political organization in order to defend themselves from polities that had emerged to the south and east. Turning this perspective on its head, I would argue it is more likely that the Catawban peoples acted as defenders of Cofitachequi. During the colonial period, members of the Catawba confederacy ensured their survival in part by playing the role of

"ethnic soldiers" (Heath 2004). Their existence was favorable for British interests because they formed a "living bulkhead" between British settlements on the coast, the Cherokees to the east, and raiders from the north affiliated with the Iroquois (Heath 2004:83). Given that the League of the Iroquois had been established by the late 1400s to mid-1500s (Wonderley 2005:225), it seems reasonable to suggest that the Catawba groups served in a similar capacity for the Cofitachequi polity.¹⁴ The existence of diplomatic channels between the Catawba and Wateree Mississippians may be inferred by the appearance of Yssa Orata and Catapa Orata in the seat of Cofitachequi (Hudson 1990:74). As inhabitants of the Mississippian frontier, the Yssa, Catapa, and other Catawba valley groups were in a sense liminal entities, seated at a cultural crossroads. This position not only enabled their development as the martially powerful Esaw Nation during the seventeenth century, but may also explain why groups fleeing the Iroquois chose to establish refugee communities within the Esaw Nation, in the lower Catawba vallev.

The Cofitachequi polity disappeared from the political landscape of the Southeast during the seventeenth century. But the groups living in the lower Catawba valley remained, and the area became a focal point for refugees. By the time John Lawson passed through the region, population coalescence and consolidation was underway (Davis 2002:152). The deerskin map presented to Governor Nicholson twenty years later depicts a network of circumscribed, distinct polities. The area identified as "Nasaw" in the social topologic space of the deerskin map most likely corresponds to the lower Catawba valley in geographic space. Once again, pottery distributions can be used to learn about the relationship between kin and political networks, in this case during the period of coalescence and consolidation of the early eighteenth century.

Both the location of refugee settlements and the extent of social interaction between newcomers and established communities would affect the distribution of pottery attributes. Galloway (1995:320–321), in an examination of the Choctaw confederacy, suggests that societies either newly formed or in a state of stress would be more likely to "mark" boundaries between themselves and others by emphasizing differences. When refugees arrived in the lower Catawba valley, they may have followed what Merrell (1989:25) describes as "the principle of least effort," coalescing with groups most similar to themselves. The resultant physical segregation would encourage "cultural persistence" among groups of the Catawba confederacy, who "selected their own leaders, raised their own war parties, competed for the attention of

colonial authorities, and squabbled over various issues" (Merrell 1989:111).

Yet all these activities fall into the realm of political diplomacy, and may or may not have coincided with systems of kinship or emic conceptions of ethnic affiliation. Whether the towns of the Catawba confederacy were inhabited by relatively uniform or diverse communities of potters would have depended in part on the type of kinship residence pattern most commonly practiced by the piedmont groups. In an examination of potential factors affecting the development of the Choctaw language, Galloway (1995:320) suggests that matrilocality would result in less homogenization of language than patrilocal organization, since ethnohistoric documents identify childrearing as a responsibility controlled by women. I would suggest that a similar proposal could be made regarding pottery, which became an essential commodity of the Catawba Nation as the eighteenth century progressed. Baker (1975:201) suggests that the persistence of matrilocal households among the Catawba, despite the adoption of a bilateral kinship system, "may be in large part due to the women's role as potters and thus the supervisor of all other participants in this important home craft."

If the existence of matrilocal communities of potters is posited, the greatest difference in the composition of pottery assemblages would be expected between groups that did not frequently interact prior to the formation of the Catawba confederacy. Results of archaeological research in the northern piedmont suggest that these groups, such as the Sara, Keyauwee, Sissipahaw, Shakori, were "not closely related culturally" to the Catawba-Wateree peoples (Davis 2002:138). The Sara, who were referred to as the Cheraw after the Yamasee War, eventually joined the lower Catawba valley settlements after being targeted by Iroquois raids in 1726 (Mooney 1894:60). The pottery produced by the Sara prior to their southern journey has been named the Oldtown series (Ward and Davis 1999:251). Smoothing and burnishing are the most common practices represented in Oldtown assemblages, followed in popularity by the use of fine net-like material to impress vessel surfaces. The use of net by Sara potters was even more common during the middle of the seventeenth century (Ward and Davis 1999:248; Wilson 1982:27).

No net-impressed sherds, however, were identified in any of the assemblages examined for this study. This absence is most notable for the collection from SoC630 (38Yk17), which has been identified as "Charraw Town" with reference to the 1756 Evans map. While burnishing and smoothing are the most frequently encountered attributes of early eighteenth-century Sara assemblages (Ward and Davis

1999:251), they are also numerous in collections from the Catawba and Yadkin River valleys during the same time period (Caldwell 1974:97; Coe 1995:160; May and Levy 2000[1988]). Thus, these pottery attributes cannot be used to differentiate the work of potters from these two areas. Ultimately, the assemblages examined for this study that date primarily to the early eighteenth century (SoC629, SoC630 [38Yk17], Ryan Homes, and Greenway) cannot be easily used to evaluate the proposal that they were produced by matrilocal communities of potters. Differences do seem to exist between the northern (Ryan Homes and Greenway) and southern (SoC629and 630) pairs of sites. Namely, frequencies of burnished and fine cord-marked sherds are greater in the Ryan Homes and Greenway assemblages, which also have the only identified examples of fine cross-hatched incised sherds. However, it is not clear that the assemblages represent the remains of contemporaneous settlements, and the SoC629 collection is particularly small. Since the transition from the Esaw Nation to the Catawba Nation took place relatively quickly — over a span of two or three generations — a study that could successfully address relationships between community composition and political organization during this time would need archaeological materials recovered from discrete contexts representing short periods of deposition (Lightfoot et al. 1998:217).

Excavated materials would also be necessary to gain a better understanding of the significance of fine cord-marked sherds in Catawba vallev assemblages. Cord-marking is not common in Mississippian period assemblages from the Catawba-Wateree valleys. Its appearance at sites inhabited during the late seventeenth century may constitute evidence of refugees from southern Virginia and the northern Carolina piedmont. Using excavated assemblages, it should be possible to refine the chronology of fine cord-marking in the Catawba valley. Collections from sites in northern Carolina and southern Virginia could also be examined to determine what groups may have been producing fine-cord ware in the early seventeenth century. This research would have direct application to the study of the seventeenth century "shatter zone," or large region of instability created by the intensification of slave-taking and raiding activities, expansion of European colonies, and epidemic disease (Ethridge 2003). Additional archaeological materials that could be used to learn about the conditions experienced and responses chosen by refugee and "host" groups during this period of crisis include botanical and architectural remains. It is possible, for example, that households in refugee communities would have had less direct access to well-established gardens and agricultural fields. If this were the case,

refuse pits from the initial occupation of these communities might differ from later deposits in the same community — as well as from contemporaneous "host" households — in the proportion of wild to domestic species processed, or amount of overall processing. Knowledge concerning the extent and date of settlement nucleation and fortification architecture, on the other hand, would allow for a better understanding of how these societies negotiated the contradictory experiences of stress and optimism engendered by war and trade.

Naming Catawba (Reprise)

It is common for archaeologists and historians to characterize a specific period of the past in terms of the types of information that may be brought to bear on its (re)construction. The terms prehistory and protohistory are derived from this practice. The word "prehistory" is often used to refer to a time during which people do not appear to have produced abstract representations of their speech. During "protohistorical" periods, literate invaders, missionaries, and explorers recorded their observations of "prehistoric" societies, which in some cases ultimately emerged into the light of history. I have sought to avoid use of these divisions, which tend to endorse the perspective that textual abstractions of human speech are a more reliable source of information about the past than other material products and transformations of the earth created by human activities. However, the distinctions among prehistory, protohistory, and history cannot be completely ignored since they have affected sub-disciplinary theoretical preferences and research practices. While the days of archaeologists stopping their research with the identification of the first trade bead are long past, the social processes that took place in the central Carolina piedmont during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries remain poorly conceived. An understanding of these processes is critical for understanding the choices made by American Indian peoples living in the area during the colonial period. As Baker (1975:169) observes, the Lords Proprietors of King Charles II had explicitly outlined their method of factionalizing the native peoples of the Carolinas as early as 1681. This strategy would not have been viable, however, were it not for "pre-existing intergroup rivalry." By engaging the documents of explorers and surveyors, maps made by Indians and Europeans, and pottery made by inhabitants of the lower Catawba valley, my attempt has been to learn as much as possible from these materials about the strategies employed by peoples of the

coalescent Catawba polity, strategies grounded within historically contingent understandings of possible paths and destinations.

The names Yssa and Catapa, recorded by representatives of Spain who traveled through the interior Southeast during the sixteenth century, are attributed to representatives of groups that seem to have been allied with the polity Cofitachequi. Whether these specific groups were settled in the central or lower Catawba River valley during the middle of the sixteenth century remains unclear. However, the Yssa and Catapa were only two communities of Catawba valley Mississippians living in the region, and ceramic data from the lower valley seem to provide evidence of sixteenth century settlement in the area that became the seat of the Esaw Nation during the seventeenth century. When John Lawson set out to visit the Esaw in 1701, he was seeking a people who had an established reputation for military prowess, a reputation that preceded not only his arrival, but perhaps that of the Spaniards as well. After the Yamasee War, the central Carolina piedmont groups sought to maintain their eminence in an altered political landscape by presenting a map of their alliance network to the governor of South Carolina in 1721. The political model rendered on deerskin may have been selected in part due to the success of the Iroquois League, as well as to cultural differences among the constituent elements of the confederacy. Connections marked on the map were routes of communication and symbols of political alliance, which existed in geographic space as trails and rivers. The increasing significance of trade to the Catawban peoples' economy can be inferred from their decision to live adjacent to the paths that brought both Virginia traders and Iroquois raiders to their homes. This practice of living by the trail may in fact be the key to understanding how the name Catawba ultimately came to replace "Esaw" and "Nasaw" as the word used to identify the coalescent society situated near Nation Ford.

The name Esaw, like "Yssa," is a European translation of *iswa* the Catawban word for river. After the Yamasee War, the name Nasaw seems to replace "Esaw," a change related to the formation of the Catawban confederacy, which consisted of some peoples who were "of the river" and others who were not. Among those who were "of the river" were the "Kadapau" encountered by Lawson. The Kadapau appear to have been the last group Lawson encountered in the Catawba valley, for after leaving their village to travel northward along the great trading path with the Virginia trader John Stewart, Lawson (1967[1709]:49–53) does not record the presence of any settlements until his arrival in Sapona Town on the Yadkin River. In fact, it seems that for the Virginians, the trading path itself became named for the Kadapau.

Mooney (1894:71) observes that at the time of Lawson's journey, "the great trading path from Virginia to Georgia was commonly known as the Catawba path." This would seem to be evidenced by a 1733 map of North Carolina produced by Edward Moseley, on which this trail is labeled "Indian Trading Road from the Cataubous and Cherokee Indians to Virginia" (Cumming 1998[1958]:Plates 50A and 54). In a dynamic of emic and etic naming, the word "Catawba" was transformed from referring to a specific element of the Esaw Nation to the trail upon which they lived. Once the Catawba became a destination, and their name became synonymous with the trail, diverse social groups may have been more likely to accept the title "Catawba" as the name of their Nation. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the people of the river had become the people of the trail.

