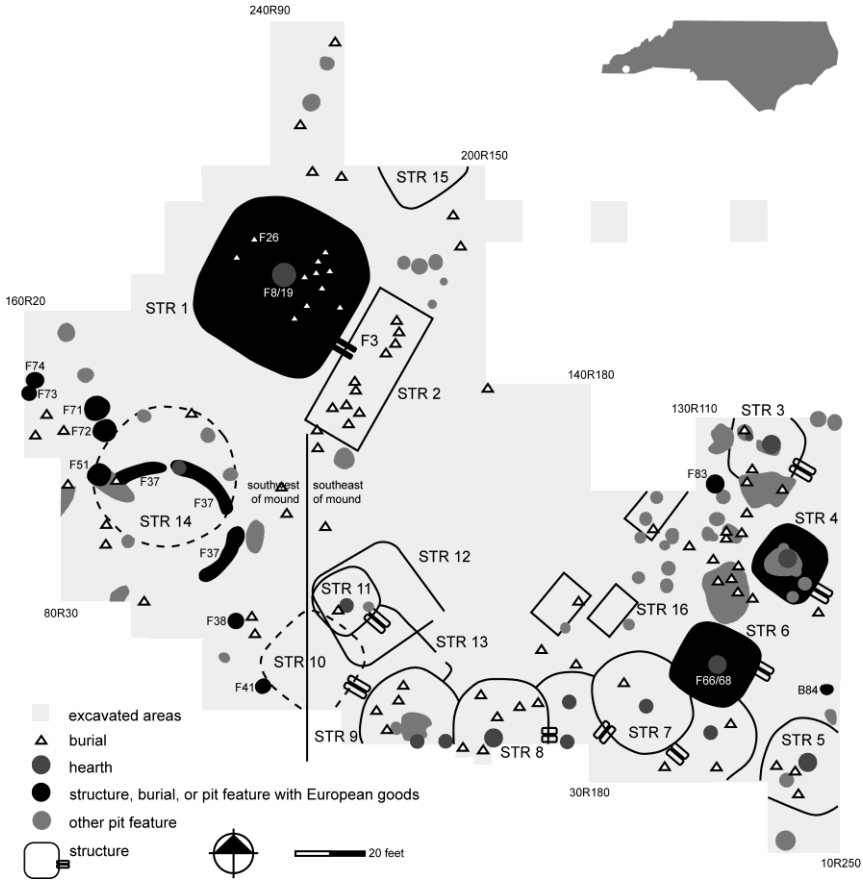
North Carolina Archaeology



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EUROPEAN TRADE GOODS AT CHEROKEE SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTHWESTERN NORTH CAROLINA

by

Christopher B. Rodning

Abstract

This paper describes European trade goods from the Cherokee settlement at the Coweeta Creek site, located in the Appalachian Summit province of southwestern North Carolina, and compares this assemblage with those from the nearby Alarka and Tuckasegee sites. Most of the European trade goods from Coweeta Creek are associated with late stages of the public structure at the site, from nearby pit features, and from the plaza, and there are comparatively few trade goods from domestic areas around the plaza. Most of the domestic houses at Coweeta Creek were abandoned at the point at which European trade goods began to reach the settlement, or soon afterwards. The presence of European goods at Coweeta Creek, Alarka, and Tuckasegee demonstrates an early interest in and access to trade goods by Cherokee groups before the development of formal trade relations between Cherokee towns and the Carolina colony in the early eighteenth century.

Life in Cherokee towns of the southern Appalachians changed dramatically during the course of the eighteenth-century deerskin trade and the seventeenth-century slave trade that preceded it (Figure 1) (Bowne 2000, 2005, 2006, 2009; Ethridge 1984, 2006, 2009a, 2009b; Gallay 2002; Goodwin 1977; Greene 1999; Hatley 1989, 1993, 2006; King 1977, 2007; Marcoux 2008; Martin 1994; Mason 1963, 2005; Meyers 2009; Riggs and Shumate 2003; Riggs et al. 1998; Schroedl 1978, 1986a, 1986b, 1994, 2000, 2001, 2009; Smith 1992, 2002; Waselkov 1989, 1994). By the mid-1700s, European traders and European trade goods were relatively common in Cherokee towns in northeastern Georgia, eastern Tennessee, and the western Carolinas. Before the mid-1600s, on the other hand, European trade goods and European colonists themselves were scarce in Cherokee country. This paper considers the early introduction of European trade goods in southwestern North Carolina, focusing primarily on artifacts from the Coweeta Creek site in the upper Little Tennessee Valley, and comparisons of this assemblage with trade goods from the Alarka and Tuckasegee sites (Figure 2) (Coe 1961; Davis et al. 1996; Dickens 1976,

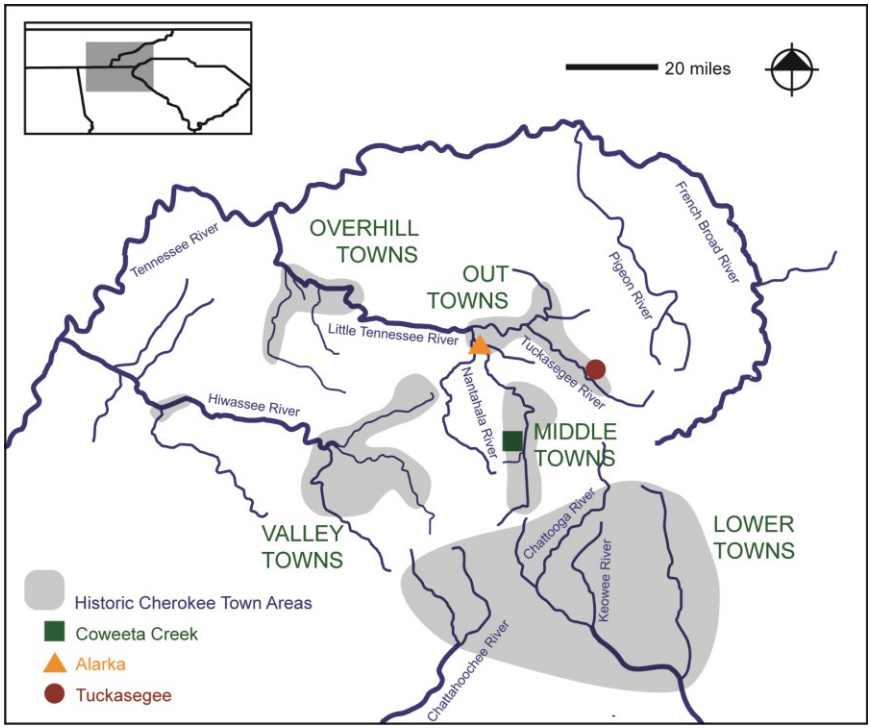

Figure 1. Historic Cherokee town areas in the southern Appalachians, and the locations of the Coweeta Creek, Alarka, and Tuckasegee sites in southwestern North Carolina.

1978, 1979, 1986; Egloff 1967; Egloff 1971; Keel 1976, 2002; Keel et al. 2002; Lambert 2000, 2001, 2002; Riggs and Rodning 2002; Rodning 1999, 2001a, 2001b, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2009a, 2009b; Rodning and VanDerwarker 2002; Shumate et al. 2005; VanDerwarker and Detwiler 2000, 2002; Ward 2002; Wilson and Rodning 2002). Unlike other areas in the Southeast that experienced cycles of settlement and abandonment—such as the Savannah and Etowah valleys (Anderson 1994; Anderson et al. 1986; Hally 1986; King 2003)—the Appalachian Summit experienced continuous settlement from late prehistory through the 1700s (Dickens 1978, 1979, 1986; Wynn 1990). Native towns in the Appalachian Summit were connected to trade and interaction networks with other groups in the Southeast, but native groups in the Appalachian Summit had only brief encounters with Spanish expeditions during the 1500s, and efforts at trade and diplomacy by Charles Town (founded in 1670) were concentrated in other areas of the Southeast during the 1600s and the first decade of the 1700s.

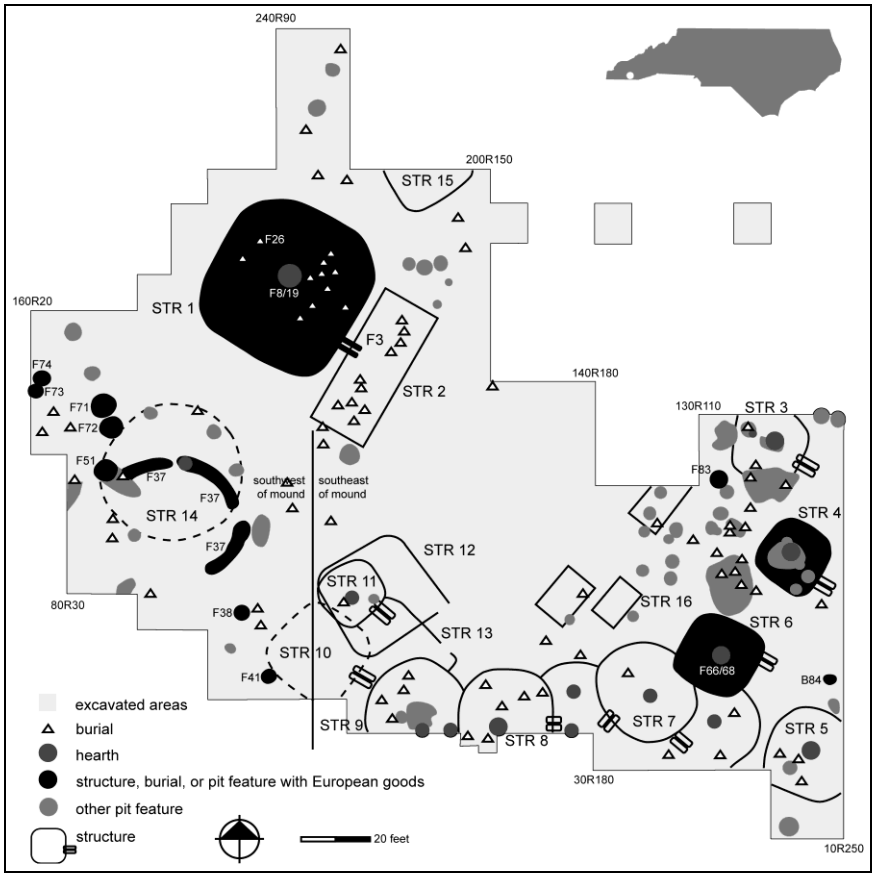

Figure 2. Spatial distribution of European trade goods at Coweeta Creek.

My primary interest in this study is the Coweeta Creek site, located in the area of the Middle Cherokee settlements, downstream from the confluence of Coweeta Creek and the Little Tennessee River. This site was the location of a relatively compact settlement with a public structure (known as a townhouse), town plaza, and domestic houses during the mid-to-late seventeenth century. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, a townhouse was still present at the site and still located in the same place as it had been since it was first built, but most or all of the domestic houses at the site had been abandoned. Tuckasegee is located along the Tuckasegee River within the area of the Cherokee Out towns (Dickens 1979; Duncan and Riggs 2003; Greene 1999; Keel 1976; Riggs et al. 1998; Riggs and Shumate 2003). Alarka is located

near the confluence of the Nantahala and Little Tennessee rivers (Shumate et al. 2005).

This paper specifically poses the following questions about the Coweeta Creek, Alarka, and Tuckasegee sites. What kinds of European trade goods are found at these sites? What was the source, or what were the sources, of the European trade goods that first found their way to the mountains of southwestern North Carolina? What is the spatial distribution of European trade goods at Coweeta Creek? And, what effects did the arrival of European trade goods have on native lifeways and the cultural landscape of southwestern North Carolina?

Some items derived from Spanish settlements in northern Florida circulated through Native American exchange networks during the seventeenth century (Waselkov 1989; Worth 2002), and trade relations between the Carolina colony[1] and native groups of the Southeast first developed after the founding of Charles Town in the late seventeenth century (Hatley 1993; Rothrock 1976). The first historically known trade agreements between Lower Cherokee towns and the Carolina colony date to 1684, and the first formal agreements between the Middle Cherokee towns and Carolina date to 1693 (Shumate et al. 2005:6.28-6.29). Very soon afterward, and probably even before the founding of Charles Town, trade goods and peaches had reached the Appalachian Summit, appearing not only at town sites like Coweeta Creek, but also at the mid-seventeenth-century Alarka farmstead and at Tuckasegee (Keel 1976; Shumate et al. 2005:6.15-6.47; Ward 2002). Even though Cherokee towns were situated in areas that were geographically remote from the major centers of European colonial activity in the 1500s and 1600s, the lives of Cherokee people and Cherokee towns were significantly affected by the presence of Europeans in the Southeast before the permanent presence of colonial traders and settlements in Cherokee country during the eighteenth century.

Ideas about the role of English and French trade goods in Creek towns and in native towns of the Mississippi Valley guide my thoughts about the significance of European trade goods from the Coweeta Creek site (Brown 1979, 1985, 1992; Knight 1985, 1994; Neitzel 1983, 1997; Waselkov 1992, 1993, 1994; Wesson 2008). Brown (1979, 1985) has noted that the Natchez, like other native groups of the Southeast, adapted French trade goods to their own interests and needs—they did not discard aboriginal cultural practices or material culture outright, and they

were selective consumers of trade goods (see also Bradley 1987; Tuck 1971:202-203). Knight (1985:169-183) has noted that early access to English trade goods by Creek towns did not greatly alter many aspects of Creek lifeways—people continued making traditional pottery and stone tools, and they continued building traditional forms of public and domestic architecture, but they adopted trade goods as material symbols of access to trade networks and the social relationships manifested in them (see also Gullov 1985; Kaplan 1985; Perttula 1993, 2002a, 2002b; Rogers 1990, 1993; Wesson 2008). Following Crane (1929), Knight (1985) demonstrates that people in Creek towns were first interested in European goods as symbols of wealth and status. The introduction of European trade goods began altering the Creek *political* economy in the sixteenth century, but it was only during the seventeenth century and later, when the stream of European goods became more steady, that these new forms of material culture began to alter Creek *domestic* economy.