Notes

¹ Sometimes referred to as the Glenn Map of 1756 (Baker 1975:114).

² Materials attributable to Noostee town have been identified in the field (Davis, personal communication 2006).

³ These sites constitute one large occupation area that has been divided into different sections for analytical purposes. While these divisions may also have chronological significance (Levy 2000[1991]), records concerning the location of collections attributed to SoC 20 and 21 are not sufficient to determine if these areas correspond to those identified by other researchers.

⁴ Identification of the tools used to produce specific pottery attributes followed standard conventions of ceramic analysis (see Rye 1981:89–95; Davis 1987:187–189, Moore 2002:289–296). All sherds were examined under oblique light. Characteristics of tempering agents added to the clay by potters are not considered in this analysis, in part because little variation in temper was observed in the assemblages. The overwhelming majority of sherds appear to have been tempered with fine sand and contained occasional quartz inclusions.

⁵ Most techniques developed by archaeologists to seriate pottery assemblages require the existence of continuity in the location of a community of potters through time, and assemblages that represent relatively short, or at least comparable, units of time. These conditions cannot be presumed for surface collected assemblages used in this analysis.

⁶ Plain smoothed sherds that were not obviously burnished were excluded from analysis for this very reason, since surface collections are sometime made only of sherds considered "diagnostic."

⁷ Caraway and Cowan's Ford series are generally thought to have been produced over a considerable period of time, the former from approximately A. D. 1500 to at least

1700 (Ward and Davis 1999:137), and the latter from approximately A. D. 1350 to 1700 (Moore 2002:132). Moore (2002:182) has termed the latter end of this time span in the current project area the Belk Farm Phase; no similar division has been made of the Caraway series.

⁸ As noted in Table 1, this category contains eroded sherds that displayed a crosshatching pattern, but could not be definitively categorized as to the type of tool used to produce this pattern.

⁹ Both of these assemblages are relatively small (25 sherds were examined from SoC19, and 19 from SoC80), which could be a contributing factor. Other assemblages with low quality values are SoC629 (9 sherds) and SoC218 (38La125) (35 sherds).

¹⁰ Pottery attributes considered to be associated with the Lamar series include all complicated-stamped sherds, whether rectilinear or curvilinear, sherds with bold incised designs, and sherds with circular reed punctuations.

¹¹ A distinction is being made here between food activities with short, regular cycles of occurrence — the production and consumption of daily meals — and those that take place irregularly or at longer intervals, which may be subject to a wider variety of symbolic manipulations. In vary generalized terms, this is a distinction between everyday meals and "feasts."

¹² I use the term "kinship" to refer to the type of relationship that exists between people living together in households that are usually sanctioned within a larger network of cultural understandings concerning notions of biological and social relatedness.

¹³ Whether the towns of Yssa and Catapa were located in the lower or middle Catawba valley cannot be clarified here, but it does appear the Catawba Mississippians lived in the lower valley.

¹⁴ Although Iroquois raiders probably did not enter the central Carolina piedmont until the end of the seventeenth century (Merrell 1989:12), knowledge of the Iroquois League obtained from traders and refugees may have been sufficient to threaten the Carolinian Mississippian polities, spurring diplomatic and militaristic activity.

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Appendix A.	Ceramic Attribute Counts for Ten Assemblages from the
Lower Cataw	ba River Valley.

Attribute	Ryan Homes	Green- way	SoC629	38Yk17 (SoC630)	38La9 (SoC217)	38La125 (Soc218)	38Yk1 (SoC19)	38Yk3 (SoC20)	38Yk4 (SoC21)	38Yk147 (SoC80)
Surface Treatment										
Smoothed*	157	51	7	114	4	10	11	142	40	9
Burnished	14	10	0	2	1	0	1	9	5	0
Cord marked	2	4	0	1	1	0	5	28	13	2
Fine cord marked	16	4	1	9	3	1	0	19	2	0
Burnished cord	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	0
Simple stamped	0	0	0	1	1	6	0	19	6	1
Cross-hatched ¹	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	16	22	0
Brushed	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	10	14	0
Fabric marked	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	3	4	1
Cob marked	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	6	1	0
Check stamped	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	13	4	1
Rectilinear st.	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	7	4	0
Curvilinear st.	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	2	0
Complicated st.	0	0	0	0	18	2	1	49	6	2
Unid stamped*	0	1	1	7	0	14	5	94	40	3
Total	191	71	9	137	34	35	25	417	173	19
Punctation										
Rectangular	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0
Circular	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1
Other	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	3	0	0
Notched	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	1	0
Incising										
Bold (Lamar)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Fine horizontal	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Cross-hatched	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Inverted "v"	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Other	0	2	0	3	1	1	1	8	3	1

Attribute	Ryan Homes	Green- way	SoC629	38Yk17 (SoC630)	38La9 (SoC217)	38La125 (Soc218)	38Yk1 (SoC19)	38Yk3 (SoC20)	38Yk4 (SoC21)	38Yk147 (SoC80)
Rim Treatment										
Folded rim	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	0
Everted rim	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0
Rounded lip	2	1	1	4	2	0	0	7	5	2
Flattened lip	5	2	0	4	0	0	1	10	4	1

Appendix A continued.

* Excluded from correspondence analysis.

¹ This category contains eroded sherds that displayed a cross-hatching pattern, but could not be definitely categorized as to the type of tool used to produce this pattern. They may either be cord marked, simple stamped, or brushed.

CATAWBA POTTERY IN THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY ERA: A VIEW FROM THE SOURCE

by Brett H. Riggs, R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr., and Mark R. Plane

Abstract

Written accounts of the Catawba Indians during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries indicate that their potters engaged in a thriving ceramic trade as early as the 1770s and regularly peddled their wares as far afield as Charleston. The scant documentary evidence of this trade is often cited by researchers who identify Catawba "River Burnished" pottery among "Colonowares" from Anglo-American and African-American contexts in the Lowcountry. Recent archaeological excavations at New Town (1781–1820) in Lancaster County, South Carolina, have recovered substantial ceramic assemblages from the Catawbas' home base. Analysis of these assemblages provides a basis for comparison with "Colonoware" collections and may provide a key for attributing some low-fired earthenwares to their ultimate sources.

The frequent incidence of "colonoware" sherds in eighteenth and nineteenth-century archaeological contexts throughout South Carolina has spawned considerable speculation and debate about the cultural origins and meanings of such wares (Anthony 1979, 1986; Baker 1972; Beck 1995; Blumer 2004; Cooper and Steen 1998; Drucker and Anthony 1979; Espenshade and Kennedy 2002; Ferguson 1980, 1990, 1992; Groover 1992; Joseph 2004; Joseph et al. 2004; Lees and Kimberly-Lees 1979; Lewis 1976; South 1974; Steen et al. 1996; Wheaton et al. 1983; Wheaton and Garrow 1985; Zierden et al. 1986). Documentary accounts indicate that Catawba Indian potters engaged in a thriving ceramic trade throughout the region during the Federal period (Gregorie 1925; Simms 1841; Smyth 1785), and researchers have attributed certain colonowares from Anglo-American and African-American contexts to Catawba Indian sources. However, in the absence of well-documented comparative samples from contemporaneous Catawba habitation sites, such attribution had been, as Ferguson (1980) noted, "indirect."

Recent archaeological excavations at New Town, the Catawbas' primary Federal-period settlement in Lancaster County, South Carolina

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Figure 1. Map of the Catawba Indian homeland showing selected sites that have yielded Catawba pottery of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

(Figure 1), have filled this comparative void (Davis and Riggs 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2006). These investigations, undertaken between 2003 and 2005 by the University of North Carolina, recovered almost 62,500 sherds and vessel sections that amply illustrate the character and variability of Catawba pottery at its source during the heyday of the ceramic trade. Analysis of these assemblages establishes a baseline for



Figure 2. Portion of a map titled "The First Actual Survey of the State of North Carolina," by Jonathan Price and John Strothers, 1808, showing the Catawba Reservation established in 1763. The settlement labeled "Catawba Town," established at the close of the American Revolution and abandoned by about 1820, was also known as New Town.

comparison with "colonoware" collections and may provide technological and stylistic keys for definitively attributing some (or most) of the low-fired colonowares from South Carolina contexts to Catawba Indian potters.

New Town is situated in the uplands overlooking the Catawba River near Rock Hill, South Carolina, in the Piedmont homelands where Spanish explorers first encountered the towns of Cataba and Yssa in the mid-sixteenth century (Hudson et al. 1984) (Figure 2). As the primary native power of the piedmont interior, the Catawbas (also known as the Esaus or Nassaus) absorbed numerous refugee groups displaced by colonial "shatter zones" in the early eighteenth century (Adair 1930

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[1775]; Merrell 1989; also see Fitts, this volume). As late as midcentury, these diverse refugee groups maintained distinct identities and cultural traditions. A catastrophic population collapse in 1759 brought about a final coalescence and ethnogenesis of a single, unified Catawba identity. By the time of the American Revolution, the Catawba Nation constituted a single settlement near the mouth of Twelve Mile Creek, at the southern edge of a 15-mile square reservation surveyed in 1764. After Revolutionary War disruptions and a year-long sojourn in Virginia, the American-allied Catawbas reformed their community as New Town a few miles north of the former settlement at Twelve Mile. Elkanah Watson visited New Town in 1785 and found a scattered village of log houses (Watson 1856). Bishop Thomas Coke saw the settlement in 1791, and noted: "We now made a visit to the Catawba Indians. Their Nation is reduced to a very small number, and chiefly live in a little town, which in England would be only called a village (Coke 2005:160)." New Town gradually diminished during the 1810s as families transferred to a still newer town across the river. The New Town settlement was completely abandoned in the 1820s following the death of community leader Sally New River (Brown 1966).

Archaeology at New Town

The site of New Town occupies approximately 12 hectares on a wooded ridge that borders part of the Waxhaws' Old Fields on the east side of the Catawba River (Figure 3). Researchers identified the site based upon contemporary maps, documentary accounts, and Catawba oral traditions. Intensive surface reconnaissance and metal detector survey of the New Town locality have identified seven separate clusters of Catawba ceramics and Federal-period manufactured goods. These clusters correspond to individual cabin seats or small hamlets; the diffuse community configuration appears consistent with an 1815 description of New Town as "6 or 8 houses facing an oblong square" (Jones 1815).

Excavations at six of these cabin loci total approximately 800 sq meters (Davis and Riggs 2004a, 2005, 2006). This work, conducted over three summers, exposed chimney bases and hearths, cellar pits, borrow pits, peripheral dumps, and sheet midden deposits that date ca. 1790– 1820. These investigations have recovered over 86,000 artifacts, including a wide array of diagnostic Federal-period materials, such as English-made pearlware and creamware sherds, bottle glass and glassware, coins, cast iron vessel fragments, riding tack hardware, ammunition, and jewelry.



Figure 3. Topographic map of New Town showing the distribution of metal-detected artifacts and the location of excavation units. Each of the artifact clusters represents a log cabin seat or group of cabins.

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Figure 4. Fragments of Catawba-made vessel rims (interior view), handles, and podes found at New Town.

Characteristics of New Town Pottery

The collection of artifacts from New Town also comprises almost 62,500 low-fired earthenware sherds and 593 ceramic tobacco pipe fragments attributable to the Federal-period Catawba occupation (Figures 4 and 5). These sherds include 30,088 sherdlets smaller than two centimeters in diameter, which were counted but not classified further.



Figure 5. Catawba-made clay pipes from New Town. The pipes in the middle row and top left are decorated with incisions and punctuations. The specimen in the top row, second from left, is a toy tomahawk effigy pipe with a missing bowl. The two pipes at upper right also are toys.

Among the remaining 32,411 analyzed sherds are 4,748 rim fragments, 2,765 basal portions, 24,651 body sherds, 245 appendages such as handles, lugs, and podes, and one complete ceramic bottle and stopper.

Clays used for New Town pottery typically fired medium golden brown to dark buff, similar to modern Catawba wares. Minority hues range from pale buff to tan to pale gray. All of the New Town pottery probably derives from immediately local clay sources; active Catawba clay pits are located within two miles of the site, and contemporary observers noted that New Town potters got their clay "from the river." Most of the sherds appear temperless, with very fine mica flecks that are natural constituents of the clay. However, some sherds exhibit moderate quantities of medium-grained sand, and a few sherd bodies contain relatively coarse-grained, mixed sand (Figure 6). The varied aplastic

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Figure 6. Cross-section view of Catawba sherds from New Town.

content of New Town sherds probably reflects the character of available pottery clays rather than additive material. A number of later nineteenthcentury observers noted that Catawba potters employed very fine-grained "pipe clay" which they mixed in proportion to coarser-grained "pan clay" to achieve desired textures for different products (Holmes 1903; also see Harrington 1908). In general, ceramic tobacco pipes from New Town exhibit very fine-grained bodies while large cooking jars exhibit the coarsest bodies.

The vast majority of New Town vessels appear to have been coil built, although vessel bodies exhibit strong coil integrity and seldom break on coil junctures. A few small, relatively crude "pinch pots" appear to be toys. The bodies of elbow-form ceramic tobacco pipes were press-molded with bowl and stem holes bored into leather hard clay (see Figure 5).

Vessel wall thicknesses range from 2 mm to 10 mm, with an average thickness of 5.2 mm. Vessel walls are evenly thinned and uniform as a consequence of intensive scraping and trimming of leather-hard vessels during the manufacturing process. As Harrington noted in 1908, Catawba potters used steel or cane knives or mussel shells to scrape vessel surfaces (Harrington 1908:404).

Exterior finishes are exclusively plain, in most cases with secondary burnishing or polishing. Mooney (Holmes 1903), Harrington (1908), and others observed Catawba potters burnishing or rubbing vessels with water-tumbled quartz pebbles, and finishing less accessible nooks and



Figure 7. Catawba pan recovered from a cabin hearth at Locus 4. Note the black smudged interior.

crannies with bone burnishers. Thirty-five incised sherds with shallow, over-smoothed straight lines were recovered, and these all derive from a single beaker with podes. Most ceramic tobacco pipes are dry-incised or etched with a variety fine-line geometric patterns and tic marks (see Figure 5).

Interior finishes of completed, functional vessels are typically wellsmoothed or burnished and smudged black (Figure 7). This layer of carbon serves to waterproof vessels and fills or obscures interior surface irregularities. In 1815, Calvin Jones noted that the New Town potters burned their vessels "with bark which makes the exposed side a glossy black." Seventy years later, James Mooney observed Catawba potters filling vessels with broken bark for firing, then inverting the vessels to achieve smudged interiors (Holmes 1903).

Approximately 10% of rim sherds are decorated with orange or red pigment, typically applied to contrast against the blackened fields of lip interiors (Figure 8). Three sherds are painted with a silvery-blue pigment. Lumps of orange pigment recovered from New Town contexts appear to be desiccated commercial sealing wax, the Catawba pigment of choice noted in Simms' 1841 account in the fictional "Loves of the Driver."

CATAWBA POTTERY IN THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY ERA



Figure 8. Painted sherds from New Town (top) and lumps of red sealing wax (bottom). The sealing wax is thought to have been used as paint pigment.


Figure 9. Range of vessel forms represented at New Town. These computer-generated vessel models are based on measured profiles of rim and basal sherds.

Catawba Vessel Assemblage at New Town

The New Town vessel assemblage includes pans, jars, bowls, plates, bottles, cups, and handled pots, as well as unique forms (Figure 9). The most common vessel form is a flat-based pan, with either trapezoidal or gently excurvate wall profiles, that closely resembles English milk pans and brass cooking kettles (Figure 10). Pan rims are frequently thinned with interior tapers or bevels that terminate in well-defined, square lips. Documented pans range in size from 13 cm to 29 cm in diameter and up to 12 cm in height. These vessels appear to have functioned in both cooking and food service.

Large, beveled-rim bowls are morphologically similar to pans, but have proportionately smaller flattened bases (Figure 11). Documented



Figure 10. Earthenware pan form and representative sherds from New Town.



Figure 11. Earthenware beveled-rim bowl form and representative sherds from New Town.

examples are 26 cm to 28 cm in diameter. These bowls exhibit gently curving wall profiles surmounted by narrow vertical rims. Rim interiors are well-defined by a broad, beveled facet.

Recurvate-walled jars with everted thickened or collared rims and flat bases appear to be adaptations of traditional native cooking jars (Figure 12). These cooking jars range from 17 cm to 22 cm in (orifice) diameter, with approximate capacities of three liters to six liters. Ten percent of New Town rims are attributable to this distinctive form. A much smaller mode of this collared vessel form, with 9 cm to 12 cm orifices, is provisionally classed as a drinking pot (Figure 13). Other small, globular, flat-based "drinking pots" evince simple rims.

Plates and slightly deeper soup plates appear to be direct copies of creamware and pearlware analogs, with broad, well-defined marleys, wells with rounded walls, and flat bases with no footrings (Figure 14). Plate marleys are typically slightly concave, with thinned and rounded lips. In some instances, plate brims are slightly fluted with finger molding. A number of plate rims are scalloped, and some are edge painted in direct emulation of English shell-edge decoration. Several plate base interiors exhibit knife scoring and other use-wear traces that attest the use of these vessels in table dining with knives and forks. Plate diameters range from 20 cm to 26 cm, with an average diameter of 23 cm.

Small bowls and handle-less cups frequently exhibit pedestal bases or bases with molded or applied footrings (Figure 15). These 8 cm to 16 cm diameter vessels exhibit vertical rims with narrow interior bevels that define rounded or slightly everted lips. Other cups exhibit simple flat bases, and a number are decorated with red or orange paint (Figure 16).

Small, one-handled globular pots are characterized by squat, bulbous bodies, broad flanged lips, and large flattened loop handles (Figure 17). These resemble English chamber pots in form, but measure between 16 cm and 18 cm in diameter, and more likely were used as porringers. Similar handled pots are documented in late nineteenthcentury ethnographic collections.

A unique, incised beaker is the only vessel with podal supports that has been reconstructed (Figure 18). Other flat basal sherds with tripodal supports may represent small kettles or pipkins. Wide-mouthed, shortnecked bottles or beakers are represented by a number of neck and rim fragments, but the complete vessel profiles could not be reconstructed. Pitcher forms are not readily distinguished, although one polished, incised, punctuated-and-painted sherd may derive from a pitcher handle/wall juncture. Other unique forms include a small, keg-shaped



Catawba Cooking Jars

Figure 12. Earthenware cooking jar form and representative sherds from New Town.





Figure 13. Earthenware drinking pot form and representative sherds from New Town.



Catawba Plates

Figure 14. Earthenware plate form and representative sherds from New Town.



Catawba Footed Bowls





Catawba Cups

Figure 16. Earthenware cup forms and representative sherds from New Town.



Figure 17. Earthenware handled pot forms and representative sherds from New Town.



Figure 18. Earthenware footed beaker form and representative sherds from New Town.



Figure 19. Earthenware bottle, stoppers, and other vessel fragments from New Town.



Figure 20. Frequency histogram showing the size distribution (as measured by rim diameter) of English-made and Catawba-made hollowware serving vessels at New Town.

bottle, probable bottle stoppers, and a polished and painted toy tomahawk pipe (Figure 19; also see Figure 5).

Many of the New Town vessel forms either duplicate or approximate English ceramics from the same contexts. Comparison of vessel size distributions reveals that the Catawba wares and English wares form a complementary size continuum, with Catawba pottery spanning the larger end of the spectrum (Figure 20). This complementarity suggests that Catawba wares were not simply "poor man's china" but instead articulated with the Catawbas' highly informed consumption of imported ceramics.

Pottery Production and Trade

The absolute and relative abundance and diversity of Catawba wares at New Town indicates that native ceramics played a conspicuous, even omnipresent, role in the life of the community. Widespread evidence for ceramic production at the site bolsters this view and suggests scales of production far greater than domestic demand required. Broad, shallow, linear trench features appear to be clay curing facilities of the type used by contemporary Catawba potters (Baker, personal communication 2003). Pottery waster dumps include heavily over-fired sherds that probably represent firing furniture (Figure 21). Faceted and polished burnishing stones occur at most of the cabins, and are particularly concentrated around Loci 2 and 3 (Figure 22). Such burnishers are



Figure 21. Over-fired Catawba earthenware vessel fragments from a probable waster dump at Locus 3.



Figure 22. Burnishing stones from Locus 2 at New Town.

typically highly curated, heirloom tools that seldom occur in archaeological contexts. Recovery of more than a dozen such tools (and fragments) in community refuse at New Town is unusual, and may indicate larger scales and higher intensity of ceramic production for commercial sale.

When Calvin Jones visited New Town in 1815, he witnessed a bustling ceramic industry aimed at American markets. Jones noted:

Next to Newtown ... Men gone hunting and fishing. Women making pans — Clay from the river — shape them with their hands and burn them with bark which makes the exposed side a glossy black. A pitcher a quarter of a dollar. Sell pans frequently for the full [measure] of meal. Saw some sitting on their beds and making pans.... [Jones 1815]

Such trade wares from New Town are well represented in Federalperiod archaeological assemblages from Tivoli (38LA299 and 38LA301), Gen. William R. Davie's Lancaster County plantation (ca. 1805–1820) located 12 km south of the Catawba settlement (see Figure 1). Contexts at the main house site and slave quarters, excavated by University of North Carolina archaeologists in 2006, yielded substantial quantities of Catawba pottery (n=1,586 sherds) indistinguishable from that found at New Town (Figure 23). At Davie's residence, Catawba sherds (n=631) constitute 45% of the Federal-period ceramic assemblage. Thin-bodied, black burnished or polished hollowwares with red-painted accents, referable to the River Burnished type (Ferguson 1990), are well represented in the main house collection. Deposits at the slave quarters vielded 955 Catawba sherds, approximately 58% of the ceramic collection. These are primarily plain or lightly burnished utilitarian wares that derive from pans, cooking jars, and plates. It is unclear whether the slaves at Tivoli procured their pottery directly from Catawba traders or were provisioned with this pottery by their master or overseer. While some of the Catawba pottery at Tivoli may represent curios from Davie's former Revolutionary War comrades-in-arms, the preponderance of Catawba wares at the slave quarters are clearly utilitarian wares used for everyday cooking and dining.