Following these perspectives, my approach to understanding the European trade goods found at Coweeta Creek is based on the premise that changes within Native American societies of the Southeast were driven by *internal* decisions about trade and European goods, not just by the *external* imposition of new forms of material culture and new systems of value (Knight 1985; Wesson 1999, 2002, 2008). By the second half of the eighteenth century, the European trade networks in the colonial Southeast were so widespread, and European goods were so pervasive in Native American households and exchange networks, that Native American groups were immersed in—or, perhaps, dependent upon—these trade networks, and the forms of conflict and diplomacy created by them. Before that point, and certainly during the seventeenth century, native groups in the Southeast, including the Middle Cherokee town at Coweeta Creek, were active agents in trade with Europeans, pursuing their own agendas and their own interests, and because of the location and rugged mountain landscapes of Cherokee towns, they were less directly impacted by sixteenth-century Spanish expeditions and the warfare sparked by seventeenth-century English slave traders than were native towns closer to the Atlantic and Gulf coasts.

European Traders, Trade Goods, and Historic Cherokee Towns

> In the mountains, Carolina's westward growth could be impeded not only by French actions, but also by the undefined disposition of the Cherokees… However, the Cherokees were still to remain outside of the English trade

> network. Until the region-wide intercultural war [known as the Yamassee War] of 1715, most Carolina western trade was routed to the west overland across the Upper Creek Path and approached the Cherokees only along a spur off the main track. The English trading axis was south of the tribe, running west on the Upper Creek Path past broker towns at Chattahoochee and Savannah Town, and the Cherokee towns were not directly intersected on this route, even though they contributed to the flow of goods along it. From the perspective of early eighteenth-century Carolina, the Cherokees were a tribe which, unlike the Chickasaw, Creek, and Piedmont peoples, remained a relative unknown. The Virginians, colonial competitors of the Carolinians, who dominated the trade from the Catawba towns north along the Piedmont trading path, trafficked with the Cherokees indirectly, but the merchants of this colony were also largely out of direct contact with the Cherokees before 1715. However, for the French, the Cherokees were critical players in their hopes of empire, and, as in the past, the English coastal colonials shaped their own world partly out of the perceptions of their rival. [Tom Hatley 1993:21–22]

The establishment and rapid spread of the Carolina trade—through which Cherokee people could exchange deerskins for glass beads, metal tools, brass kettles, blankets, guns, and other items—dramatically altered life in Cherokee towns in the long run. Acknowledging earlier Cherokee interactions with sixteenth-century Spanish expeditions and seventeenth-century English colonists, Goodwin (1977:94–99) notes the dramatic increase in exchange between the Cherokee and Charles Town after 1715. Likewise acknowledging trade contacts between Creek towns and Spanish settlements in the early seventeenth century, Hahn (2002:82–83) argues that the Charles Town trade effectively created demand for English trade goods in Creek towns in the late seventeenth century, and that the Creek political economy had become dependent upon access to English trade goods by 1715. In an effort to better understand the probable source or sources of early European trade goods in southwestern North Carolina, and in an effort to better understand the effects of early access to these trade goods on Middle Cherokee groups, the following summary outlines developments in the history of European contact in the Southeast that likely affected Cherokee towns in the Appalachian Summit, even though Cherokee settlements were geographically distant from major centers of Spanish, French, and English colonial activity for much of the 1500s and 1600s.

Members of the Hernando de Soto (1539–1543) and Juan Pardo (1566–1568) expeditions did not travel through the areas where Cherokee towns were concentrated during the eighteenth century, but they probably did meet leaders from some Cherokee towns, and they may have visited some settlements of Cherokee speakers. In 1540, after

traveling through the provinces of Cofitachequi and Joara in the Carolina Piedmont, the Soto expedition crossed the Appalachians by following the courses of the Nolichucky and Toe rivers, en route to the provinces of Chiaha in eastern Tennessee and Coosa in northern Georgia (Beck 1997, 2009; DePratter 1994; Hally 1994a, 1994b; Hudson 1997:185–199; Sauer 1971; Smith 2000). Some of the places visited by Soto may have been Cherokee settlements, but even if they were, they were located at the northern edge of Cherokee territory, and for the most part along its route through the mountains, the Soto expedition traveled through deserted areas and wilderness. In 1567, members of the Juan Pardo expeditions visited a settlement known as Tocae, located between the towns of Joara (located at the Berry site in the upper Catawba Valley) and Cauchi (probably located along the French Broad River in the vicinity of modern Asheville) (Hudson 1997:193–194, 2005:94–101; Swanton 1946:110). At Cauchi, Pardo met chiefs from towns whose names are probably equivalent to the eighteenth-century Cherokee towns of Nequassee, Estatoe, and Kituwha. The leaders of many native towns in the southern Appalachians and Carolina Piedmont visited Pardo at Joara, including chiefs known in written accounts of the Pardo expeditions as "Xenaca Orata" and "Atuqui Orata," who are thought to have come from the towns of "Seneca" and "Taucoe," both of which are well-known eighteenth-century Cherokee towns. Other placenames recorded in the chronicles of the Soto and Pardo expeditions—including "Guasili" and "Canosaqui"—may represent Cherokee placenames. In any case, although Cherokee people probably did interact directly with sixteenth-century Spanish colonists, those sixteenth-century Spanish expeditions did not enter the core areas of Cherokee towns. After the Soto entrada and the Pardo expeditions, there were no recorded visits by European colonists to Cherokee towns for more than a century.

Although it is not known for sure if they visited Cherokee towns in eastern Tennessee, nor which specific towns they did visit, the English colonists James Needham and Gabriel Arthur did travel from Virginia to the general area of Cherokee towns in the southern Appalachians in the late seventeenth century, with an interest in expanding the trade networks of the Virginia colony (Alvord and Bidgood 1927:209–226; Crane 1929:15; Davis 1990:45–47; Schroedl 1986b:7; Shumate et al. 2005:6.29; Swanton 1946:111; Ward and Davis 1999:264; Williams 1928). The written account of the Needham and Arthur expedition of 1673 and 1674, by Abraham Wood, records the presence of guns and brass kettles in "Tomahitan" towns. Many authors consider these groups

to have been Overhill Cherokee towns, although Swanton (1922:184–191, 1946:212–215) and Bauxhar (1957a, 1957b:384–388) both equate the Tomahitans with the Yuchi rather than the Cherokee. Whether the Tomahitans were Cherokees or Yuchis, or Creeks, these settlements were located in eastern Tennessee or close by, and Needham and Arthur participated in raids with Tomahitan warriors on Spanish colonial settlements, hundreds of miles away, near the Gulf or Atlantic coasts. These Spanish settlements are the likely sources of the guns and kettles that Needham and Arthur saw in the Tomahitan towns. The guns and brass kettles may have been acquired by the Tomahitans during raids on Spanish settlements, or through trade with Spanish colonists (Waselkov 1989:117). After having routed French colonists and outposts along the South Atlantic coast, and having established St. Augustine and Santa Elena, Spanish colonists quickly resumed the deerskin and hide trade begun by the French, and it is possible that Cherokee groups either participated in this trade themselves, or acquired Spanish trade goods after they had circulated through aboriginal exchange networks. The Charles Town physician, Henry Woodward, is widely credited for starting the English deerskin trade after the founding of the Carolina colony in 1670, but he had been a captive at St. Augustine for several years before 1670, and he may have witnessed some of the practices by which Spanish colonists traded with native groups (Waselkov 1989:129). Thus there are many scenarios by which Cherokee towns in the southern Appalachians may have had at least some access to guns, metals, blankets, and glass beads during the mid-to-late seventeenth century.

At about the same time as Needham and Arthur first reached eastern Tennessee in 1673, French colonists Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet, traveling south along the Mississippi River had reached western Tennessee, where they found that native groups already had guns, glass beads, glass bottles, metal axes, metal hoes, and metal knives, and in 1682, La Salle recognized that native groups in the Mississippi Valley had acquired these trade goods from the Carolina colony (Rothrock 1976:22; Sauer 1980:139–141; Shumate et al. 2005:6.33). Much later, in the mid-eighteenth century, French colonists did attempt to form trade relations with Cherokee towns, and some people within Cherokee towns favored such trade relations, instead of or in addition to trade with the English (Baden 1983:12-15; Hatley 1993; Schroedl 1986:10-11). Notwithstanding efforts by French colonists to form trade relations with Cherokee towns, French trade networks were more prevalent in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama than they ever were in the southern

Appalachians (Brown 1989, 1992; Waselkov 1992, 1993; Wesson 2008:78). For much of the eighteenth century, the major trade partners of Cherokee towns were affiliated with the South Carolina colony, centered at Charles Town. The interests of the South Carolina colony in this trade were driven in part by efforts to maintain alliances with the Cherokee and other native groups in competing with French and Spanish claims to the American South. During the course of the eighteenth century, there were significant tensions between Cherokee towns and South Carolina, and between Cherokee towns and Creek towns (Baden 1983; Russ and Chapman 1983; Schroedl 1986b, 2000, 2001). Many Upper Creek and Lower Creek towns had close ties to French and Spanish colonists and settlements, in addition to trade relations with the Carolina colony, and these webs of alliances contributed to conflicts that developed between Cherokee and Creek towns during the eighteenth century (Braund 1993; Hahn 2002, 2004; Waselkov and Smith 2000; Wesson 2008; Worth 2000, 2009).

Between roughly 1670 and 1715, as many as 30,000 to 50,000 Native Americans in the Southeast were enslaved by English colonists, and often were sent to the West Indies (Gallay 2002:298–299; Martin 1994). Other native people were probably enslaved by Spanish colonists during preceding eras. It is difficult to determine how many of these slaves were Cherokees, but there must have been many of them, and Cherokee town leaders did seek a treaty with Carolina as a result of wars against them waged by Westo warriors in the late seventeenth century (Gallay 2002:56).

Although never known as slave raiders in the same sense as the Westo, Cherokee warriors did participate in raids on Native American groups to capture slaves as well. In 1708, Thomas Nairne, the new Indian agent for the Carolina colony, reported an incident in which Cherokee warriors participated in raids led by an outlaw English trader on native towns allied with Charles Town, resulting in the capture of dozens of slaves, and the killing of many other people (Gallay 2002:219–220). In 1714, probably as part of a plot by Carolina traders Eleazer Wiggan and Alexander Longe to claim a debt and to purchase slaves relatively cheaply, Cherokee warriors attacked and devastated the Yuchi town of Chestowee, located to the west of the Middle Cherokee settlements (Gallay 2002:319–322).

During the 1680s and 1690s, French Canadian *coureurs de bois* began edging towards the western border of Carolina, by way of the Mississippi, Ohio, and Tennessee river valleys (Crane 1916). Very strict rules in New France in the late seventeenth century about unlicensed trading encouraged many French traders to conduct trade in English outposts and ports, where trading activities were less carefully scrutinized and violations were less severely punished (Crane 1916:6). French exploration and activity in the Tennessee and Ohio valleys concerned English colonial leaders along the Atlantic seaboard, although the prospects of French trade diverted away from Canada and Louisiana were sources of even greater concern for French colonial authorities, especially because there already were trade relations between South Carolina and Chickasaw towns in Mississippi by the late seventeenth century (Johnson 2000:90; Johnson et al. 2008; Rothrock 1976:22). By 1694, French traders in Illinois were concerned about the advance of English colonists inland from the Atlantic, and, specifically, they were concerned about the presence of traders from Carolina in Cherokee towns at or near the headwaters of the Tennessee River (Crane 1918:5; Rothrock 1976:22). In 1700, the French outlaw Jean Couture, later known to English colonists along the Carolina frontier as the greatest trader and traveler in Indian country, defected from New France (Crane 1918:6; Hatley 1993:21). Couture traveled from Illinois to South Carolina by way of the Ohio and Tennessee rivers in 1700, and he led English colonists down the Tennessee to the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Responding to this threat upon French claims to the midcontinent, in 1701, French *coureurs de bois* traveled up the Tennessee and Hiwassee rivers, and they crossed from there to the headwaters of the Savannah to reach South Carolina, and, eventually, Charles Town for trade talks with English colonists. Crane (1918:6–7) argues that Couture is just one example of several French colonists who defected to English provinces and who became involved in the Indian trade as independent traders. Hatley (1993:22–23) notes that French transports along the Mississippi and Ohio rivers suffered from Cherokee raids during the early eighteenth century. These developments underscore the significance of the southern Appalachians to the colonial rivalry between England and France in the 1600s and 1700s, and it seems prudent to presume that Cherokee towns recognized this rivalry and the possibilities it created for the Cherokee to assert themselves and their interests (or not) in trade. For all of these reasons, the French are possible sources by which European trade goods reached Cherokee towns, as early as the late seventeenth century, and throughout the eighteenth century.

During his 1674 visit to the newly settled Westo towns along the Savannah River, not far from Charles Town, Henry Woodward learned about the presence of Cherokee towns in the mountains, near the Savannah headwaters (Hatley 1993:17). In 1684, the Cherokee sought out and signed a treaty with the South Carolina colony, in response to Westo raids and slave trading activities (Hatley 1993:17–18). In 1690, James Moore led an expedition to form trade relations with Cherokee towns, but he instead became distracted by prospecting activities, and he actually created some conflict with Cherokee towns (Hatley 1993:20–21). By 1707, Carolina formally began to regulate trade activities and to assign licenses to traders, and nine years later, given the strategic significance of trade and alliances with Native American groups on the colonial frontier, Carolina appointed its first Superintendent of Indian Trade, George Chicken (Schroedl 1986b:7–8). Eleazar Wiggan began living at Tanasee as a resident trader in 1711, and he accompanied Chicken and Colonel John Herbert on a diplomatic visit to Middle and Valley towns in 1715 to enlist the help of Cherokee towns in the Yamassee War, which pitted Carolina colonists and their native allies against Yamasees, Creeks, and French (Schroedl 1986b:8). Chicken and Wiggan again sought a continued Overhill Cherokee alliance with South Carolina in 1725, through visits to Overhill Cherokee towns, and in 1727, newly appointed Superintendent John Herbert revisited Lower, Middle, Valley, and Overhill settlements to recruit Cherokee warriors to participate in English raids on hostile Lower Creek towns (Schroedl 1986b:9). In 1730, Scottish baronet Sir Alexander Cuming visited Cherokee towns in an effort—apparently successful—to convince the Cherokee to swear allegiance to the king of England (Schroedl 1986b:9; Williams 1930).

Not only was there a rivalry between English and French colonists for favorable trade relations with Creek and Cherokee towns, but there was a rivalry between Virginia and Carolina as well (Corkran 1962:50–84; Crane 1929:154–157; Hatley 1993:38, 41, 71). Just as there were trails connecting Charles Town with Cherokee settlements, there were trails connecting colonial settlements in Virginia to the upper Tennessee Valley and to the Overhill Cherokee settlements in eastern Tennessee. Before Fort Loudon was built in 1756 by South Carolina colonists near the Overhill Cherokee settlement of Tuskegee, the Virginia colony had attempted in 1754 to build its own fort near Chota, at the urging of leaders from that town. The leaders of Cherokee towns played the interests of Virginia and Carolina against each other, just as they

threatened English colonists with the possibility of diplomacy and trade with the French (Hatley 1993:92). Following the construction of Fort Prince George and Keowee in 1753, and following the Saluda Conference between Cherokee town leaders and James Glen, governor of South Carolina, in 1755, one of the leaders of the Middle Cherokee town of Joree wrote to the governor to remind him that there were, in fact, Middle Cherokee towns, not just Overhill and Lower settlements (Hatley 1993:93). As early as 1698, in fact, the Carolina colony had attempted to prohibit Virginia from trading within the province of Carolina (Hatley 1993:34). Before the attempted establishment of centralized trading posts in Cherokee settlements after the Yamassee War, many independent traders from both Virginia and Carolina had been living in Cherokee towns (Rothrock 1976:21).

At the beginning of the English deerskin trade in southeastern North America in the late 1600s and early 1700s, the Carolina colony concentrated primarily on exchange with Creek and Chickasaw towns rather than with Cherokee towns. For much of the 1500s and 1600s, the Lower Creek towns in the Chattahoochee and Apalachicola valleys had traded with Spanish colonists in Florida and, in response to the threat posed by the establishment of Charles Town and the English colony of Carolina, the Spanish built a small outpost on the Chattahoochee River in 1690 (Waselkov 1994:190–191; Worth 2000, 2002). Many Lower Creek towns left the Chattahoochee and moved to new settlements along the Ocmulgee and Oconee rivers in Georgia, and an English trading post—known to archaeologists as the Macon Trading House—was established near those Lower Creek settlements on the Ocmulgee River (Mason 1963, 2005; Waselkov 1994:191–192). Even though the English deerskin trade with Cherokee towns was not well established until after 1715, native groups in the interior Southeast would have developed some familiarity with colonial trade and trade goods in the seventeenth century, both from early English trade, and from the period of Spanish exploration and trade that preceded it. The locations of Cherokee towns are between roughly 150 and 275 miles north and northwest of the Macon Trading House and, given the apparent participation of Needham and Arthur in Cherokee raids on coastal Spanish settlements in the late 1600s (Davis 1990:47), the participation of some Cherokee warriors in slave raids led by Thomas Nairne and James Moore on Spanish mission settlements in Florida in the early 1700s (Hatley 1993:25), and the number of visits by Cherokee leaders to Charles Town and to Virginia

settlements, it is relatively easy to imagine Cherokee towns having some access to English trade goods circulating through Macon.

Cherokee towns did not just trade with English colonists, of course, and they also fought with them and against them. As early as 1680, some Cherokee warriors apparently participated in English raids on Spanish mission settlements, and the Cherokee fought on the side of North Carolina in the Tuscarora War in 1711 and 1712 (Crane 1929:17; Hatley 1993:23–25). After deliberation and some dissent, most Cherokee towns sided with South Carolina in the 1715 uprising known as the Yamassee War (Hatley 1993:26–27). That year, several Creek headmen traveled to the Lower Cherokee town of Tugalo, seeking an alliance with the Cherokee against the English soldiers stationed in Lower Cherokee settlements, but the Creek headmen were killed by the Cherokee (Corkran 1967:59–60; Crane 1929:182–183; Hahn 2004:87–90). The massacre at Tugalo was seen by South Carolina as a sign of Cherokee loyalty to the English, but it contributed to tensions between Cherokees and Creeks that simmered for several decades, and that periodically erupted in warfare between them (Corkran 1962:20–24, 35–37; Crane 1929:259–260, 266–270; Goodwin 1977:102–103; Hahn 2004:87–88; Hatley 1993:156–159).

Following the end of the Yamasee War in 1717, and the apparent alliance formed between Carolina and the Cherokee against hostile Creek towns, traders from many different places entered Cherokee country, including English traders from Carolina and Virginia, and French traders from the Tennessee Valley (Hatley 1993:34–35). Colonial authorities in Charles Town mandated that gunpowder and gunflints be distributed to the Cherokee so that these new allies of the Carolina colony could wage war against the Creeks (Hatley 1993:34–35). The raids envisioned by Carolinians did not take place, although there were several wars between Cherokee and Creek towns during the eighteenth century, and trade goods did begin flowing west to Cherokee towns in much greater amounts than they had before (Goodwin 1977:94–99).

Seeking to end the widespread practice of independent traders living in Cherokee settlements, the government of Carolina launched plans to establish forts to which the Cherokee could travel for trade, and they then installed licensed traders in selected Cherokee towns (Hatley 1993:35–39; Hill 1997:56–57). The major trading post of Fort Moore was established in 1718 at Savannah Town, on the Savannah River, and in

1720 another English trading post was established at the Congarees (Rothrock 1976:23). Fort Moore was commanded by Theophilus Hastings and his assistants, and it was the major center for trade with Overhill Cherokee towns. Charles Town merchants sent trade goods to Fort Moore for resident agents to exchange for deerskins and slaves brought to the fort by the Overhill Cherokee themselves. The volume of materials exchanged in this trade arrangement was considerable, and soon after the establishment of Fort Moore, Hastings dispatched assistants to establish trading houses within the Cherokee towns of Keowee, Tugalo, Quanassee, Cowee, Tellico, and Tanasee, thereby placing English traders directly within the Lower, Middle, Valley, and Overhill settlements. At about this time, the Charles Town trader Cornelius Daugherty was also living in the Middle or Valley settlements (Rothrock 1976:22). There is some indication from documentary sources that native people were expected to participate in building trading houses in native towns, and that Cherokee and Creek towns did indeed participate in building these houses, given the interest by both Cherokee and Creek towns in having access to English traders and trade goods (Mason 2005:32–33). Documentary and archaeological evidence indicates that some of the trading houses built in Cherokee and Creek settlements after the Yamassee War were enclosed by log stockades and moats (Mason 2005:31–46).

Vast numbers of deerskins and Native American slaves were shipped out of Charles Town every year, beginning at the dawn of the eighteenth century, and while both Cherokees and Creeks were sources of these skins and slaves, the Cherokee became very much immersed in trade with Carolina during the 1720s and 1730s (Axtell 1997; Braund 1993; Gallay 2002; Goodwin 1977; Hatley 1993; Martin 1994). By this point, an entire generation of Cherokee people had come of age in the midst of Cherokee interaction with French and English explorers and traders. Traders from South Carolina had, early on, focused on the profitable exchange with Creek and Chickasaw towns, and the Virginia trade concentrated primarily on exchange with the Catawbas and other Native American groups in the Piedmont province of Virginia and the Carolinas (Crane 1918; Merrell 1984, 1987, 1989, 2006; Rothrock 1976). After the Yamassee War and the scary prospect that Cherokee towns could ally themselves with Native American towns that were hostile to the interests of South Carolina, it was clear to Charles Town that favorable relations with the Cherokee were critical to the prosperity of the Carolina colony (Hatley 1993:27). Soon afterward, traders and trade

goods became widespread and commonplace in Cherokee country, as did the interest of Cherokee towns in this trade (Rothrock 1976:24). From 1699 to 1715, native groups in Carolina supplied Charles Town with an average of 54,000 deerskins per year (Axtell 2001:107; Crane 1929:111). From 1740 to 1762, this average had risen to some 152,000 per year; some 160,000 deerskins were exported to England in 1747–1748; and in 1751 alone, it was estimated that Cherokee hunters contributed 100,000 pounds of deerskins to the Charles Town trade (Axtell 2001:107; Crane 1929:112; Goodwin 1977:98). It is more difficult to quantify the amounts of trade goods that circulated within Cherokee towns at different points during the eighteenth century, but those amounts must have been considerable, given the sustained Cherokee interest in the trade and the numbers of deerskins received by English traders. Gifts given to some Cherokee town leaders—and items purchased by Cherokees with deerskins from Carolina traders—include guns, gunflints, lead shot, cloth, blankets, coats, shirts, iron nails, cutting tools, hatchets, knives, axes, hoes, scissors, salt, and glass beads.

At different points during the 1740s and 1750s, different Cherokee towns, and different factions within Cherokee towns, alternately favored trade and diplomatic relations with the English or the French, and they alternately sought support from and trade with Virginia and Carolina (Baden 1983:10–15; Corkran 1962; Hatley 1993:67–104). Many attacks on Cherokee towns were launched by native groups allied with the French, including Iroquoian groups from the north, and Creek towns from the south. Cherokee groups who favored alliances with the French sought to undermine the authority and stability of Cherokee towns and Cherokee leaders who favored the English. Cherokee towns that had been attacked by allies of the French grew disenchanted with the English, and particularly with Charles Town, when they received little help in the aftermath of those attacks. On the other hand, neither French traders nor the Virginia colony succeeded in building forts beside Cherokee settlements, nor did they supply Cherokee towns with desired amounts of trade goods, and, therefore, many Cherokee leaders persisted in trade and diplomacy with Charles Town.

The landscape of Cherokee towns changed dramatically in the 1750s, following years of French-sponsored attacks by Creek warriors on Cherokee towns, especially in the Lower and Valley settlements (Baden 1983:12–20). Following these attacks, and in the absence of decisive protection and support from Charles Town, many residents of Lower and

Valley towns moved to the areas of the Middle and Overhill settlements. There were similar movements of Cherokee people and entire Cherokee towns in the aftermath of raids on the Middle and Out towns by South Carolina militias in 1760 and 1761, when many displaced people from these towns moved to the Overhill and Valley settlements.

The English outpost of Fort Prince George was built in 1753, across the Keowee River from the Lower Cherokee town of Keowee, and it was the principal trading post in the Lower Cherokee settlements. The fort was located along the major trading path connecting Charles Town and Fort Moore to Cherokee town areas near the headwaters of the Savannah River (Hatley 1993). From the town of Keowee, one branch of the trading path continued towards the town of Tugalo, and then to the Valley and Overhill settlements (Crane 1929:129–130), and another path led to Chattooga and the Middle Cherokee towns (Crane 1929:130–131). These paths had been part of the cultural landscape for as long as European colonists had been visiting Cherokee towns, and they probably had considerable antiquity. Another major trading post had been established in the early eighteenth century at Tugalo (Crane 1929:129), which English trader George Chicken described as one of the most ancient of the Lower Cherokee towns (Mereness 1916:145).

Fort Loudon was built by the South Carolina colony in 1756, in the lower Little Tennessee Valley, close to Tuskegee and five miles downstream from the major Overhill Cherokee town of Chota, and Captain Raymond Demere was installed as commander of the fort. Efforts by the Virginia colony to establish a fort across the Little Tennessee River from Chota had been unsuccessful, and Overhill Cherokee town leaders were eager to have a fort built. Governor James Glen of South Carolina considered the construction of a fort in the Lower Cherokee settlements, and setting the stage for the construction of a fort in the Overhill Cherokee settlements, as significant accomplishments and major components of his approach towards diplomacy with Cherokee towns and settlement of the Carolina frontier. From the perspective of the South Carolina colony, the fort helped to preserve the alliance between the Cherokee and the English against the French and Native American groups allied to French during the French and Indian War (Hatley 1993:92–99). Responding to attacks by Virginia colonists, warriors from Citico attacked English traders and settlers on the Carolina frontier in 1759, and after seeking to make amends in Charles Town with Governor William Henry Lyttleton, the Overhill Cherokee leader,

Oconostota, and others traveling with him were taken hostage and were marched to Fort Prince George (Baden 1983:15–16). Several hostages were released upon arrival at Fort Prince George, and, soon, another Overhill Cherokee leader, Attakullakulla, successfully negotiated the release of Oconostota and several other hostages. Lyttleton lost control of his forces at Fort Prince George, across the river from Keowee, and most of his soldiers deserted and marched back to Charles Town when discontent and the threat of smallpox and other diseases had mounted. Violence erupted again in 1760, and after the murders of more English settlers in Cherokee country and an ambush on English soldiers at Fort Prince George, other Cherokee hostages at the fort were killed. These developments prompted the Cherokee warrior, Ostenaco, to place Fort Loudon under siege, and several months later, Oconostota himself began another siege of Fort Loudon.