The New Town potters regularly took their trade wares farther afield as well. In the fictionalized "Loves of the Driver," William Gilmore Simms noted that during his boyhood in the 1810s:

... it was the custom of the Catawba Indians... to come down, at certain seasons, from their far homes in the interior, to the seaboard,



Figure 23. Catawba-made pottery from Tivoli.

bringing to Charleston a little stock of earthen pots and pans ... which they bartered in the city They did not, however, bring their pots and pans from the nation, but descending to the Lowcountry empty handed, in groups or families, they squatted down on the rich clay lands along the Edisto, ... there established themselves in a temporary abiding place, until their simple potteries had yielded them a sufficient supply of wares with which to throw themselves into the market. [Simms 1841:122]

Because the entire Catawba population at this time was fewer than 300 individuals, and the entire cohort of Catawba potters numbered less than 100, it is quite likely that Jones and Simms met or observed many of the same potters. Phillip Porcher, an antebellum resident of St. Stephens, recounted that "... the Catawba Indians ... traveled down from the up-country to Charleston, making clay ware for the negroes along the way. They would camp until a section was supplied, then move on, till finally Charleston was reached ... their ware was in great demand" (Gregorie 1925:21). Charley Watson, a former slave from Winnsboro, South Carolina, recalled that "De Indians fetch their pots and jars to sell" on the plantation in the 1850s (Rawick 1972:189).

Significance and Implications

These accounts indicate that we should expect that the "clay ware" produced by the New Town potters would occur in archaeological contexts "from the up-country to Charleston," particularly in Federalperiod slave contexts. Although itinerant Catawba potters used local clays and built their wares at or near points of sale, their pottery should closely resemble the New Town ceramics in terms of technology, style, and execution. However, as identified in archaeological literature that deals with colonowares from Federal-period contexts in South Carolina, Catawba trade pottery has been narrowly defined as a very well-made, thin-bodied, polished or highly burnished ware with fine paste, often with painted decorations, that occurs in a limited range of vessel forms. Ferguson more properly distinguishes this specific type as "River Burnished." Evidence from New Town indicates a much wider range of synchronic variation in Catawba wares, with examples that encompass much of the diversity documented within the broader class of "colonowares." Thus, it appears likely that Catawba trade ceramics are significantly underreported in many Federal-period contexts. Underrecognition of Catawba trade ceramics due to restrictive sorting criteria has obvious interpretive implications for the convoluted ascriptions of agency and meaning in the production, distribution, and consumption of colonowares that dominate the current literature.

Diachronic variation in Catawba ceramics complicates the colonoware debate. Recent "colonoware" literature asserts that Catawba trade ware was largely a post-Revolutionary phenomenon (Joseph 2004), and attributes earlier colonowares to other sources. The time depth of the Catawba ceramic trade is unclear, but evidence points to widespread distribution of Catawba wares as early as the mid-eighteenth century. Late colonial-period Catawba contexts at Old Town, located one mile from New Town, yielded an assemblage of burnished pans, patty pans, teacups with footrings, polished bowls, and polygonal plates (Figures 24 and 25). These well-executed wares indicate that Catawba potters were already accomplished at producing hand-built facsimiles of English ceramics prior to the American Revolution and reveal a nuanced understanding of English table assemblages that informed Catawba ceramic production and use. Such wares may have been produced in quantity for the local Scots-Irish Waxhaws settlements and marketed farther afield as well.



Figure 24. Partially reconstructed Catawba earthenware plate from Old Town. This 16sided form appears to be a direct copy of an English plate.



Figure 25. Fragments of Catawba earthenware vessels from Old Town (c. 1760-1775).



Figure 26. Potsherds from the ca. 1760s Catawba village near the mouth of Twelve Mile Creek.

A slightly earlier (circa 1760) collection of Catawba ceramics from nearby Twelve Mile Creek appears more traditional in character, with thick-bodied, burnished vessels such as hemispherical bowls, recurvatewalled jars, and slightly carinated bowls, as well as thin-walled, flatbased pans with beveled lips (Figure 26). Most of these wares, while not as precisely executed as the later New Town ceramics, are still directly comparable to contemporaneous heavier-bodied colonowares (see Joseph 2004).

Surface collections from documented Catawba village sites of the 1750s (i.e., Cheraw Town, Weyanne, Noostee) (see Figure 1) are dominated by plain and burnished ceramics similar to those from Twelve Mile Creek, with attributes such as interior beveled lips and flat bases that presage the New Town wares. These 1750s collections also include stamped, cordmarked, and brushed-surfaced wares, treatments that may derive from various Piedmont parent traditions but which are lacking in later assemblages. Such ceramic variability appears even more accentuated within and between village contexts from the 1720s (see Fitts, this volume). This diversity may reflect the polyethnic character of the Catawba Nation in the decades between 1710 and 1760. After 1760, the ultimate coalescence and complete integration of former refugee groups resulted in the ethnogenesis of a culturally unified Catawba Nation (Merrell 1989). This sociopolitical situation parallels the emergence of a single, homogeneous ceramic tradition that evolved



Figure 27. A mid-twentieth century Catawba potter selling her wares. Photograph taken in 1941 by Joffre Coe (RLA negative number 1187).

into the familiar Catawba pottery still produced today in the homelands of York County.

The internal homogeneity of Catawba wares produced after the French and Indian War may reflect potters' responses to the growing market demands of an expanding ceramic trade, commercial forces that canalized previous ceramic diversity into forms and textures that appealed to European and African customers. The resultant Catawba "colonowares" evolved in form, execution, and decoration with the changing market. This dynamic technological tradition, fueled and shaped by market demands, became the touchstone of Catawba identity (Figure 27).

The potters of New Town were heirs to an ancient technological tradition that they adapted to contemporary commercial and domestic needs. While many of their peer groups in the eastern United States abandoned traditional domestic ceramics, the Catawbas refined their wares into products that helped to preserve their economic autonomy. In turn, the continuing economic viability of the pottery trade, as it

transitioned from functional pottery to tourist wares to art pottery for the Indian Arts and Crafts market, has sustained Catawba pottery as the longest surviving, unbroken ceramic tradition in the eastern United States.

Notes

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CATAWBA POTTERS AND THEIR WORK

by M. R. Harrington

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Among the stony hills near the river that bears their name in York county, South Carolina, a remnant of the once numerous Catawba tribe of Indians may still be found. In this region hunting and fishing as a means of livelihood are things of the past, and the rocky soil of the little reservation can hardly support the population; while the labor markets round about are glutted with negroes who will work for almost nothing. These and other factors, notably the excellence of the ware itself, may help to explain the remarkable survival of the potters' craft among the Catawba, an industry which to-day forms the chief support of the tribe and the main occupation of nearly every household.

Using implements and methods that from their simplicity seem to have changed but little since prehistoric times, these Indians manufacture vessels and pipes which, on account of their beauty and oddity, find a ready sale at Rockhill and other neighboring towns. Alone among eastern Indians the Catawba have made their ceramic art an industry which has survived the years and the competition of machine-made wares.

It is my purpose in this article to describe the process of potterymaking as practised by the Catawba, but before doing so it might be well to say a few words about the people themselves as I found them. When I visited the reservation in June, 1908, while collecting ethnological specimens for George G. Heye, Esq., of New York City, I was informed that there are now nineteen houses occupied by the Catawba, fourteen of which are on the reservation, the others scattered about within a few miles. Living in these houses are ninety-eight Indians who might be called Catawba, and besides these one or two Cherokee. There are also several Catawba living with the Eastern Cherokee in North Carolina, and



Plate XVIII. Catawba Types 1, Billy Harris. 2, Ep. Harris. 3, Sarah Harris. 4, Fanny Harris.

others, it is claimed, — isolated individuals and families — scattered in Utah, Colorado, Oklahoma, Texas, and Mexico. [400]

Mooney, in his *Siouan Tribes of the East*, states that from time to time survivors of other eastern Siouan peoples have been absorbed by the Catawba; hence it is probable that the amalgamated blood of many tribes flows in the veins of the modern remnant. Certain it is that within recent years there has been some intermarriage with the Cherokee. There is also a considerable infusion of white blood noticeable in the tribe, but Indian color and features still predominate (pl. XVIII). No cases of negro admixture were observed, nor did inquiry elicit the information that such had ever taken place. The Catawba language is on the verge of becoming lost, for although remembered by the older Indians and many of those in middle life, it is rarely spoken, English being the language of daily use.

The majority of the Catawba belong to the Mormon Church, and have abandoned the old dances and ceremonies, which linger only in the memories of some of the older people. It is probable that descriptions of these may still be obtained, and texts of myths recorded; for I heard several myths in English from John Brown, at whose house I stayed. He had heard them in the Catawba language from his mother, Margaret Wiley, who is still living. The following myth — the only one I had the opportunity to record —may be considered typical:

"An old woman was gathering persimmons under a tree in a valley, but was not satisfied with what she found. A Deer came along and inquired what she was doing. 'Gathering persimmons,' she replied. 'How do you get them?' asked the Deer. 'I run and butt my head against the tree,' was the reply; 'if you will do it for me I shall give you some.' The Deer went off and came running, striking his head against the tree. Only a few persimmons fell. 'You must do it harder,' said the woman. So the Deer went up the hill and ran down again, striking the tree so hard that his neck was broken and he fell dead.

"Then the woman wanted to skin and cut up the Deer. She made a cutting motion with one forefinger across the other.

"*Dēmēĭtcēsasa*,' she repeated over and over, implying 'I have no knife.' A Wolf came along and heard her words. 'I will tear up the deer for you,' he said, 'if you will give me half.' 'All **[401]** right,' said the woman, and the Wolf went to work. When the deer was all nicely divided, the woman said, 'Suppose something should come along making a noise like thunder — *trrrrrr!*' 'Don't say that,' cried the wolf, 'you frighten me!' Just then a flock of partridges flew up with a roaring

sound — *trrrrr* / which so frightened the Wolf that he ran away and left the woman with all the meat."

No Indian clothing, ornaments, or ceremonial paraphernalia could be found on the reservation, and the old industries, with the notable exception of pottery making, are practically extinct. Even old baskets were difficult to find. There is, so far as I could learn, only one basket maker — a man — among the Catawba to-day, and he rarely works at the trade. Basket fish-traps ($v\bar{v}wasap$) are still sometimes made and used however. One flat basket of cane (*waⁿsäwasap*), an old specimen said to have been a food dish, was obtained, of a type familiar among the Cherokee and other southeastern tribes, together with a few old splint baskets for general use, rectangular in form, made smaller at the top than at the bottom. Two bows (*itcká*) were also found, one about four feet long and the other a toy, both of the straight flat style almost universal among eastern Indians. The arrows (wa^n) were made of cane. As no old blowgun (*waⁿsäbo'he'*) could be found, I had a new one made by a Catawba who remembered how the work was done. The tube he made of cane, about five feet long, rasping out the septa at the joints with a wooden rod tipped with tin; while the darts (*věbwaⁿ*) were made of wood wrapped with cotton at one end to make them fit snugly, the whole contrivance being in every respect similar to blowguns collected from the Mississippi Choctaw and the Koasati (Creeks) of Louisiana. Wooden ware was represented only by an oblong shallow tray (*ituskuspamutobá*) with projections to serve as handles on each end. No wooden mortars or pestles for crushing corn were seen.