Given the threat posed by Cherokee warriors surrounding Fort Loudon, the governor of South Carolina dispatched an expedition led by Colonel Archibald Montgomery to attack the Lower Cherokee settlements in 1760 (Hatley 1993:129–132; Rogers 2009; Schroedl 1986b:12). After burning several towns, they were supposed to have relieved Fort Loudon, but, instead, given the costs of the battle between Cherokee warriors and militiamen at Echoee, they went back to Charles Town. Colonel William Byrd led an expedition from Virginia to relieve Fort Loudon, but they were not successful, and Fort Loudon was then captured by the Cherokee (Schroedl 1986b:12).

After the capture of Fort Loudon, several Cherokee leaders sought peace with South Carolina, but South Carolina opted instead to attack, and Colonel James Grant led an expedition against the Middle Cherokee towns in 1761 (Baden 1983:16; Hatley 1993:131–140; King and Evans 1977; Rogers 2009; Russ and Chapman 1983:18). Several towns and fields were burned, and many people moved from southwestern North Carolina to the Overhill Cherokee settlements. Many had vacated settlements before the Grant expedition reached them, but one major battle took place at the Middle Cherokee settlement of Echoee, located between the locations of the town of Nequassee and the Coweeta Creek site (Duncan and Riggs 2003:20; Hatley 1993:138–139; Waselkov and Braund 1995:76).

Throughout the eighteenth century, conflicts between the Cherokee and South Carolina arose largely out of trade relations, and, predictably,

there was greater tension between the Cherokee and South Carolina than between Cherokee towns and the Virginia colony. As evident from the Needham and Arthur expedition, Virginia had attempted in the late seventeenth century to develop trade relations with Cherokee towns, in addition to trade relations with groups in the North Carolina and Virginia Piedmont, but this effort proved unsuccessful. There were some Virginia traders in Cherokee towns during the eighteenth century, but not as many as there were from South Carolina (Hatley 1993:34). Much later, in 1756, the governor of Virginia dispatched an expedition to build a fort in the Overhill Cherokee settlements, in an effort to protect Cherokee towns from the French and native groups allied to the French (Baden 1983:14–15; Corkran 1962:82; Schroedl 1986b:11). The fort—known simply as the "Virginia Fort"—was built but never garrisoned. After the Grant expedition of 1761, and the devastation of many Cherokee towns in southwestern North Carolina, peace was made in September 1761 between the South Carolina colony and the Cherokee through a treaty signed at Charles Town, and a peace was made in November 1761 between Virginia and the Cherokee at the Great Island on the Holston River in northeastern Tennessee (Baden 1983:15–16; Corkran 1962:255; Goodwin 1977:105–106; King and Evans 1977; Mooney 1900:44–45; Russ and Chapman 1983:16–19; Schroedl 1986b:12). Following these agreements, Lieutenant Henry Timberlake traveled to the Overhill Cherokee settlements in 1761, and he stayed there through 1762 (Chapman 1985, 2009; King 2007; Schroedl 1986b:12; Williams 1927). Leaders from several Cherokee towns did indeed travel to Virginia settlements for diplomatic negotiations during the mid-eighteenth century, some Virginia traders were in Cherokee towns during the eighteenth century, and several Cherokee community leaders supported trade relations with English colonists from South Carolina and/or Virginia, knowing that French traders could not or would not supply the same amounts of trade goods as English traders would. These connections between the Virginia colony and Cherokee towns—beginning with Needham and Arthur's expedition and continuing through the unmanned and abandoned fort and Timberlake's diplomatic visit—never generated a stream of trade goods at a scale comparable to the Cherokee trade with Charles Town and the South Carolina colony.

Cherokee towns rebounded from the devastating effects of the 1760–1761 Montgomery and Grant expeditions. After the Montgomery expedition, many Cherokee people moved from the Lower settlements to the Middle and Out town areas. After the Grant expedition, many

people—and whole towns—moved to the Overhill settlements in eastern Tennessee, where Timberlake found them in 1762. Still, when William Bartram visited the Lower and Middle town areas in 1775, there were many thriving Middle Cherokee settlements in the upper Little Tennessee Valley. While traveling through Lower Cherokee settlements, Bartram noticed several abandoned settlements, and somewhere between the Lower towns and Middle towns, his path took him past an earthen mound, on which stood the ruins of an abandoned townhouse, apparently enclosed by an earthen embankment.

During the late 1770s, after devastating attacks by anti-British colonial militias during the American Revolution, many Cherokee settlements were abandoned, and the social fabric of many Cherokee communities was torn apart (Baden 1983:16–17). Major Andrew Williamson burned the abandoned Lower Cherokee settlements in 1776, and his forces combined with those of General Griffith Rutherford to attack the Middle and Valley settlements (Dickens 1967). Colonel William Christian led Virginia militiamen to the Overhill Cherokee settlements in 1776, and they found that many settlements had been abandoned (Russ and Chapman 1983:18–19). Christian conducted peace talks with many Cherokee leaders, including the very influential Oconostota and Attakullakulla, but Dragging Canoe (the son of Attakullakulla) and his followers did not participate. Angered by the removal of Dragging Canoe and his violence towards American settlers, Christian burned five Overhill Cherokee settlements—Tellico, Chilhowee, Citico, Mialoquo, and Toqua—and the fields surrounding them.

Throughout the 1700s, trade, diplomacy, and conflict affected and were affected by the relative statuses of Cherokee towns and Cherokee leaders (Schroedl 1986b:5–16). Among the Lower Cherokee settlements, the town of Keowee was especially influential, and, arguably, this status, and its location along major trails, led to its selection as the site of Fort Prince George. Among the Overhill Cherokee settlements, the town of Great Tellico and its leaders were prevalent in the early-to-mid eighteenth century, but the most influential Overhill Cherokee leaders of the mid-eighteenth century were members of the Tanasee community, and, then, Chota emerged as the primary Cherokee town in eastern Tennessee. The leader of Great Tellico, Moytoy, was formally declared the foremost leader of the Cherokee towns during meetings between Cherokee elders and Sir Alexander

Cuming in 1730, and after Moytoy's death in 1741, his leadership title was nominally inherited by Moytoy's young son, Amouscousittee, although the center of power in Cherokee country soon shifted to the town of Tanasee. Old Hop, the leader of Chota, began consolidating power during the 1740s, and by the 1750s, Chota was the more dominant town. Standing Turkey, the nephew of Old Hop, succeeded his uncle as the principal chief of the Overhill Cherokee towns in 1760. Attakullakulla soon displaced Standing Turkey as the major leader of Chota and the Overhill Cherokee towns, and Oconostota succeeded Attakullakulla, his cousin, as the principal chief of the Overhill Cherokee towns after the death of Attakullakulla in 1775. Attakullakulla is also notable as the father of Tsiyugunsini, or Dragging Canoe, the Cherokee war leader who was the chief of Mialoquo and who in 1777 led many people from the Overhill towns south to form the Chickamauga towns, near Chattanooga, after Attakullakulla and Oconostota sought peace with American colonies in the aftermath of militia attacks on Cherokee towns in 1776. In 1782, American colonial militias led by John Sevier and Arthur Campbell destroyed Chota and nine other Overhill Cherokee settlements (Mooney 1900:58). By 1782, Old Tassel had succeeded Oconostota as principal chief of the Overhill Cherokee towns, at which point Gearing (1962:103) concludes that Toqua may have become the major Overhill town, although Mooney (1900:60) argues that Chota continued its status as the capital town of the Overhill settlements (Schroedl 1986b:13). In 1788, Hanging Maw replaced Old Tassel as (the last) principal chief of the Overhill towns (Schroedl 1986b:14). Around 1788, the new Cherokee capital was established at Ustanali, on the Coosawattee River, in northern Georgia, and at this point, if not before, the traditional structure of towns and town divisions had given way to an emerging sense of broader Cherokee tribal identity (Schroedl 1986b:15).

More is known about the geopolitical history of Overhill Cherokee towns and town leaders than the geopolitical history of other Cherokee town areas for several reasons. First, traders and diplomats from Carolina and Virginia emphasized exchange and interaction with the Overhill Cherokee settlements, and there has been less study by historians and archaeologists of eighteenth-century Cherokee towns in the Middle, Valley, and Out town areas (but see Greene 1999; Mereness 1916; Mooney 1900). Second, trading paths linking the Overhill Cherokee settlements to Carolina and Virginia largely bypassed the Middle and Out towns. Third, although people were still living in the Lower Cherokee settlements in the mid-to-late eighteenth century, many

people from those areas, and in some cases, entire Lower Cherokee towns, had moved to the Middle, Valley, and Overhill settlements in the aftermath of raids by Creek warriors in the early eighteenth century. Meanwhile, whereas Lower Cherokee towns such as Keowee and Tugalo were widely known as prosperous and powerful towns (which were favorably positioned along trading paths connecting them to Charles Town) during the early eighteenth century, they were largely eclipsed in these respects by Overhill Cherokee towns during the mid-eighteenth century (Goodwin 1977:115–116).

Trade relations and diplomacy in the Overhill Cherokee towns, of course, are not the entirety of the Cherokee experience of European contact in the Southeast. Spanish expeditions largely bypassed the areas where Cherokee towns were located, but the presence of Spanish colonists in La Florida during the 1500s and the circulation of Spanish trade goods through aboriginal exchange networks during the 1600s must have had some effect on the fortunes and interests of Cherokee towns (Beck 1997; Beck et al. 2006; Booker et al. 1992; Hudson 1997, 2005; Levy et al. 1990; Moore 2002; Moore et al. 2005; Waselkov 1989). Although the numbers of Cherokee people and towns directly affected by the Native American slave trade in the seventeenth century is not well known, the slave trade—and the new forms of raiding and alliances that developed with it—dramatically reshaped the geopolitical landscape of eastern North America during the seventeenth century (Bowne 2000, 2005, 2006; Ethridge 1984, 2006; Gallay 2002; Martin 1994; Milner et al. 2001; Smith 1994, 2001, 2002). Compounding other sources of instability in Cherokee towns were several smallpox epidemics, possibly as early as the last decade of the seventeenth century, then in 1738–1739, in 1761, and in 1783–1784 (Kelton 2002, 2007, 2009; Schroedl 1986b:15). Much of the Cherokee interaction with French and English colonists centered on trade, but there were several attempts to establish Christian missions in Cherokee country during the eighteenth century, notably in 1758 with the attempted establishment of a mission at Chota, and the arrival of missionaries in the Overhill settlements in 1765 and again in 1784 (Schroedl 1986b:15).

As the foregoing summary indicates, there were several forms of interaction between Cherokee groups and European colonists in the Southeast from the 1500s through the 1700s, all of which have implications for understanding the nature of Cherokee interest in and access to colonial trade goods. Cherokee towns were largely bypassed

by Spanish expeditions during the sixteenth century, but it is possible that Cherokee people had some access to Spanish goods through direct acquisition, through down-the-line trade (Waselkov 1989), or both, and Cherokee and other groups in the Southeast adopted peaches relatively soon after they were first introduced to the Southeast by Spanish colonists in the sixteenth century. Cherokee towns probably were impacted by the colonial slave trade during the seventeenth century (Ethridge 2006, 2009a, 2009b; Gallay 2002; Martin 1994), although the extent of the participation of Cherokee groups in the slave trade is not well known. By the late 1600s, colonial traders from Virginia and Carolina began making visits to Cherokee settlements. During the second decade of the 1700s, traders and trading posts became permanent fixtures at Cherokee settlements. From that point forward, the Cherokee became entangled in trade, diplomatic relations, and conflicts with the Carolina colony, the Virginia colony, with French colonists, and with native allies of the French in the Southeast and Midwest. By the middle of the eighteenth century, forts were established in Cherokee settlements—as a means of forming alliances—but, meanwhile, colonial militias began a series of attacks on Cherokee towns and fields.

Interactions between Cherokee towns and European colonists during the 1500s and 1600s can best be characterized as "indirect contact" (see Ethridge 2006; Smith 1987:23–27; Waselkov 1989). There were some encounters between European colonists and Cherokee people, but they were brief, and they probably did not take place in the core areas where Cherokee towns were located in the eighteenth century. At least some European trade goods probably reached Cherokee towns, but only by way of aboriginal exchange networks that connected the southern Appalachians with distant colonial settlements in coastal provinces and perhaps through raids on those settlements, like the one in which Needham and Arthur participated.

By contrast, interactions between Cherokee towns and European colonists during the eighteenth century can be described as "direct contact" (see Smith 1987:23–27). By the first decade of the 1700s, if not the last decade of the 1600s, Carolina and Virginia traders resided in Cherokee towns, and soon afterward, formal trade agents were installed within selected Cherokee towns. Trade with the English, trade talks with the French, and conflicts with Charles Town and with Creek towns contributed to considerable instability in Cherokee towns during the

early 1700s, and by the 1760s, the deerskin trade—once lucrative for both the Cherokee and for Charles Town—had run its course.

All of these forms of direct and indirect contact are possible sources of European goods found at Cherokee settlements in the Appalachian Summit province of southwestern North Carolina. I think the most likely source is English colonists. English trade goods are known to have reached Creek towns by the early 1600s and Chickasaw towns by the late 1600s. A trading post was established at Macon Plateau, on the Ocmulgee River, in the late seventeenth century. There is little in the written record about the Cherokee until Henry Woodward learned about them during his visit to Westo settlements along the Savannah River, but the Cherokee could have had access to Spanish or English goods throughout the seventeenth century, if they had desired it.