That the Catawba now use but little of their own pottery became clear when I inquired for old vessels that had seen actual service. A few such, and a few only, were obtained, comprising cooking pots $(t\hat{u}syam\hat{u}s\bar{e})$ with and without legs, bowls $(t\hat{u}su\bar{i}')$, and jars $(\check{t}t\hat{u}sk\bar{i})$ for keeping milk and other liquids, all more or less of old **[402]** types, but differing from most prehistoric forms in having flat instead of rounded bottoms. Some of these are shown in plate XXIII. One pitcher (" $p\check{t}tc\check{u}\bar{i}$ ") of the modern trade form, but which had been in use, was collected. The trade ware consists mainly of vases, pitchers, flower-pots, and fancy pieces of different shapes, sometimes decorated with incised geometric designs or life forms modeled in relief or in the round, but usually relying for effect upon their graceful form. Most of the vessels made to sell exhibit very little Indian character in form or design, ancestral patterns having been sacrificed to the demands of the trade.

CATAWBA POTTERS AND THEIR WORK

Pipes ($wim\bar{s}\hat{u}$) are an important product of the Catawba potter. For home use a simple pipe with a little incised decoration is preferred sometimes of old Indian type, sometimes made in imitation of the clay and briar pipes bought at the stores. For trade, a popular pattern is the socalled "peace pipe," a tiny decorated pot provided with four or more stem holes, while another trade form is called the "chicken comb." This may be descended from an old type. A very popular commercial design takes the form of a conventional Indian head crowned with feathers.

The Catawba use the following implements, which I consider of native origin, in manufacturing pottery: a wooden pestle (*yĕbi*"*to*) about 2 ½ feet long, shown in use in pl. XIX, *b*; mussel (*Unio* sp.) shells (*nutcrĕ*'); modelers (*wade*) cut out of gourd in circular or oval form, others of wood (*yĕbĭtûsĭkawa*); combined cutting and piercing implements of cane (*wasa*'); a wooden tool (*simpa*) for boring pipestems; very smooth fine-grained waterworn pebbles for rubbing stones (*ĭnthrĭ*'), and polished bone implements resembling blunt awls (*nusap*), while of doubtful origin are pipe molds (*wĭmĭsûmpadē*'a). (See pl. XXIII.) Modern tools used are a hoe for digging the clay, various bits of board used in rolling and as bases for modeling, iron knives, and wire' and coins for decorating.

Two kinds of clay are used — a fine-grained stiff variety called "pipe clay" (wimisuit to), and a coarse, lighter, crumbly kind known as "pan clay" ($i^n toitus$). Three mines of pan clay are known on and near the reservation, and five of pipe clay. In mining clay the Indians merely dig down through the surface soil a few inches or feet into the underlying stratum of clay, work this hole for a time [403] until it becomes troublesome to keep free of water, then abandon it and begin another one near by. The appearance of these abandoned clay pits reminds me of similar excavations I have seen over clay deposits near the sites of ancient Iroquois villages.

The modern Catawba dig the clay from the pits with a common hoe (pl. XIX, a), pick it over to remove foreign substances, and carry it home in sacks.

The following account of pottery-making is merely the description of what I saw and heard while staying in the reservation at the home of John Brown, a Catawba, and the photographs (pl. XIX–XXII) show him, his wife, and their eldest daughter at their accustomed tasks.

When the material had been brought in, John placed some of the moist pipe clay upon a little platform of boards, and began to pound it with his pestle, as shown in pl. XIX, b. As the clay flattened and spread



Plate XIX. Catawba Pottery Making *a*, Digging the Clay. *b*, Pounding the Clay. *c*, Rolling the Coils. *d*, Applying the First Coil. *e*, A Later Stage in Coiling. *f*, Blending the Coils, Outside.

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Plate xx. Catawba Pottery Making g, Blending the Coils, Inside. h, Shaping the Rim. *i*, Scraping. *j*, Rubbing with Pebble. *k*, Rubbing with Bone Implement. *l*, Decorating.



Plate XXI. Catawba Pottery Making *m*, Preliminary Heating of Vessels. *n*, Vessels Inverted upon the Embers. *o*, Firing Vessels.

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under this vigorous treatment his wife turned it back toward the center of the board, deftly picking out bits of stick and stone the while. As the pounding continued, dry pan clay and water were added until the proper proportions — about two parts of pan clay to one of pipe clay — were reached, and the mass had attained the proper consistency. No tempering material was used. This done, the clay was divided into little wads, which Mrs Brown laid upon a plank and rolled out into long cylinders with her hand, as shown in pl. XIX, c. Then deftly shaping a little disk of clay to serve as the bottom of the future vessel, she laid it upon another piece of board and coiled upon it one of her clay rolls (d), which she pinched fast with wet fingers. Another and another roll followed, each one pinched fast to the last until a rude pot form was made (e). Moistening her musselshell, the potter began to blend the coils on the outside, always smoothing the clay upward. As shown in f, while smoothing any part of the wall of the embryo jar she supported it on the inside with her other hand. Still using the shell, and from time to time a bit of gourd, both kept wet in a vessel of water standing near, she then blended and smoothed the inside of the vessel in similar fashion (pl. XX, g). During these processes the jar was seen to increase gradually in size as its walls became thinner, until at last, the smoothing finished, it had attained [404] the desired dimensions. Then Mrs Brown leveled off the rim and bent it to suit her fancy (h), when the vessel was set away in an airy place to dry. If handles or legs are desired, holes are bored at the proper places with the cane knife when the vessel is dry enough to be firm, through which fresh clay rolls are thrust. When these have been clinched and smoothed on the inside, the protruding portions are modeled into neat handles, or legs, as the case may be. One or two days, depending upon the weather, are required to dry the ware before submitting it to the next process.

When a batch of vessels was dry, John Brown again took a hand in the work and scraped the surface of each one very carefully with iron and cane knives (p1. xx, i), reducing all irregularities and making the walls thinner. Much of the symmetry and attractiveness of the finished product depends upon the care with which this work is done. Frequently musselshells are used for scraping. When he had finished a vessel, John handed it to his daughter, who moistened it with a damp rag and rubbed it carefully all over with the waterworn pebble kept for that purpose, removing all trace of scraping (j). A fine polished surface may be produced, they told me, by patient use of this primitive tool. For rubbing around handles (k), legs, and other difficult places, she used a polished

bone smoother, resembling closely the blunt awl-like bone implements sometimes found in archeological excavation on the sites of ancient Indian villages.

After the rubbing, and while the surface of the vessel was still damp, she decorated it with a simple geometric pattern, the lines of which were produced by drawing the edge of the cane knife firmly across the clay (pl. XX, *1*). The point of the cane was rarely used. In modern work a milled coin rolled along the clay takes the place of the old "roulette," or toothed wheel, and twisted wire is the up-to-date substitute for bark twine in making cord patterns.

Burning of pottery is now generally done in the house on the hearth of the large open fireplace, to avoid drafts; but some years ago the firing took place out of doors in a gully, or hollow, a still night being usually selected. The Browns arranged an old style out-door burning for my benefit, with the warning that, as a stiff breeze was blowing, some of the pieces might crack. **[405]**

The first step was to prop the vessels up around the fire, their mouths toward the blaze, as shown in pl. XXI, m. Here they remained for two or three hours, a peculiar black color spreading over them as they grew hotter and hotter. When this color had become uniform — a sign that they were hot enough — John raked the blazing brands out of the fire and inverted the vessels upon the coals and hot ashes (n) which were then pushed up around them and the whole covered thickly with pieces of dry bark pulled from old pine stumps, as shown in pl. XXI, a. When the bark had burned away, the red-hot vessels were pulled out and allowed to cool slowly around the fire. One had cracked, as predicted, and all the pieces were more or less mottled by drafts. The black color of the first heating, however, had given place to the typical reddish yellow of Catawba pottery. I was informed that when uniform shiny black color is desired, the ware, after the preliminary heating, is imbedded in bits of bark in a larger vessel of clay or iron, which is then inverted upon the glowing coals and covered with bark. After one or two hours the firing is complete and the vessels have acquired a brilliant black color which seems to penetrate their very substance.

In making pipes, a thick roll, usually of pure pipe clay, is produced (p1. xxii, a); this is bent roughly into form (b) and the stem hole perforated with the slender end of the cane knife (c). It is then laid away, and when partly dry is trimmed and the bowl gouged out with an iron knife or an implement of cane. When perfectly dry it is moistened on the outside with a damp rag, polished with the rubbing stone, and decorated

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Plate XXII. Catawba Pipe Making *a*, The First Stage — a Clay Cylinder. *b*, Blending into Form. *c*, Perforating the Stem. *d*, Decorating.

(*d*) with the cane knife or a bit of wire. Sometimes pipes, particularly the "Indian-head" style, are formed by pressing a roll of clay between the halves of a double pipe mold, greased or sprinkled with ashes to prevent sticking. Then the process goes on as before. Pipes are stacked up between two fires to receive their preliminary heating; but after this the burning takes place as with pottery, and the black color, which is more popular for pipes than for pottery, is produced in the same way, the pipes, after the preliminary heating, being packed into the containing vessel between layers of bark chips.

For making pipe molds an original model is shaped by hand, [405] and after being burned in the usual way is greased and forced down into a flattened cake of fresh clay until half imbedded; then the surface of the cake is also greased to prevent sticking, and another cake laid over and pressed down, forming a complete mold of the original pipe. When dry these half molds are removed from the model and burned; then they are ready for use (pl. XXIII, o, p).

Survivals of native ceramic art among the tribes east of the Mississippi are now very rare. It has been long abandoned by the Iroquois, and the northern tribes generally, although a few of the mixed-bloods on Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, make a so-called "Indian pottery" for the tourist trade, from the gaudy-colored clays of Gay Head; but this is manufactured on a potter's wheel and can hardly be called a survival of the old native art. Moreover, I was informed, much of the ware sold as "Gay Head Indian pottery" is made by white men. The Pamunkey Indians of Virginia— a mixed-blood tribal remnant — still make a few earthen pipes, some of which are of old form, and all of which, I understand, are made by old-time methods to a great degree. The few vessels manufactured now by the Pamunkey for curio hunters are plainly crude attempts to resuscitate the art practised by the grandmothers of the present generation, who made and sold large quantities of ware for domestic use to their white and negro neighbors. This older pottery, judging from the single specimen I collected for Mr Heye, and others which I have seen, was tempered and shaped by native methods, but the forms are evidently of mixed or European origin.

The Seminole of Florida remember pottery, but I found no specimens among them. "Old pot, Indian got 'um long time ago, no good too much. Fall littly bit, break 'um." Such was old Crop-ear Charley's explanation, when I inquired why pottery was no longer made. No pottery was found among the Chitimacha of Louisiana, the last piece having been broken within ten or fifteen years; but among the Koasati,

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Plate XXIII (top). Catawba Potter's Tools

a, *b*, Mussel (Unio) Shells. *c*, *d*, *e*, Gourd Implements. *f*, Wooden Implement. *g*, Iron Knife. *h*, *i*, Implements of Cane. *j*, Wooden Perforator. *k*, *l*, *m*, Smoothing Stones. *n*, *o*, *p*, Pipe Molds. *q*, *r*, Bone Implements.

Plate XXIII (bottom). Catawba Pottery *a*, *d*, *e*, *f*, Cooking Vessels. *b*, Jar for Water of Milk. *c*, Tripod Cooking Vessel. (George G. Heye Collection)

also in Louisiana, I found two excellent pieces of old types, although the art is no longer practised by them. The Choctaw of Mississippi have made no pottery for many years, and, as near as I could discover, the last piece kept by the Indians has been broken. The Eastern band of Cherokee in North Carolina still boasts a few old potters, but owing to the lack **[407]** of demand for their product, the art has been practically abandoned. Cherokee vessels are, or were, made in rather crude and archaic forms, but like Catawba pottery usually differ from most prehistoric vessels in having flat instead of rounded bottoms. Like the prehistoric pottery of the southeastern states the recent Cherokee ware shows decoration applied with a carved paddle.

But, as I say, the ceramic art of the Cherokee is dying, while the other Eastern tribes retain little more than vestiges and memories. The Catawba alone possess the distinction of preserving, alive and vigorous, the potter's craft of their ancestors.

NEW YORK CITY.

THREE FLUTED POINTS FROM THE HARDAWAY SITE, NORTH CAROLINA

by I. Randolph Daniel, Jr.

Abstract

Over forty years ago three fluted points were recovered from surface contexts at the Hardaway site; however, these artifacts were never fully described. The three fluted points, classified as either Clovis or Redstone, are described here. Implications for understanding Paleoindian point typology, site locations, and settlement mobility in North Carolina are also briefly explored with regard to other known fluted points in North Carolina.

In his summary of Formative Cultures of the Carolina Piedmont, Joffre Coe (1964:120) makes a passing reference to the surface recovery of "three reasonably good Clovis-like points" from the Hardaway site. Beyond noting some technological similarities between those artifacts and Hardaway-Dalton points, no further mention of the fluted specimens is made. Indeed, the presence of fluted points at Hardaway has largely been forgotten or ignored as virtually no reference to their recovery has been made in subsequent discussions in the archaeological literature. This is perhaps understandable since no further description of those artifacts was ever reported. Recently, however, three Clovis-like points were identified in the Herbert Doerschuk collection (Ward and Davis 1999:38–39) in the Research Laboratories of Archaeology at the University of North Carolina Chapel Hill that presumably represent the three points referred to by Coe in Formative Cultures. Thus, the purpose of this paper is to describe the three artifacts and discuss their significance with respect to Paleoindian archaeology in North Carolina.

The Points

The three specimens include two mostly complete points and one point tip (Table 1). The first nearly whole point is made of a plagioclaseporphyritic rhyolite and has a broken tip and ear (Figure 1a–b). It appears reworked with an excurvate blade and a concave base. Light grinding is present along both lateral edges of the base. Two relatively

Measurement	Point 1	Point 2	Point 3
Maximum length	50.0	54.6	-
Maximum width	24.6	24.1	-
Maximum thickness	5.2	4.6	-
Basal concavity depth	2.2	4.3	-
Maximum flute length (obverse)	14.9	14.1	-
Maximum channel width (obverse)	15.6	13.2	-
Maximum flute length (reverse)	-	13.2	-
Maximum channel width (reverse)	-	7.6	-

Table 1. Metric Data (in millimeters) for Fluted Points from the Hardaway Site.

Note: Point dimensions could not be measured for Point 3 due to its broken condition.

narrow and shallow flutes extend about one-third the length of the obverse face. Fluting is difficult to detect on the reverse face; it may be more basally thinned than fluted. Otherwise, the point exhibits an irregular flaking pattern.

The second complete artifact is similar in size to the first (Figure 1c-d). It, too, appears reworked and is made of a highly siliceous stone that appears to be a chert that is greenish-gray in color. Blade edges are more triangular than the first specimen. It exhibits parallel-sided basal edges with a few relatively large irregular flakes along one basal edge. It is unclear if this represents haft-damage or an attempt to rework the base. Basal grinding is difficult to detect. Fluting is apparent on both faces. A single, relatively wide shallow flute extends about one-third the length of the obverse face. At least one flute extends a similar distance on the reverse face. In fact, this fluting may be a composite of two overlapping flake removals, but the shallow nature of the flaking makes this determination difficult. The basal concavity of this specimen is somewhat unusual since the concavity is more pronounced than typically present in most fluted points. Indeed, it gives the impression of an earedlike base akin to Hardaway points; however, the ears are not as welldeveloped as on Hardaway-Dalton points.

The third specimen consists primarily of a point blade that is made of a mottled yellowish-brown chert (Figure 1e–f). Although point tips are usually not typologically diagnostic, the full facial fluting on both

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Figure 1. Fluted points from the Hardaway site: (a) Fluted point 1, obverse; (b) Fluted point 1, reverse; (c) Fluted point 2, obverse; (d) Fluted point 2, reverse; (e) Fluted point 3. obverse; and (f) Fluted point 3, reverse.
faces of this specimen is unmistakable. In the southeastern United States, full facial fluting is an attribute associated primarily with Redstone or Cumberland points which are recognized as being post-Clovis in age (e.g., Goodyear 1999, in press). The triangular blade shape of the specimen here suggests a Redstone classification. Despite being broken, the specimen appears to be a nearly complete blade. A shoulder remnant is present along one edge of the artifact as indicated by a few millimeters of basal grinding.

Discussion

These three artifacts are significant because they document a Paleoindian component at Hardaway. What is more, these artifacts have implications for understanding Paleoindian point typology, site locations, and settlement mobility. I explore these issues below with regard to a database of some 250 other known fluted points in North Carolina as well as fluted points outside the state (Daniel 2000, 2005).

Typological definitions for fluted points in North Carolina remain unrefined, as they do elsewhere in the Southeast (e.g., Goodyear 1999:435-441). In the absence of the recovery of fluted points from stratigraphic or radiometrically dated deposits, cultural-historical sequences exist largely based on comparisons with typologically similar forms outside the region. Certainly, fluted points virtually identical to the classic Clovis point, as found in southwestern United States, do exist in North Carolina. However, just as many fluted points, if not more, fall slightly outside a strictly southwest United States-derived typological definition of Clovis. Of course, the significance (if any) of such a distinction is debatable and can't be resolved here. Suffice it to say that the morphology of the three points described here falls within the range of variation known for North Carolina fluted points (Daniel 2000; Daniel and Goodyear, in press). As such, I am tentatively identifying the two nearly whole specimens as Clovis or Clovis-like on the basis of their lanceolate shape and fluted bases. Of course, it can't be known vet whether these points are temporally coeval with southwestern Clovis points; however, from a typological perspective most North Carolina points fall within the range of variation that is recognizable continentally as Clovis (e.g., Haynes 2002:81–95). The fluted point identified here as Redstone, however, is an exception. North Carolina Redstones (Daniel and Goodyear, in press) exhibit the distinctive full facial fluting, relatively deep basal concavity, and a triangular form similar to what is called Redstone in the mid-South (Cambron and Hulse 1964). Its

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emphasis on full facial fluting is suggestive of the southwestern Folsom point that, of course, post dates Clovis. Based on typological grounds, Redstone points presumably represent a post-Clovis manifestation in North Carolina. Recognizing Clovis and Redstone forms (at least tentatively) as cultural-historical types allows us to start creating temporal markers for the Paleoindian period in the state. I say more on this matter below. In any event, if these typological classifications are accurate, we can surmise that Hardaway was visited at least sporadically throughout the Paleoindian period in North Carolina.

The discovery of three fluted points from a single site is also significant. While surface recovery is the common context in which fluted points are found in the state, the presence of more than a single fluted point from a location is rare. Indeed, isolated surface finds are the norm for fluted point contexts in the Southeast. Given this pattern, some scholars suggest that groups who made fluted points only rarely conducted the types of activities that produced "sites" in the Southeast (Meltzer 1988). As highly mobile hunter-gatherers, Paleoindian groups seldom used the same localities repeatedly, nor did they frequently occupy a location intensely enough to produce a visible archaeological record (i.e., an artifact assemblage). Thus, the presence of multiple fluted points at Hardaway is contrary to the norm and is likely accounted for by the attraction of nearby knappable stone sources. Hardaway, of course, is situated amid numerous metavolcanic stone guarries (Daniel and Butler 1996; Steponaitis et al. 2006). As an abundant and predictable raw material source, the Uwharrie Mountains were repeatedly visited throughout prehistory. A quarry-related function has been proposed for the Hardaway site during the Archaic (Daniel 1998), and it is reasonable to postulate this function began even earlier. That Uwharrie rhyolite was used to make fluted points is certain (Daniel 2000, 2005), and the apparent presence of the porphyritic specimen here is consistent with that conclusion

That the two remaining points are made of different cherts is also interesting from a settlement perspective. Approximately 30% of North Carolina fluted points are made of some type of chert (Daniel 2000, 2005). The origins of these raw materials are difficult to pinpoint other than they almost certainly originated from outside North Carolina. Use of exotic tool-stone is a continent-wide pattern among fluted points (Goodyear 1989), and identifying raw material sources in stone tool assemblages has provided important information concerning the scale of Paleoindian mobility (e.g., Meltzer 1984, 1988, 1989). Since most eastern Paleoindian assemblages are dominated by a single stone type

that appears to have been acquired directly from its geological source, the distance between the natural and archaeological occurrences of this stone are often used as a rough measure of prehistoric mobility. Accordingly, distances up to 300 km are commonly cited in the literature regarding the transport of Paleoindian tool-stone (Meltzer 1993:304–305, 1988:26–28). Given this fact, it is tempting to speculate that the two chert points traveled to Hardaway as part of a wide-ranging annual settlement round. That is, the groups that eventually discarded the chert points at Hardaway also quarried that stone from some distant sources. The broken or exhausted state of these points is consistent with the notion that they were at the end of there use-lives and were discarded at Hardaway for the purpose of being replaced.

Of course, it is equally plausible that the artifacts discarded at Hardaway were acquired indirectly via exchange. For example, the exotic stone might have been acquired by some donor group who never visited Hardaway, but supplied the exotic stone (either in unmodified or finished form) to a group that did visit Hardaway. In this case, the presence of chert points might tell us less about settlement mobility *per se* than prehistoric social relations. But regardless of the mechanism of transport, the presence of exotic stone at Hardaway does have implications for identifying the geographic range of interaction for Paleoindian groups in North Carolina. Additional efforts to identify the stone source(s) of these two points seem warranted.

Conclusion

Three fluted points from the Hardaway site have been described both for simple documentary purposes and to draw archaeological implications with regards to other known fluted points in the state. Traditionally, all fluted points in North Carolina are often lumped typologically as Clovis. However, it is likely that this lumping masks cultural or chronological significance. The Clovis and Redstone classifications assigned to the three points here are based on a proposed three-stage sequence for North Carolina fluted points that parallels the Early, Middle, and Late Paleoindian periods generally proposed for the Southeast and applied to North Carolina (Goodyear 1999:435–441; Ward and Davis 1999:29–32). In turn, these three periods would be represented in the Piedmont by Clovis, Redstone, and Hardaway-Dalton points, respectively (cf. Ward and Davis 1999:29–46). Of course, this cultural-historical classification does not account for all the variability in North Carolina fluted points. For example, given the relative rarity of Redstone as opposed to Cumberland points in the Mountains, the latter type may represent the Middle Paleoindian Period (or phase) in the Mountain region (Daniel 2000, 2005).