During the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the major trading path linking Cherokee towns to the Carolina colony led from Charles Town west to the Savannah River, then northwest to the Savannah River headwaters and the Lower Cherokee settlements (Crane 1929:129–131). At Savannah River, one trail led west towards the Ogeechee and Oconee rivers, and the Creek town settlements farther to the west on the Ocmulgee and Chattahoochee rivers (Crane 1929:133–135; Mason 2005:21–22, 27–29, 43–44). The path to the Cherokee settlements, of course, ran northwest along the Savannah River, and at the settlement and fort known as Congaree, different trails led either northward to the Catawba towns on the Catawba and Wateree rivers, or northwest towards the Lower Cherokee settlements on the Tugalo and Keowee rivers (Crane 1929:129). One path to the Cherokee settlements led to the town of Tugalo, located on the eponymous river in northeastern Georgia and close to other large settlements such as Estatoe and Chauga (Crane 1929:129). Past the Lower Cherokee settlements, this trail continued westward to Cherokee frontier towns on the headwaters of the Chattahoochee, including Nacoochee and Echota, and then into the mountains and the area of the Valley towns along the upper Hiwassee River in southwestern North Carolina (Crane 1929:130; Mooney 1900:87). Another path from Congaree to the Cherokee settlements instead led to Keowee, then to Old Keowee, Tomassee, Oconee, Chattooga, Tuckaretchee, Stecoe,[2] and then through Rabun Gap to the Middle Cherokee settlements in the upper Little Tennessee Valley (Crane 1929:130). This entrance into the upper Little Tennessee Valley probably went through or close to the Dillard mound site, just south of

the border between Rabun County, Georgia, and Macon County, North Carolina, and close to the locations of Old Estatoe and Tessentee (Crane 1929:131).[3] Further north, as the valley widened, the trading path went past Echoee, Nequassee, Watauga, Joree, and Cowee (Crane 1929:131). At Watauga, another trail led northeast to the Cherokee Out town areas along the Tuckasegee and Oconaluftee rivers.[4] At Joree, another trail led west towards Little Tellico, then to Great Tellico and the Overhill Cherokee settlements in eastern Tennessee. Many of these trading paths, perhaps all of them, followed trails that probably were already in place well before the beginning of trade between the Cherokee and the Carolina colony (Myer 1928).

Situated along the upper reaches of the Little Tennessee River, the Coweeta Creek settlement would have been located relatively close to the point at which the trading path from Keowee entered the upper Little Tennessee Valley (Goodwin 1977:89–92). Given the presence of large earthen mounds at sites such as Cowee, Whatoga, Nequassee, and Dillard, and given the status of Cowee and Nequassee as influential Middle Cherokee towns during the 1700s, it is likely that some or all of these settlements were major centers during the 1600s. Cowee was the location of one of the Cherokee trading posts established by Charles Town after the end of the Yamassee War (Rothrock 1976:23). Nequassee was and is known as one of the ancient Cherokee settlements where an "everlasting fire" burns within an earthen mound, the summit of which was probably the setting for a townhouse during the eighteenth century (Mooney 1900:477). Before reaching Nequassee or Cowee, and before reaching Kituwha, the trading path from the Carolina colony led past the Coweeta Creek site. Of course, other settlements along trading paths from Congaree include Tugalo, the location of a major English trading post, as well as Chauga, Estatoe, and Chattooga; and English trade goods, dating from the late 1600s or early 1700s, have been found at all of these sites (Anderson 1994; Harmon 1986; Schroedl 2000). It is even possible that the Coweeta Creek settlement was built after the beginning of the Charles Town trade; but it seems more likely that the Coweeta Creek settlement was already in place when this trade network first developed (Rodning 2008).

The documentary record thus gives us many clues about the colonial activities and trade networks through which Cherokee towns in southwestern North Carolina first had access to European goods (Crane 1929; Hatley 1993; Rothrock 1976), but not surprisingly, these

documentary sources are not as clear about why Cherokee people wanted those goods, how they perceived them, or how they made use of them. Warfare and war honors have a deep history in the Southeast, and, conceivably, European goods could have been thought of as war trophies in some cases, if they were taken in real or fictive combat between native warriors and colonists (Dye 2009). Trade and diplomacy, the counterparts to warfare, likewise have a deep history in the Southeast (Dye 2009), and, similarly, European goods could have been seen as badges of success in peacemaking. Prestige goods made of copper and shell are known to have been significant in the dynamics and display of status in the Mississippian Southeast (Dye 1995, 2009), and European goods may have been thought of as such. After all, they were made in distant and even unknown locales, by different groups of people, and like Algonkian chiefs in the Chesapeake (Gallivan 2003, 2007; Gleach 1997; Potter 1993), Native Americans in the Southeast may have sought European goods as symbols of prestige and power. English trader Alexander Longe (Corkran 1969:46) refers to a practice by which eighteenth-century Cherokee town leaders gave war names and gifts of beads and deerskins to warriors for accomplishments in warfare. As Hatley (1993:10) astutely concludes from this passage in the postscript by Alexander Longe to his journal about his experiences living in early eighteenth-century Cherokee towns, the demand for European goods stemmed partly from the interests and ambitions of Cherokees themselves.

More generally, trade and exchange were deeply woven into the fabric of life in the Mississippian Southeast (Waselkov 2006), and it should not be surprising that Cherokee groups in the southern Appalachians would have been interested in acquiring European goods. The interests of Cherokee people in these new forms of material culture were rooted in the social and political dimensions of trade relations and trade goods. By the mid-to-late eighteenth century, the Cherokee and other native peoples of the Southeast were producers and consumers in a global marketplace, but during the seventeenth century, they probably viewed European goods through a more traditional lens.

The Cherokee Town at the Coweeta Creek Site

Although there was a late prehistoric settlement at the Coweeta Creek site, the built environment at Coweeta Creek changed dramatically during the seventeenth century, when a formal town plan was put in

place. The last stage of the townhouse probably dates to the early eighteenth century, and, therefore, the site gives us glimpses of one Cherokee town during periods of "indirect contact" and the beginning of "direct contact" with European colonists.

Based on radiocarbon dates and ceramic evidence, several houses and pit features at the site date to the fifteenth century (Rodning 2007, 2009a). At that point, there was no public structure at the site, or not one comparable to the series of townhouses dating to the 1600s and early 1700s. The site was probably abandoned during the late 1400s or 1500s, given the differences between Early Qualla and Middle Qualla pottery found at the site, and the superposition of some seventeenth-century domestic structures on buried remnants of fifteenth-century structures.

During the seventeenth century, a new settlement was built at the site, a formally planned settlement with a townhouse and plaza, and domestic houses placed around the plaza (Rodning 2008, 2009b). The orientations and alignments of the townhouse and domestic houses were the same, and the long axes of these entryways were perpendicular to the long axis of the plaza. Ramadas were placed on the southeastern and northwestern edges of the plaza, adjacent to the townhouse and to domestic houses and activity areas, respectively. These shared spatial alignments demonstrate a very precise organization and utilization of space within a relatively compact settlement which, based on radiocarbon determinations and ceramic data, can be dated to the seventeenth century.

The last of six stages of the townhouse dates to the very late 1600s or early 1700s, as evident from ceramics, from one radiocarbon date, and from European trade goods such as glass beads and kaolin pipes (Rodning 2008). At this point, most if not all of the domestic houses around the plaza had been abandoned. The presence of glass beads and kaolin pipe fragments in lenses of sand and clay that covered the plaza indicates that, like the last stage of the townhouse, the plaza was in still in use in the late 1600s or early 1700s.

It is possible that one domestic house postdates the last stage of the townhouse or is contemporaneous with it (Rodning 2008, 2009a, 2009b). Structure 14 is located in the area southwest of the townhouse and near the southwestern corner of the plaza. Structure 14 is visible as a cloud of postholes, including four deep postholes that may be roof supports

around a hearth. It is not as distinct as the posthole patterns representing seventeenth-century and fifteenth-century dwellings at the site, but it is comparable in size to the circular structure at the Tuckasegee site (Keel 1976:28–34). The structure at Tuckasegee is thought to date to around 1700 (Keel 1976:63–64; Shumate et al. 2005:6.4–6.14). Close to Structure 14 is a circular pit designated Feature 72, which can be dated to the late 1600s or early 1700s based on radiocarbon determinations, ceramic evidence, and the presence of glass beads, kaolin pipe fragments, and other historic artifacts. Adjacent to Feature 72 is Feature 71, for which we have no radiocarbon dates, but the similarities in the ceramics from these and other nearby features, and the association of glass beads (Features 51, 72, and 74) and kaolin pipe fragments (Features 71, 72, and 74) with them, all suggest they date late in the history of settlement at the site. Their proximity to Structure 14 adds support to other indications that Structure 14 may be contemporaneous with or later than the last stage of the nearby townhouse.

European Trade Goods from the Coweeta Creek Site

Items reflecting direct or indirect contact with European colonists in the Southeast—glass beads, kaolin pipes, rolled copper beads, copper buttons, and charred peach pits, for example—are associated with most stages of the townhouse, with pit features in the area southwest of the townhouse, and in the hearth of one domestic structure at Coweeta Creek (Rodning 2004, 2008, 2009). Table 1 summarizes the numbers of and proveniences of European trade goods and peach pits from the site. Figure 2 shows the locations of pit features and other undisturbed deposits at the site where European trade goods have been found. In addition to the areas shown on the map, glass beads and kaolin pipe fragments have been found in deposits of sand and clay covering the plaza, indicating that the last use of the plaza (as with the townhouse beside it) dates to the period when local residents had access to European goods. Of the European trade goods (and peach pits) found in both undisturbed and disturbed contexts at the site, the vast majority—in both numbers of artifacts and the percentage of the total site assemblage—of these trade goods have been found in the townhouse, in the plaza, and in the area southwest of the townhouse.

European artifacts from sixteenth-century sites in eastern Tennessee and northern Georgia include Nueva Cadiz glass beads, faceted chevron beads, brass armbands, and iron implements (Smith 1987:45–46). The

Table 1. European goods from the Coweeta Creek site.

	Glass Beads	Kaolin Pipe Fragments	Brass Bell	Brass Buttons	Brass Beads	Brass Fragment	Copper Wire	Metal Blades	Wrought Nails	Metal Axe Head	Metal Ring	Metal Fragment	Gunflints	Musket Ball	Musket Spring	Peach Pits
Mound																
Slump	5	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-
Surface and Plow Zone	28	19	-	-	2	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	10	2		2
Structure 1F	2691	46	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	1
Structure 1E	269	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Structure 1D	716	4	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Structure 1C	210	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Structure 1B	324	4	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Structure 1A	5	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
Structural Debris	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Entrance Trenches	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Postholes Under Mound	131	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Feature 3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Feature 8	245	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Feature 19	44	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Feature 26	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Plaza																
Surface and Plow Zone	26	44	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	6	1	-
Sand Covering the Plaza	7	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Southwest of Mound																
Surface and Plow Zone	11	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	4	-	-
Posthole in Square 100R60	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Feature 37	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Feature 38	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Feature 41	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Feature 51	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Feature 71	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Feature 72	373	5	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Feature 73	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Feature 74	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Southeast of Mound																
Surface and Plow Zone	24	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Debris in Structure 4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Feature 68	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Feature 83	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Burial 84	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
General Site Surface	44	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	5246	201	1	3	9	3	1	3	3	1	6	0	15	16	1	10

likely sources of such artifacts include the Hernando de Soto (1539–1543) and Tristan de Luna (1559–1561) expeditions (Hally et al. 1990). In 1540, Hernando de Soto traversed western North Carolina, and his expedition may have met Cherokee speakers as they crossed the southern Appalachians, even though they did not travel through the areas where eighteenth-century Cherokee towns were located (Beck 1997; Hudson

1997; Schroedl 2001). In 1567, Captain Juan Pardo met with native community leaders whose names match those of eighteenth-century Cherokee towns, and members of his expeditions visited towns in the North Carolina mountains, such as Tocae and Cauchi, that may have been towns of Cherokee speakers (Beck 1997; Booker et al. 1992; Moore 2002). Even though there was only minimal direct contact between Spanish expeditions and sixteenth-century Cherokee towns, Spanish items could have reached Cherokee towns as gifts or as trade items that circulated through native trade networks, and such artifacts could include brass artifacts, glass beads, and metal knives, axes, chisels, and wedges in styles that date to the sixteenth century (Hally 2008; Harmon 1986; Smith 1987; Waselkov 1989).

European artifact assemblages from seventeenth-century native sites in the interior Southeast often include brass beads, scrap pieces of brass, and turquoise blue or white glass beads (Smith 1987:46–52). Kaolin pipe stems are present in many of these assemblages, although they are more prevalent in eighteenth-century contexts. It has proven difficult to identify characteristics of European artifact types that are diagnostic of the seventeenth century, except for the fact that there are more limited quantities and varieties of European artifacts at seventeenth-century sites than at sites dating to the eighteenth century.

The assemblage of European trade goods from Coweeta Creek includes artifacts from the ground surface, the plow zone, the hearth of the townhouse, the hearth of one domestic structure, eight pit features, the floors of five stages of the townhouse, layers of sand and architectural rubble between successive townhouse floors, and deposits of sand and clay in the plaza. Of the 83 excavated burials at the site, only Burial 84 (the burial of a young child) has any European trade goods (four turquoise blue glass beads) included as mortuary items. Very few European goods have been found in domestic houses at the site, and they are far fewer than the numbers found in association with late stages of the townhouse. One glass bead was found in architectural debris associated with Structure 4. One wrought iron nail was found in Feature 68, the first of two stages of the hearth in Structure 6. This wrought nail could date anywhere from the 1500s through the 1700s. Given the lack of evidence that any of the domestic houses south and east of the plaza date to the eighteenth century, the wrought nail in Feature 68 probably reflects its acquisition by the Structure 6 household

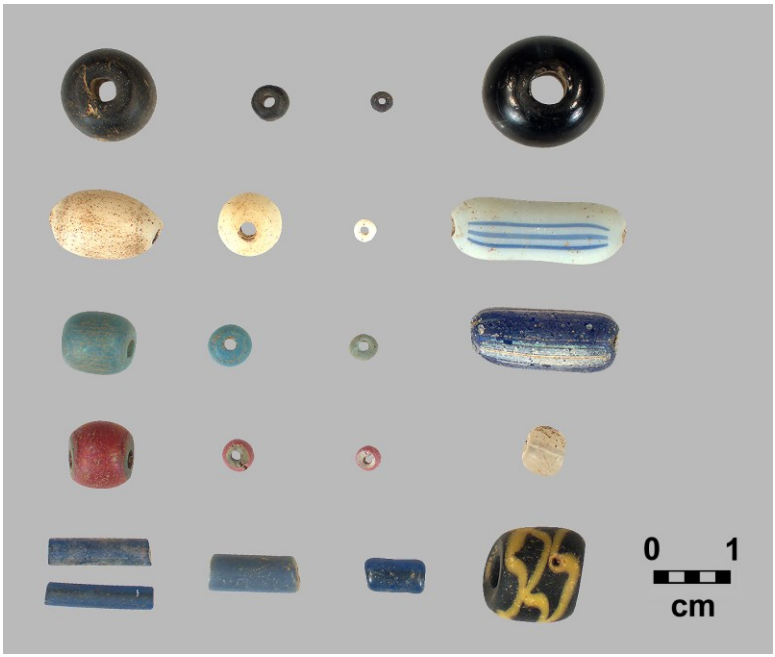

Figure 3. Glass beads from the Coweeta Creek site.

through direct or indirect contact with sixteenth-century Spanish expeditions or seventeenth-century English traders.