Finally, the presence of fluted points at Hardaway raises the possibility that other Paleoindian artifacts remain unrecognized in the assemblage. Of course, distinguishing those remains amid the thousands of other artifacts in the collection is problematic to say the least particularly given the widely acknowledged similarity between wellmade unifacial tools in both Paleoindian and Early Archaic assemblages. Complicating this issue even further is the fact that much of the Hardaway collection is from surface collected or disturbed contexts. Thus, artifact provenience is of little help in identifying other potential Paleoindian artifacts. Nevertheless, one approach might be to examine the Hardaway assemblage for other chert artifacts that are similar to the two chert types represented in the two exotic fluted points. North American fluted point assemblages are often dominated by a single exotic stone type (Goodyear 1989; Meltzer 1984, 1988); thus, it is not unreasonable to suggest that other Paleoindian artifacts - made from the same exotic stone as the two fluted points described above — might exist in the Hardaway assemblage. In fact, chert artifacts other than points do exist in the assemblage, and they are readily distinguished from the rhyolite that dominates the raw materials (Daniel 1998:46-47). While finding other artifacts made of the same chert used to make either or the two fluted points would not be conclusive evidence that they were Paleoindian in age, it would certainly be provocative, particularly if several artifact classes were represented in the exotic stone.

The importance of the Hardaway site to North Carolina can hardly be over emphasized. In conjunction with the excavation of other sites along the Yadkin River, Coe (1964) essentially defined a series of Archaic complexes that were virtually unknown elsewhere in the Southeast. A few decades later, data from the Hardaway site again were examined from an Early Archaic settlement perspective (Daniel 1998). More recently, the identification of the three fluted points described here suggests that the Hardaway collection will continue to remain an important data source for North Carolina archaeology.

Notes

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BOOK REVIEWS

X Marks the Spot: The Archaeology of Piracy, edited by Russell K. Skowronek and Charles R. Ewen. University Press of Florida, Gainsville, 2006. xxvi + 339 pp., illus., biblio., index. \$59.95 (cloth), ISBN 0-8130-2875-2.

Reviewed by Thomas E. Beaman, Jr.

As a native North Carolinian, each trip taken to the coast in my vouth was not complete without a rediscovery of the rich history and folklore of pirates in souvenir shops. These encounters were designed to capture gold from consumers of all ages. A survey of such items included books on regional pirate activity, such as Hugh F. Rankin's The Pirates of Colonial North Carolina (Historical Publications, North Carolina Archives and History, Raleigh, 1960), Robert E. Lee's Blackbeard the Pirate (John F. Blair, Winston Salem, 1974), or one of Judge Charles Whedbee's many books on coastal Carolina lore. Black flags of various sizes that bore white skulls and crossed bones decorated the walls of many such establishments. Faux pirate coins, both chocolate and not, were also a popular item. Today the same phenomenon exists for beach tourists, but one really does not have to travel that far to find pirates. Swashbucklers from the "Golden Age of Piracy" have stretched beyond the realms of history and folklore. Movies such as Disney's Pirates of the Caribbean continue to be widely popular, with the third installment slated for release in Summer 2007. Toys and action figures — too numerous and varied to name, but ranging from bathtub toys to board games — are designed for children and the young at heart. There is even a recently released musical compact disc, *Rogue's Gallery*, of pirate ballads, shanties, and cheeky adult sing-a-longs that features many noteworthy artists such as Sting and Lou Reed. Pirates have become one of the hallmarks of modern pop culture and are almost more persistent today to collect consumers' hard-earned loot than their factual, historical counterparts.

This widespread popularity of pirates is one reason I approached the recently published *X Marks the Spot: The Archaeology of Piracy* with some caution. I initially feared that Russell K. Skowronek and Charles R. Ewen, two notable champions of scientific archaeology, had exchanged their paradigms and patterns for eye patches and cutlasses to cash in on the faddish trade of pirate merchandise. As the essays in this collection prove, my fear was premature and unfounded; in fact this

volume, part of University Press of Florida's recently launched "New Perspectives on Maritime History and Nautical Archaeology" series, endeavors to separate fact from fiction and bring pirate research into the realm of scientific archaeological investigation and interpretation. All of the contributions largely concentrate on methodological and theoretical questions, specifically centered around how an archaeologist can locate and identify the presence of pirates on terrestrial and underwater sites without the recovery of peg legs and eye patches. As part of his Introduction, Ewen cleverly links the quest for "marker artifacts" of piracy to the ongoing search for cowrie shells and blue beads as identifiers of enslaved African-Americans on plantation sites, and reminds that archaeologists should seek patterns over single artifacts (p. 10). Ewen also makes a point to belie the softened modern, cinematic concept of a pirate and attempts to equate the true fear inspired by these cutthroat buccaneers during the "Golden Age of Piracy" with that of modern terrorists

The book has three main sections, each of which contains multiple essays. Four essays comprise the first portion of this volume and focus on terrestrial sites, which the editors refer to as "Pirate Lairs." Ewen humorously notes that the term "land bases" may be more appropriate but asks "how often does one get a chance to use the word 'lair' legitimately in an academic context?" (p. 7). The first three essays rely on a strong fusion of historical data with minimal material evidence, as there is little to no baseline artifact data offered for archaeological patterns. The initial contribution is also one of the more interesting, as Donny L. Hamilton explores the symbiotic relationship between pirates and merchants in "the wickedest city in the world," Port Royal, Jamaica. A known Caribbean center of notorious British privateers (i.e., legalized pirates), the plundered Spanish loot brought back to Port Royal by the likes of Henry Morgan and others made the colonial merchants far wealthier than their British counterparts. But the only exclusive archaeological evidence of piracy that Hamilton identifies at Port Royal was the shipwrecked remains of privateer Bartholomew Roberts' Ranger, destroyed in the harbor during a 1722 hurricane. Hamilton concludes "the archaeological record provides us with very tenuous evidence for a segment of society that contributed substantial wealth to the thriving economy of Port Royal" (p. 26). Joan M. Exnicios attempts to separate the fact from fiction of Jean Lafitte, considered a hero in the Battle of New Orleans by some and a Gulf Coast pirate by others. The general location of Lafitte's lair on Grand Terre Island has been peripherally identified through several cultural resource management

surveys, though the remaining portion of the island is threatened by increased erosion and will likely be inundated by 2050. Exnicios argues that the site can serve as a counterpoint to the romantic ideal of pirates, as the wealth of Lafitte was not in gold or silver but in material goods (including enslaved African Americans) desired by the residents of New Orleans.

The next two essays involve two land sites related to the harvest and export of Logwood, a small tree found in Central America whose heartwood was used as a dye for the European wool industries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Interestingly, both of the essays detail how many pirates became logwood cutters as an alternative occupation, as the industry was seen as a viable alternative as piracy and privateering fell from favor and largely disappeared from the Caribbean. J. David McBride explores three English settlements in the Spanishclaimed land of Roatan Island off the coast of Honduras. Limited investigations at two historically mapped locations on the southeastern end of the island yielded artifacts related to a 1740s military fortification, though there was no other evidence of occupation by pirates or log cutters. In nearby Belize, a seasonal pirate logging camp was located and investigated near the mouth of the Belize River. Daniel Finamore discusses how the occupants appeared to favor high status hollowares of delftware, porcelain, and highly decorated stonewares. Finamore argues that this conspicuous consumerism does not represent a social class association, as it would in the British colonies in North America, but instead was a "materially manifested symbolic expression of their independence from and rejection of the society that they had escaped" (p. 76). The material culture of these maritime logwood cutters reflects a communal culture that rejected traditional, hierarchical values of British society, but still embraced the accumulation and display of wealth. While Finamore's post-modern interpretation may not be comfortable for all archaeologists, his quantified artifact data — though minimal and based on a site sample — could offer a basic comparison with other terrestrial pirate "lairs" as they are identified and further explored.

"Pirate Ships and Their Prey," the second section of the book, contains seven essays and details the exploration of underwater shipwreck sites. Patrick Lizé reviews the history and exploration of the *Speaker*, John Bowen's ship that sank in 1702 off the coast of Mauritius (in the Indian Ocean) and the first pirate ship to be archaeologically documented. This essay contains a good description and images of some basic and unique artifacts from this wreck, including a small number of gold coins. Lizé admits, however, that nothing from the wreck site could

have identified it as a pirate ship without accompanying historical documentation (p. 98). John de Bry discusses the problematic identification of a recorded shipwreck near Madagascar. Initially thought to be William Kidd's Adventure Gallery from the historical documents, the Dutch construction of the ship, as well as the datable subtle stylistic differences in recovered porcelain fragment and gold coins, forced a reconsideration of this interpretation. De Bry is now convinced that wreck is Christopher Condent's Fiery Dragon, which was abandoned two decades after Kidd's ship. Both essays offer good perspective on late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century pirate activities in the Indian Ocean, where the primary prey was western ships laden with cargo from Oriental ports. Next, Christopher E. Hamilton details the history and investigation of Samuel Bellamy's Whydah, found off the coast of Cape Cod, Massachusetts, in the early 1980s. While a popular account of the discovery by treasure hunter Barry Clifford has been available, Hamilton takes care to offer a more academic, anthropological analysis of the Whydah site, including the materials recovered from it and what these artifacts say about the lives of pirates and maritime trade of the period. Table 8.1, a list of recovered artifacts by provenience, was lengthy and somewhat difficult to follow over successive pages; a simple quantitative summary by functional category would have sufficed equally as well.

The next two essays that will likely be of the most interest to North Carolinians, as both focus upon the Beaufort Inlet shipwreck suspected to be Blackbeard's flagship, the Queen Anne's Revenge. First, project archaeologist Mark U. Wilde-Ramsing provides a detailed overview of the discovery and investigations conducted on the site through Fall 2001. As discussed, the shipwreck's interpretation is presently based on: (1) historical evidence for the ship's grounding and abandonment in that area; (2) the recovered artifacts which all date to correct time period; and (3) the fact that there is no other known shipwreck site in Beaufort Inlet that either dates to that era or is as heavily armed (with the numerous and diverse cannons discovered on the site). The educational outreach efforts noted, including broadcasts of the field dives over the Internet to classrooms, are especially applauded. However, if Wilde-Ramsing's essay can be metaphorically compared to a forest, then Wayne R. Lusardi's contrasting contribution is focused upon aberrant trees within those woods that bring the ship's identity back into question. Lusardi details many of the over 2,000 recovered artifacts from the site by functional category. Though admitting the vast majority of the artifacts fall within accepted typologies for the correct era of the Queen Anne's

Revenge, several artifacts pose a major interpretive problem. These include the number "1730" scratched on a cannon that may be a date, a Spanish ship's bell (the *QAR* was converted from the *Concorde*, a French, not Spanish, slaver), the absence of slave trade goods (from the *Concorde*), and the presence of valuable artifacts (such as gold nuggets, gold dust, navigational instruments, pewter wares, and small arms), all recovered from a ship that was supposedly grounded and abandoned with all goods salvaged. Lusardi argues there is reasonable doubt for the shipwreck to be identified as Blackbeard's flagship, as it appears indistinguishable from other heavily armed merchant vessels from the early to mid-eighteenth century. Editors Skowronek and Ewen are to be especially lauded for the inclusion of Wilde-Ramsing and Lusardi's different perspectives on the Beaufort wreck, as they well illustrate the thematic problem encountered by all contributors to this volume.