The glass beads at Coweeta Creek are generally consistent with what archaeologists recognize as an assemblage dating to the 1600s or early 1700s (Figure 3; Table 2).[5] Most of the beads are drawn beads (N=5,232) rather than wound beads (N=14). The former are made by shaping glass into long cylinders and then cutting them into beads, and the latter are made by wrapping molten glass around pieces of wire. Most of the drawn beads from Coweeta Creek are opaque white or turquoise blue beads. The prevalence of these beads is comparable to other assemblages in the interior Southeast that date to the late seventeenth century (Smith 1987:44–52). Thirty-six translucent, striped, "gooseberry" beads from Coweeta Creek are consistent with this proposed timeframe (Brain 1979:106, Type IVB1; Quimby 1966:87). One fragment of a transparent, faceted bead represents a type thought to date to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries (Brain 1979:110, Type WIIA2). One hundred thirty-three "Cornaline d'Aleppo" beads are present in the assemblage from Coweeta Creek,

Table 2. Glass beads from the Coweeta Creek site.

	Mound													Plaza		Southwest of Mound								Southeast of Mound				
	Surface and Plow Zone	Slump	Structure 1F	Structure 1E	Structure 1D	Structure 1C	Structure 1B	Structure 1A	Structural Debris in Mound	Entrance Trenches in Mound	Postholes Beneath Mound	Feature 8	Feature 19	Feature 26	Surface and Plow Zone	Sand Covering the Plaza	Surface and Plow Zone	Posthole in Square 100R60	Feature 37	Feature 41	Feature 51	Feature 72	Feature 74	Surface and Plow Zone	Debris from Structure 4	Feature 83	Burial 84	General	Totals
Drawn Beads[1]																													
IA1	-	-	5	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	1	-	-	-	-	20
IA2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
IA3	3	-	11	-	1	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	2	-	-	-	1	29
IB1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
IB3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	4
IIA1																													
long	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	9
barrel	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	8
round	2	-	10	1	2	-	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	2	-	-	-	5	35
seed	1	1	946	139	244	67	77	2	-	-	28	161	15	3	1	-	3	-	1	-	-	177	37	2	-	1	-	6	1912
IIA2	-	-	15	3	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
IIA3	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
IIA5																													
long	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
barrel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
round	-	-	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	5	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	15
seed	1	-	315	-	53	15	27	-	-	-	5	34	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	80	6	1	-	-	-	2	543
IIA6																													
long	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
barrel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	3
round	3	-	-	1	4	1	6	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	19
seed	2	-	136	8	63	20	32	-	-	2	10	2	10	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	30	-	1	-	-	-	2	321

Table 2 continued.

	Mound														Plaza		Southwest of Mound						Southeast of Mound				
	Surface and Plow Zone	Slump	Structure 1F	Structure 1E	Structure 1D	Structure 1C	Structure 1B	Structure 1A	Structural Debris in Mound	Entrance Trenches in Mound	Postholes Beneath Mound	Feature 8	Feature 19	Feature 26	Surface and Plow Zone	Sand Covering the Plaza	Surface and Plow Zone	Posthole in Square 100R60	Feature 37	Feature 41	Feature 51	Feature 72	Feature 74	Surface and Plow Zone	Debris from Structure 4	Feature 83	Burial 84	General	Totals
IIA7																													
long	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
barrel	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	6
round	3	-	2	3	6	3	11	-	3	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	9	-	-	2	6	55
seed	8	-	189	50	156	26	59	1	-	1	12	42	10	1	10	2	1	-	-	7	5	20	4	3	-	-	2	8	617
IIA15	-	-	7	9	11	5	7	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	44
IIB2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
IIB4	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
IIB10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
IIB13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
IIIB1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
IVA2																													
round	-	-	1	1	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6
seed	-	-	47	6	24	2	7	-	-	1	8	-	3	-	2	-	2	1	-	-	-	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	127
IVB1																													
round	-	-	9	-	-	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
seed	-	-	9		3	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
IVB2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
IVB6	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
IVB8	-	-	1		4		1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Indeterminate	-	-	985	46	134	62	74	1	1	-	62	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	2	-	-	-	-	-	1380

Table 2 continued.

	Mound														Plaza		Southwest of Mound						Southeast of Mound				
	Surface and Plow Zone	Slump	Structure 1F	Structure 1E	Structure 1D	Structure 1C	Structure 1B	Structure 1A	Structural Debris in Mound	Entrance Trenches in Mound	Postholes Beneath Mound	Feature 8	Feature 19	Feature 26	Surface and Plow Zone	Sand Covering the Plaza	Surface and Plow Zone	Posthole in Square 100R60	Feature 37	Feature 41	Feature 51	Feature 72	Feature 74	Surface and Plow Zone	Debris from Structure 4	Feature 83	Burial 84	General	Totals
Wound Beads[2]																												
WIA1																												
large	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
small	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
WIA6																												
large	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
small	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
WIIA2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
WIIIA6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Totals	28	5	2691	269	716	210	324	5	2	8	131	245	44	9	26	7	11	1	2	8	7	373	50	24	1	1	4	44	5246

[1] Brain 1979:100-107.
[2] Brain 1979:107-112.

including small seed beads and larger spherical beads; this type of bead, with a redwood exterior and a gray or black interior, is thought to date to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries (Brain 1979:106, Type IVA2; Carnes 1987:152; Kidd and Kidd 1970; Ward and Davis 1993:140–141, 369–370, 428–429). One "Roman" bead was found in the plow zone in the village area at Coweeta Creek, its black surface decorated with yellow inlays; this type of bead is thought to date to the late 1600s or early 1700s (Brain 1979:112 113, Type WIIIA6; Carnes 1987:152; B. H. Riggs, personal communication 2002; M. T. Smith, personal communication 2000). None of the beads from Coweeta Creek resemble any of the bead types associated with Spanish expeditions in southeastern North America during the sixteenth century (Smith 1987:29–33; Smith and Good 1982). Glass beads from Coweeta Creek therefore probably date to the late 1600s or early 1700s (Ward and Davis 1999:183–185).

Marcoux (2008:131–165) has recently developed a glass bead chronology for the Southeast by seriating burials with glass beads through correspondence analysis. His bead chronology spans the period from 1607 through 1783. He first conducted a correspondence analysis of the relative frequencies of different glass bead types—following the Kidd and Kidd (1970) typology—of 98 gravelots, from 16 sites, with 20 or more beads. He then performed a nonhierarchical cluster analysis of the component scores derived from his correspondence analysis. These component scores correspond to the coordinates of the points in biplot displays of his results. His results identify six clusters with overlapping date ranges, including Cluster 1 (1600–1650), Cluster 2 (1625–1675), Cluster 3 (1650–1730), Cluster 4 (1670–1730), Cluster 5 (1690–1740), and Cluster 6 (1725–1783). These clusters extend the timeframe represented by Smith's (1987) assemblages A (1525–1565), B (1565–1600), C (1600–1630), and D (1630–1670).

Marcoux (2008:157–162) places the entire glass bead assemblage from the Coweeta Creek site in a period from 1710 to 1760, at approximately the same timeframe as the nearby Chattooga site, the Lower Cherokee settlement in northwestern South Carolina. This period corresponds to the late end of the date range for his Cluster 4 and the early end of the date range for Cluster 5. Based on radiocarbon dates, kaolin pipestem dates, and aboriginal pottery from the Coweeta Creek site, I would have anticipated an earlier placement within Marcoux's glass bead seriation, but he may be right, and perhaps we should move

the late end of the settlement history at the site closer to the mid-eighteenth century. On the other hand, the bead types present in the Coweeta Creek assemblage do include several types associated with Marcoux's Clusters 3 and 4. Given other clues about the chronology of settlement at the Coweeta Creek site, I consider it likely that individual pit features and structure floors at Coweeta Creek with associated glass beads can be dated to the late 1600s or early 1700s. This temporal placement generally fits the chronological frameworks for glass beads developed by Brain (1987), Smith (1983, 1987), and Marcoux (2008), despite differences in the ways these frameworks have been constructed.

Glass beads from Coweeta Creek are concentrated in late stages of the townhouse and plaza. Nearly ninety percent of the glass beads from the site were found in the townhouse mound, most of which were recovered from upper levels of the mound, and another one percent of the glass beads from the site came from deposits of sand and clay in the plaza area (Table 3). More beads were found in association with the last stage of the townhouse (N=2,691) than were found with all other stages (N=1,656) combined (Table 1). It is difficult to know precisely when during the townhouse sequence glass beads first reached the site, but probably early on. Beads could have moved up or down within the townhouse mound during renovations and rebuilding events, as posts were pulled out, or put in the ground. The five glass beads found in deposits on and above the floor of the earliest townhouse, for example, may have trickled down to that level through later postholes, and the numbers of glass beads associated with later stages of the townhouse rises steadily through the sequence. Roughly nine percent (N=457) of the glass beads at the site were found in pits and other contexts in the area southwest of the mound. Less than one percent (N=30) of the glass beads found at the site came from domestic areas southeast of the mound and plaza. One bead was found in architectural debris lying on the floor of Structure 4, in Square 80R230. Another glass bead was found in Feature 83, near the band of ramadas beside the village and close to Structure 3. Clearly, beads are far more prevalent in late stages of the townhouse, in the plaza, and in areas southwest of the townhouse than they are elsewhere of the site. Therefore, it seems very likely that these late manifestations of the townhouse postdate most other contexts at the site, including houses in the village area, southeast of the plaza, or that activities involving beads took place primarily in the townhouse and the plaza beside it, or both.

Table 3. Spatial distribution of glass beads at the Coweeta Creek site.

Context	Number	Percentage
Mound	4687	89.34%
Plaza	33	0.63%
Southwest of Mound	452	8.62%
Southeast of Mound	30	0.57%
General Site Surface	44	0.84%
Total	5246	100%

This concentration of glass beads in the townhouse, the plaza, and the area southwest of the townhouse mound is also illustrated in Figure 4. Table 3 summarizes the numbers of glass beads found in all contexts—surface, plow zone, features, and structure floors—in the townhouse mound, the plaza, the area southwest of the townhouse mound, the area southeast of the plaza, and the general site surface. Figure 4 illustrates the same data in graphical form. Although there are relatively large numbers of beads from the townhouse, the plaza, and the area southwest of the townhouse, there are far fewer from other areas of the site.

As is the case with glass beads, kaolin pipe fragments from Coweeta Creek probably date to the very late 1600s or early 1700s (Figure 5; Table 4). Native people began to incorporate these new pipes, and also new forms of tobacco, into aboriginal smoking practices in the seventeenth century (Ward and Davis 1999:240–241). The assemblage of kaolin pipe fragments from Coweeta Creek is comparable to those at many native sites in eastern North America dating to the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Archaeologists have shown that the diameters of the holes in these kaolin pipe stems tend to decrease through time. There are two different approaches to estimating dates of kaolin pipe assemblages from these measurements. One method proposes a range of dates based on the mean and mode of pipe stem bore hole diameters in a selected assemblage of kaolin pipe fragments (Harrington 1951, 1954). The other derives a calendrical date for an assemblage of kaolin pipe fragments through a regression equation (Binford 1962, 1972).

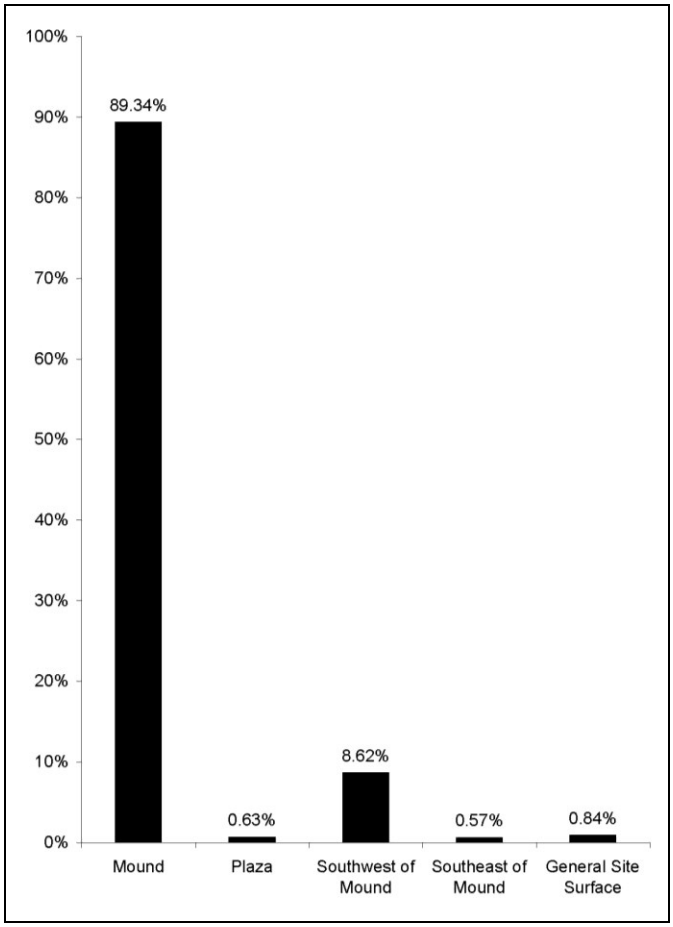

Figure 4. Spatial distribution of glass beads at the Coweeta Creek site.

The former method entails comparing diameter measurements to distributions of diameter measurements from independently dated sites near the English colonial settlement of Jamestown (Table 4).[6] Harrington (1951, 1954) has described this method of measuring diameters in 1/64-inch-intervals by recording the number of 1/64-inch-increments in the diameter of the drill bit that is the best fit inside each stem hole (see also Irwin 1959; Mason 2005). Harrington demonstrated that 7/64-inch was the most commonly measured pipe stem bore hole diameter in kaolin pipe assemblages from sites near Jamestown known to date from 1640 to 1670, and that 6/64-inch was the most commonly measured diameter in assemblages from sites known to date between

Table 4. Kaolin pipe stem dates for the Coweeta Creek site.

Bore Diameter	Mound	Plaza	Southwest of Mound	Southeast of Mound	General Site Surface	Totals
8/64"	0	1	0	1	1	3
7/64"	9	6	2	2	0	19
6/64"	32	12	7	3	5	59
5/64"	25	10	9	9	1	54
4/64"	1	0	1	0	0	2
Mode[1]	6/64"	6/64"	5/64"	5/64"	6/64"	6/64"
Date[1]	1670-1710	1670-1710	1670-1710	1670-1710	1670-1710	1670-1710
Mean[2]	5.73	5.93	5.53	5.67	6.14	5.76
Date[2]	1712.62	1704.97	1720.27	1714.92	1696.93	1711.47

[1] Average Diameter = N/64" (following Harrington 1951, 1954).

[2] Estimated Date = 1931.85 - (38.26 * Avg Diam) (following Binford 1962, 1972).

1670 and 1710 (Table 4). The widest measured diameter of bore holes in kaolin pipe stems from Coweeta Creek is 8/64 inches (or one-eighth of an inch), which is recorded as "8." The narrowest stem hole in kaolin pipe fragments from Coweeta Creek is 4/64 inches (or one sixteenth of an inch), which is recorded as "4." My measurements of kaolin pipe stem bore hole diameters are most comparable to those dated by Harrington to the period between 1670 and 1710 (Table 5).

Another method for estimating the date of a kaolin pipe assemblage involves inserting an average diameter measurement into a formula that derives a calendrical date rather than a date range (Table 5).[7] Binford (1962, 1972) modified Harrington's method in an effort to determine more precise date estimates than the intervals of 30 to 40 years derived through Harrington's approach (see also Eaton 1962; Schroedl 1986b:427, 436, 450). Date estimates are derived here with the same data inserted into the Binford formula, which is x=1931.85-38.26y, where "y" is the average measurement in 1/64-inch increments of pipe stem hole diameters in an assemblage of kaolin pipes and pipe fragments

Figure 5. Kaolin pipe fragments from the Coweeta Creek site.

(Table 4), 1931.85 is the theoretical date at which pipestem hole diameters would have reached zero if the trend in decreasing hole diameters had continued to that point, 38.26 is the interval of years between average diameter measurements expressed in 1/64th-inch intervals, and where "x" is the estimated date of an assemblage. The 29 stem fragments from the plaza—including those from plow zone, the ground surface, and from layers of sand in the plaza area—yield a date of 1705 (Table 5). The estimated date for the entire assemblage of kaolin pipe fragments from Coweeta Creek is 1712 (Table 5). The estimated date for 32 measurable pipe stem fragments from the last stage of the townhouse is 1715, and the date for all 67 kaolin pipe stem fragments from the Coweeta Creek townhouse mound—including those from the plow zone and surface as well as early stages of the townhouse mound—is 1713 (Table 5). These date estimates vary somewhat, of course, based on how contexts are grouped, or not. That said, these date estimates all point to the beginning of the eighteenth century, and they provide a *terminus post quem* date for these respective contexts, and a *terminus post quem* date for the abandonment of the site.

By far, the most common types of colonial goods at Coweeta Creek are glass beads and kaolin pipe fragments. The spatial distribution of kaolin pipe fragments at the site—itemized in Table 6 and summarized

Table 5. Kaolin pipe stem bore diameter measurements from the Coweeta Creek site.

Context	Individual Bore Diameter Measurements	Count	Mean	Mode
Mound	8 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 4	67	5.73	6/64"
Plaza	8 7 7 7 7 7 7 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5	29	5.93	6/64"
Southwest of Mound	7 7 6 6 6 6 6 6 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 4	19	5.53	5/64"
Southeast of Mound	8 7 7 6 6 6 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5	15	5.67	5/64"
General Site Surface	8 6 6 6 6 5	6	6.17	6/64"
Total		136	5.81	6/64"

graphically in Figure 6—is analogous to that of glass beads. And like glass beads, most of the kaolin pipe fragments from the townhouse mound are associated with the last stage of the townhouse. Forty-six kaolin pipe fragments are associated with its last stage, but only 11 kaolin pipe fragments are associated with earlier stages of the townhouse mound. Forty-nine kaolin pipe fragments are associated with the plaza, 15 kaolin pipe fragments were found on the ground surface or in the plow zone in the area southeast of the plaza, and none were found in structures and pit features in this area of the site. By contrast, nine kaolin pipe fragments were found in three of the pit features in the area southwest of the townhouse. Eighteen more were found in plow zone and on the ground surface in this area of the site. The spatial distribution of kaolin pipe fragments at Coweeta Creek lends support to the idea that most—and perhaps all—of the domestic structures at the site predate the late stages of the townhouse and perhaps even predate the entire townhouse sequence. It is likely that more kaolin pipe fragments would have been found in association with domestic houses at Coweeta Creek if these smoking pipes had been available when people were living in these houses. Given the concentration of kaolin pipe fragments in the townhouse and plaza, it is tempting to speculate that these pipes were

Table 6. Spatial distribution of kaolin pipe fragments at the Coweeta Creek site.

Context	Number	Percentage
Mound	93	46.27%
Plaza	49	24.38%
Southwest of Mound	27	13.43%
Southeast of Mound	25	12.44%
General Site Surface	7	3.48%
Total	201	100%

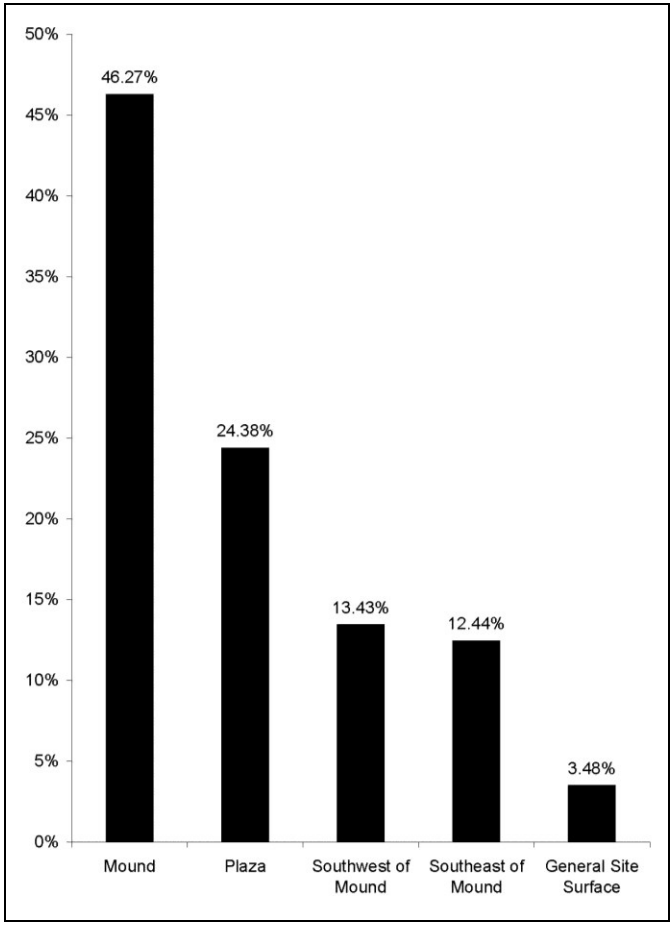

Figure 6. Spatial distribution of kaolin pipe fragments at the Coweeta Creek site.

incorporated into smoking rituals associated with public events that took place in these settings. The high numbers of aboriginal clay and stone pipe fragments from the townhouse lend some support to the idea that smoking was an important aspect of public events and activities, but more definitive statements about the role of kaolin pipes in Cherokee public life demand more thorough study of native and kaolin pipes from both public and domestic settings at Cherokee settlements.

Other forms of European material culture found at Coweeta Creek are consistent with indications from glass beads and kaolin pipe stems that the Coweeta Creek townhouse was still standing during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Metal artifacts are more common in upper levels of the mound than in the village area to the south and east of the townhouse and plaza. Their spatial distribution lends support to the idea that the late stages of the townhouse postdate most, if not all, of the domestic houses in the village area.

Seventeen copper or brass artifacts were found at Coweeta Creek (Figure 7). One fragment was found in the last stage of the townhouse. Another brass fragment and two brass buttons were found on the floor of the fourth townhouse (Structure 1D; compare with Brain 1979:189, Smith 1987:42). One brass button and one cone were found in fill above the floor of the second townhouse (Structure 1B; compare with Brain 1979:195, Smith 1987:37). One fragment, one pendant, and two rolled beads were found in plow zone deposits in the mound. One brass cone was found in one of the postholes in the mound, four brass cones were found in Feature 72, and the top of a flushloop bell was also found in Feature 72. Flushloop bells are thought to date to the seventeenth century and are found at several sites in southeastern North America (Brown 1979:201; Smith 1987:42–44). This specimen may represent the only flushloop bell yet identified in western North Carolina (Brown 1979:205).

Armbands and other brass items were traded across the Southeast through native exchange networks, reaching the hands of some native groups even before they had direct and sustained contact with Europeans themselves (Smith 1987:36–43; Ward and Davis 1999:260–267; Waselkov 1989). One result of this practice is that some European trade goods probably reached western North Carolina and other areas of southeastern North America before Europeans themselves did. The brass from kettles and other forms of European material culture was cut into

Figure 7. Brass artifacts from the Coweeta Creek site.

circles and other shapes to make gorgets and pendants. Some pieces of brass were shaped into arrowheads or cut into strips that were then rolled into cones to which archaeologists refer as brass cones or bangles. Artifacts made of native copper had long circulated across the Southeast as prestige goods, and it is likely that European brass was adopted as an alternative to native copper. Widespread interest in these forms of material culture encouraged the rapid spread of brass across the Southeast once it first reached native hands. The brass or copper artifacts found at Coweeta Creek are consistent with other indications that the late end of settlement history at Coweeta Creek falls in the late 1600s or early 1700s.

Four metal blades have been found at Coweeta Creek (Figure 8). One iron blade was found outside the edge of the last stage of the townhouse. Another was found in plow zone in the mound (compare with Brain 1979:152–153). An axe head was found in the plow zone in

Figure 8. Iron nails, axe head, knife blade, and scissors from the Coweeta Creek site.

the plaza area (compare with Brain 1979:140–143). Another iron blade was found at the top of Feature 38, in the area southwest of the townhouse and plaza, near Structure 14.

Metal tools were first introduced to the interior Southeast by Spanish expeditions during the sixteenth century. Early on, iron tools seem to have been used primarily as status symbols and grave goods, rather than as utilitarian tools (Cobb and Pope 1998; Cobb and Ruggiero

2003; Moore 2002:102–120; Smith 1987). By the seventeenth century, it was more common for native groups to incorporate metal items into their toolkits and also to recycle pieces of scrap metal—iron, copper, and brass—as ornaments or tools (Bradley 1987; Odell 2003:45–47). Metal tools tended to hold sharp edges longer than their aboriginal counterparts made of stone, and, therefore, native groups in the Southeast adopted metal blades and axes soon after they first became accessible, even as native people were more selective in or resistant to the adoption of some other forms of European material culture (Harmon 1986; Odell 1999, 2001, 2002, 2003; Ward and Davis 1999:254–255). Given the presence of so few metal tools at the Coweeta Creek site, and their absence from burials, it is most likely that the site predates the middle and late eighteenth century, when metal was more easily accessible and more widely available (compare with Baden 1983; Russ and Chapman 1983; Schroedl 1986b).

Nine other metal artifacts from the site are attributable to the native settlement at Coweeta Creek (Figure 8). One metal fragment was found in fill above the first stage (Structure 1A) and another above the second stage (Structure 1B) of the townhouse. A metal ring was found in Feature 72, southwest of the townhouse. One of three nails found at the site is a cut nail from the plow zone in the area southeast of the mound and plaza (Figure 8, bottom left), and another is a wrought nail from the plow zone in the area southwest of the townhouse mound (compare with Brain 1979:156). A second wrought nail (Figure 8, shortest nail) was found in Feature 68, the earlier stage of the hearth in Structure 6. This nail may have been acquired directly from seventeenth-century English colonists or from sixteenth-century Spanish expeditions, or it may have circulated through aboriginal exchange networks until it reached the hands of the household living in Structure 6 (see also Waselkov 1989:129).