One essay well illustrates that not all pirates roamed and plundered on the open seas. Reminiscent of the fictional adventures of Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn, Mark J. Wagner and Mary R. McCorvie's outstanding contribution explores the mythology and history of river pirates on the lower Ohio and Mississippi Rivers during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. With the discovery of a shipwrecked flatboat, the America, Wagner and McCorvie documented in the construction details of the wreck that, contrary to popular opinion, it lacked the evidence of extreme violence that are hallmarks of pirate attacks on such watercraft. In what could have easily constituted a second contribution (albeit more appropriate for the first section), through the documented inventories of river pirates Samuel Mason and John Sutton, the authors additionally postulate a quantitative pattern of river pirate lairs based on functional artifact categories. This is similar to a largely overlooked method proposed by Stanley South in Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology (pp. 190–198; Academic Press, New York, 1977). It is well applied here by Wagner and McCorvie, and will hopefully be tested in future research to assist in the identification of river pirates' land bases. The final essay in this section, by volume editors Skowronek and Ewen, focuses on the "Prey" aspect of this section. The first argued material evidence of the "fear" of pirate attacks are public fortifications at a number of sites, though these bastions and bulwarks may also have been for use against rival colonial Europeans. Historical records indicate most contraband goods were perishable and left no material evidence. However, to measure potential trade through pirate activity, Skowronek and Ewen choose to explore the quantitative presence of non-Spanish ceramic tablewares on the Spanish colonial sites of Santa Elena, St. Augustine, Santa Domingo, and Puerto Real. Given the inconclusive results, Skowronek and Ewen conclude the presence of sixteenth-century exotic, non-Spanish European material culture on Spanish colonial sites is most likely the results of normal trade networks rather than illicit, contraband, or pirate-related trade. While thought provoking, this essay may have been a better fit for the first section on terrestrial sites.

The third and final section, "Pirates in Fact and Fiction," contains only two essays. The general focus of these contributions is less concerned with the actual archaeological record; instead, they center upon the expectations and perceptions of what defines a pirate. Lawrence E. Babits, Joshua B. Howard, and Matthew Brenckle offer a substantive contribution towards the volume's central theme as they ponder the development of the image of a pirate. They cite early, formative imagery of what defines a classic pirate "look" from childhood exposure to fictional accounts, such as Captain Hook in Peter Pan and the description of Long John Silver from Treasure Island. The authors then convert this classic image into material correlates, where historically the actual clothing (and the image) of officers would change more with current styles but that of an ordinary sailor would not. By defining pirates first and foremost as sailors, Babits, Howard, and Brenckle state, "Pirates... are impossible to tell from common sailors by their dress" (p. 274). Their well-founded conclusion is that archaeologists will continue to have difficulty identifying pirates in the archaeological record without a clearer understanding of what specifically distinguishes a pirate's belongings from the material culture of a legal sailor. Russell K. Skowronek also presents arguments along a similar line. Jumping from the end of actual piracy in the later eighteenth century to its romanticized appearance in later nineteenth century fiction (the writings of Mark Twain are specifically cited) and back to modern piracy in the present, Skowronek uses combined interviews and surveys to assess the origins of people's perception of pirates. The perceptions differed most based on age over gender or geography, as succeeding generations received different interpretations through adventure books (octogenarians), television (Baby Boomers), and lastly, film (college students). With these results, Skowronek then explores the essays presented in this volume with the expectations versus the actual data, eventually hoping that "pirate fact may begin to supplant fiction" (p. 297). Just in the way a discussant would summarize papers in a conference session and provide a larger thematic perspective, these final essays provide excellent closure for this volume

With the publication of *X Marks the Spot*, editors Skowronek and Ewen are to be applauded, as they have effectively united the diverse terrestrial and underwater archaeological research on pirates in the search for material correlates. While it does not achieve its search for definitive pirate patterns for land or sea sites, qualitative similarities are noted among many of the essays, such as the diverse material goods and an abundance of armaments recovered from shipwrecks. With such basic comparative information, this volume offers a literal treasure chest of basic ideas through which researchers can generate testable theories for sites presently known and for those that await discovery and exploration. To that end this work is a resounding success and provides an indispensable reference for future topical research.

The audience for this book will likely be a mix of avocational and professional archaeologists. While it may never share the wide popular appeal of general pirate histories with beach tourists, all the material presented on the exploration of terrestrial and underwater sites is interesting and accessible to the general public at an extremely affordable price. North Carolinians may be interested in this volume simply for the first widely available information in print on the Beaufort Inlet shipwreck thought to be *Queen Anne's Revenge*. As for this coastal explorer and professional archaeologist, I will certainly be interested in following the continued discussions and refinement of ideas presented here as future research is conducted at Beaufort and other North Carolina sites, such as Plumb Point near Bath, that are historically associated with pirate activity.

Unlocking the Past: Celebrating Historical Archaeology in North America, edited by Lu Ann De Cunzo and John H. Jameson, Jr. University Press of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, 2005. 255 pp., \$39.95 (cloth), ISBN: 0-8130-2796-9.

Reviewed by Alexander J. Keown

Humanizing North America through archaeological research past is a strong theme that runs through *Unlocking the Past: Celebrating Historical Archaeology in North America*. The book, which is a compilation of articles from archaeological professionals, provides a good insight into various archeological projects. The information is good not only for archaeological professionals, but is also a good starting point for laymen. Readers will learn about North America's past and all those who helped shape it — from native Indians to early Norse explorers, to European colonists, and ultimately to those who settled and thrived across the continent. But the works don't only give insight into those colonists or indigenous groups; they also show how those groups interacted and affected each other.

In her introduction the book, editor Lu Ann De Cunzo reminds readers that archaeology isn't the "pith-helmeted adventurer traversing jungles and deserts in search of great treasures." While that depiction, or one of a fedora-clad Indiana Jones, seems to be the common image of an archaeologist, De Cunzo seeks to dispel that notion in favor of a more realistic view. As the articles in this book attest, that view includes the study of cemetery headstones, slave villages, shipwrecks, and much, much more.

De Cunzo begins the book by describing what propelled her into the field — hunting for arrowheads in cotton fields with a family friend. "I cared only about discovering those bits of stone that lie scattered on the ground. Someone had shaped them into tool centuries ago and then broken them and thrown them away," De Cunzo says of her initial forays into archaeology (p. 1). This mirrors the initial archaeological experience of countless other children across the United States. Not only does De Cunzo share her earliest archaeological memories, but she also shares brief biographical information of some of the teachers who impacted her life the most, like John Cotter and James Deetz. These brief biographies are also beneficial to the non-archaeologist just by introducing some of those who helped shape the discipline.

While the sidebars to some of the articles provide excellent information on a variety of topics, their positioning in the pages of the book should be re-examined as they interrupt the flow of the articles. For example, in the introduction there are three sidebars on influential archaeologists that influenced De Cunzo's career. All three of the sidebars are positioned at the top of the left-hand page. Therefore, when the reader turns the page, their train of thought following the main article is interrupted as the eye automatically goes to the first words at the top of the page. While this may be only a momentary interruption, it can be a hindrance to the absorption of the ideas of the main article.

Another concern with the few brief biographies inserted throughout the book is the lack of inclusion of biographical information of other trailblazing archaeologists. For example, De Cunzo includes some of Leland Ferguson's writings about slaves living on Southern plantations. While Ferguson includes some fascinating information on the daily lives of the slaves — their work on the plantations as well as in their personal

lives — where was the biographical information on Theresa Singleton, a pioneer in the archaeology of enslaved African-Americans?

But the book contains numerous positives. One important positive is the inclusion of articles from around the continent, rather than focusing on specific areas. For the non-archaeologist or even the provincialminded, this is a good thing. As a native Southerner, archaeological research in Quebec City, Canada, may not pique one's interests, but historical preservation and archaeological research efforts in Charleston, South Carolina or Jamestown, Virginia, strike closer to home. Having visited family in the South Carolina Low Country my whole life, I've seen some of the efforts made in exploring and preserving South Carolina's past. Charleston is a city that prides itself on its past. Martha Zierden provides a glimpse of daily life for all groups dwelling in colonial and antebellum Charleston through archaeological research. Zierden's research also brings to light the frustration of trying to separate whites and blacks in Charleston since the refuse of townhouse dwellers were combined. This, coupled with the fact that artifacts of a distinct African nature are scarce in the city, makes the lives of slaves more difficult to define. Because the daily comings and goings of slaves weren't meticulously recorded in the annals of Charleston history, Zierden is right when she says archaeology is sometimes the only source of information for these early urban dwellers. Readers may also be surprised at Zierden's rhetorical question regarding living history. She says many of the resources associated with historical properties, like drains, cisterns, privies and wells, are hidden from view. Zierden also stresses that due to public health issues many of the activities associated with colonial and antebellum houses, like slaughtering animals on the property, aren't featured.

Excavations of historic sites aren't the only types of archaeology explored in the book. In this day of heightened fascination with forensic anthropology, the articles on bioarchaeology stand out to the reader. Clark Spencer Larsen's recounting of his work on the excavation of Mission Santa Catalina de Guale is a fascinating description of his quest to understand the health, lifestyle, and biology of the people living in sixteenth-century coastal Georgia. Analyzing carbon 12 and carbon 13 in the bone chemistry of the indigenous people of the sea island, Larsen and his team were able to identify the types of food eaten (primarily corn) by the indigenous people. According to Larsen's research the amount of corn consumed by the natives increased dramatically when the Spanish arrived. That increase of corn meant a decrease in nutritional quality in the regular diet of the Indians living around the Spanish.

Further examination of the bone structure of the Indians co-existing with the Spanish indicates the natives worked harder at manual labor than before the Europeans arrived, and that they worked with/for the Spanish. Larsen proposes the Spanish wanted to explore the land and convert the Indians to Christianity. His conclusion was based on the analysis of hundreds of skeletons at the mission. Only one skeleton showed signs of a violent death. Examination of the remains of Indians in Spanish Florida (which included the Georgia islands) will force historians to re-examine the early relationships of the Indians and Spanish. Larsen's research shows the two groups co-existed and weren't in a state of constant warfare. The information Larsen provides on native dietary habits not only rounds out information on the Indians, but helps bring the past and the present closer together in humanizing terms. No longer are the sixteenth-century Indians merely artifacts that provide a window to the past, but are now people, which is something that often escapes students.

As the public continues to follow the current excavation of the alleged Queen Anne's Revenge, there seems to be more interest in understanding other submerged wrecks. Sarah McDowell calls wrecks "time capsules" that give students an understanding of not only the technology that went into ship design and construction, but also provides a human dimension. McDowell lists artifacts recovered from the H.L. Hunley, a Confederate submersible, which includes buttons, identification tags, combs and other personal possessions. "Trinkets remind us of men separated from loved ones, the lanterns and combs about working on the ship, the buttons and I.D. tags about the pride of being a sailor," she writes (p. 164). McDowell stresses that each wreck has several stories to tell, stories that can offer insight into a bigger picture, like the Civil War. McDowell's closing line of her article -"The artifacts that are recovered, like those from the Hunley or the technological marvels from the Monitor, all remind us of the human side to the Civil War - great minds making stunning innovations, sailors sacrificing their lives, all stories waiting beneath the waves" (p. 165) hammers home the point that archaeological research, coupled with archival work, humanizes an era that has taken on a mythical image in the minds of modern students.

The articles featured in "Unlocking the Past" provide a broad spectrum of archaeological research across the continent, which will prove beneficial not only for professional archaeologists but also for nonarchaeologists. The authors may not be generally well known to those outside the field, though their articles will speak for them and help

introduce their research to a wide spectrum of readers. And while there are no in-text citations, the editors do provide references for further research in the back of the book. Students of history may also use the research provided by the archaeologists as additional research information, rather than relying solely on written records.

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