Several artifacts from Coweeta Creek indicate that local residents had access to firearms or to materials associated with them (Figure 9). Fifteen gunflints and gun spalls have been identified at Coweeta Creek, most of which were found in and around the mound (compare with Hamilton 1960, 1979:210–211, 1980; Hanson 1970, 1971; Johnson 2003:52; Kent 1983; Mason 1971, 2005; White 1975; Witthoft 1966). Of the ten found on the ground surface of the mound and plaza, three are gun spalls, three are probably strike-a-lights, and four others are true

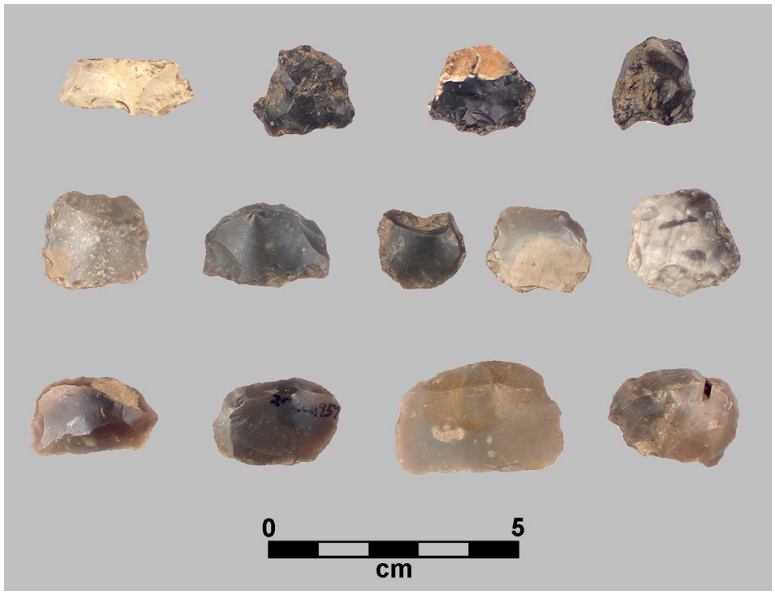

Figure 9. Chipped stone gunflints from the Coweeta Creek site.

gunflints. One gunflint was found in the plow zone in the plaza. Another gunflint was found in the plow zone southwest of the townhouse. One gun spall was found in mound slump around the outer edge of the townhouse, and two gun spalls were associated with the last stage of the townhouse. Sixteen lead balls were found at Coweeta Creek (Figure 10), primarily in the plaza area (compare with Brain 1979:208–209). Eight of these were found in plow zone and surface contexts, and one was found in lenses of sand covering the plaza. Five were found in mound slump, and one was found in the plow zone in the area southwest of the mound. One lead ball was found in the plow zone in the village southeast of the plaza. One musket spring, found in plow zone southeast of the plaza, may be related to the activity of colonial militias in the Middle Cherokee town area during the middle and late eighteenth century (Duncan and Riggs 2003; Hatley 1993; King and Evans 1977), rather than to native settlement at Coweeta Creek during the late 1600s and early 1700s.

Ten charred peach pits and seeds are associated with the Coweeta Creek townhouse mound, including two in fill above the latest intact floor of the townhouse, six in earlier floor deposits and architectural rubble between earlier floors, and two with the plow zone on top of the

Figure 10. Lead shot from the Coweeta Creek site.

mound. Peaches were first introduced to the Southeast during the sixteenth century by Spanish colonists, and they seem to have spread widely and rapidly (Gremillion 1993, 1995, 2002). Peaches were easily incorporated into aboriginal practices of gardening and farming, and peach trees probably thrived in fields, at the edges of settlements, and also in areas where old settlements had been abandoned (Gremillion 2002; Hatley 1989, 1993, 2006; Hill 1997). Along his route from the Lower Cherokee to the Middle Cherokee settlements in 1776 (Waselkov and Braund 1995:76), William Bartram visited "the ruins of the ancient famous town of Sticoe," where he saw the remnants of a townhouse and its earthen embankments standing on a mound, and where he saw "old Peach and Plumb orchards." This site may have been located on the Tuckasegee River (Waselkov and Braund 1995:253), in the area of the Cherokee Out towns, or somewhere between the Lower Cherokee settlements and the headwaters of the Little Tennessee River, but in either case it was not very far from the Coweeta Creek site (Dickens 1979:10; Goodwin 1977:122).[8]

This assemblage of European goods from Coweeta Creek reflects early access to European material culture by one relatively small to average-sized Cherokee town. This site was not chosen as the location for an English trading post during the eighteenth century, nor is there any indication that significant diplomatic events involving Cherokee leaders and Carolina trade agents took place at this particular site, as they did at Nequassee, Keowee, Tugalo, and elsewhere. Relatively soon after

formal trade relations developed between Charles Town and Middle Cherokee towns, and soon after the establishment of English trading posts at Cowee and other large Cherokee towns, the Coweeta Creek site seems to have been abandoned. Before this point, Cherokee people at town sites like Coweeta Creek and in remote farmsteads like Alarka had access to European trade goods. After the establishment of English trading posts, Cherokee people were drawn to larger settlements like Cowee. The numbers of and the diversity of European trade goods from Coweeta Creek, not surprisingly, are less than is seen at Overhill Cherokee settlements in eastern Tennessee, dating to the middle and late eighteenth century, but they are considerably more than the six beads and one iron celt found at Alarka. That said, and even though thousands of beads and several dozen kaolin pipes were found at Coweeta Creek, the volume of English trade goods from the site could have been transported to the Middle Cherokee settlements in relatively few trips from Carolina outposts.

The Alarka Farmstead

Another site in the upper Little Tennessee Valley with an assemblage of seventeenth-century European trade goods and peach pits is the Alarka farmstead (31Sw273), which is thought to date to the mid-seventeenth century, based on radiocarbon dates and the Qualla ceramics present at the site (Figure 11) (Shumate et al. 2005:8.1–8.8). The site includes an octagonal winter house (between 22 and 23 feet in diameter), a rectangular summer house adjacent to the winter house (32.8 feet long by 14.8 feet wide), a possible rectangular outbuilding that may represent a granary or storage structure, and associated hearths and pit features (Shumate et al. 2005:5.1–5.9, 5.21–5.68). Excavations at this site by the Appalachian State University Laboratories of Archaeological Science in 1997 uncovered the entirety of the Cherokee settlement here, rather than a small portion of a larger settlement. It would seem that there was minimal (if any) settlement activity at 31Sw273 before or after the mid-seventeenth-century structures and features that are discussed in the detailed site report and that are summarized here.

Six drawn and tumbled glass beads have been found at the site, all associated with the floor of the winter house (Shumate et al. 2005:6.15–6.16). Three turquoise donut-shaped seed beads, one black donut-shaped seed bead, and one spherical turquoise bead (6.3 mm in diameter) are all attributable to Kidd and Kidd (1970:56, 70) Type IIa. One black

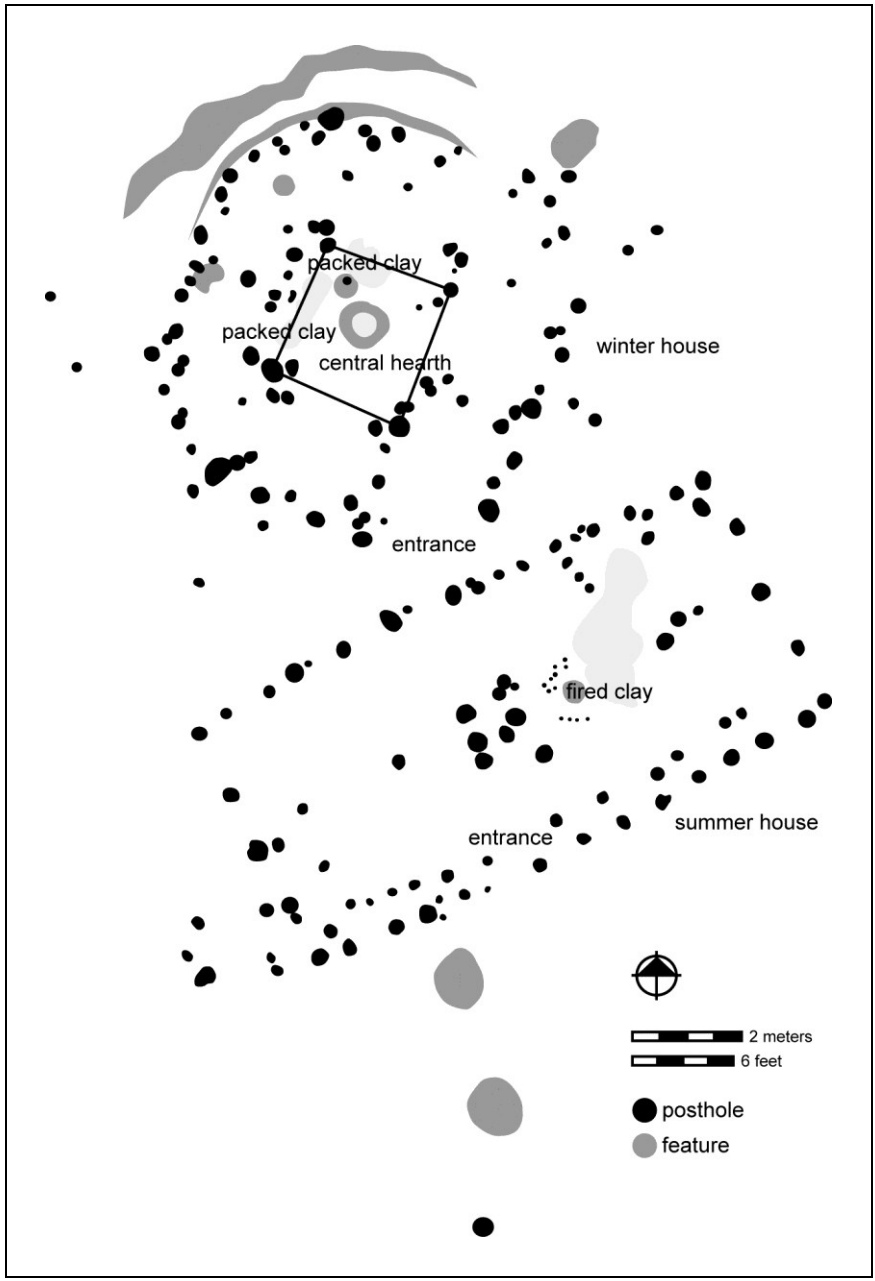

Figure 11. Paired winter and summer structures (ca. 1650) at the Alarka site (after Shumate et al. 2005:5.7).

spherical seed bead (3.3 mm in diameter) with one thin white stripe is attributable to Kidd and Kidd (1970:56–57, 71–72) Type IIb.

Another colonial trade item from the site is an iron wedge or celt, found in the plow zone just south of the summer house (Shumate et al. 2005:6.31–6.32). Iron wedges, celts, chisels, axes, and hoes are found at several mid-sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century sites in the Southeast, including both Native American settlements in Georgia and the Carolinas as well as colonial settlements such as Santa Elena, the capital of La Florida, in coastal South Carolina (Cobb and Ruggiero 2003; Hally 2008:222–223; Moore 2002:102–120; Smith 1987:34–35; South 1988; South et al. 1988; Waselkov 1989:128–129). Such items seem to have circulated quite widely through the interior from sixteenth-century European settlements in coastal areas, and in 1540, for example, the Hernando de Soto expedition found glass beads and iron axes at the town of Cofitachequi—located along the Wateree River in central South Carolina—that are thought to have come from a Spanish colonial settlement along the coast that had been abandoned in 1526 (Hudson 1997:174–178). Iron chisels, wedges, axes, and knives are included in lists of items issued to the Juan Pardo expeditions, and to forts established by the Pardo expeditions, between late 1566 and early 1568, and it is possible that these and other items carried by the Pardo expeditions as supplies and as gifts for native community leaders circulated through aboriginal exchange networks (Hudson 2005:25, 126–128, 134–138, 146–153). There were plans for another major Spanish expedition into the interior in the late 1500s and early 1600s, and there were plans to transport large amounts of trade goods into the interior for trade with and gifts for native groups. Although no such expedition seems to have been launched, small-scale Spanish expeditions into the interior in the late 1500s and early 1600s may have transported some metal tools and glass beads inland (Worth 1994:108–109, 120).

Given the occurrence of iron tools, brass or copper ornaments, and glass beads at sites in the Southeast dating to the 1500s or 1600s, it is not entirely surprising that glass beads and an iron tool are present at the mid-seventeenth-century Alarka site (Davis 1990; Shumate et al. 2005:6.32–6.33; Waselkov 1989). There are many plausible scenarios by which such items could have reached southwestern North Carolina, either through direct acquisition or down-the-line trade. Spanish expeditions and settlements, and English settlements such as Jamestown and Charles Town, are possible candidates as sources for the kinds of

trade goods seen at Alarka. On the other hand, neither Alarka nor Tuckasegee are located close to English trade routes, nor are they close to the routes of Spanish entradas. My conclusion from this point is that Cherokee people in southwestern North Carolina actively sought trade goods from an early date, well before the development of formal trade relations with the Carolina colony.

More than 100 peach pits are also associated with the winter house and summer house at Alarka (Shumate et al. 2005:6.33–6.47). One peach pit from the site has been radiocarbon dated to the late seventeenth century. Peach pits are present at several sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century sites in the Southeast, including Coweeta Creek, and the presence of peaches at Alarka demonstrates that they were adopted by Cherokee groups in southwestern North Carolina well before direct and sustained contacts with European colonists.

Shumate et al. (2005:6.33) conclude from the historic artifact assemblage at Alarka that:

> The recovery of an iron celt, glass trade beads, and peach pits from the remote mountain cove of the mid-seventeenth-century Alarka Farmstead site either points to the degree to which these materials were widespread by mid-century or indicates that this particular site was indeed quite unique for its time.

There is reason to think that access to metal items and glass beads was restricted to elite members of Native American societies in the Southeast during the 1500s (Smith 1987:23–27). The presence of an iron wedge, glass beads, and peach pits at the relatively isolated Alarka farmstead site, situated in a small cove in a rugged mountain range in southwestern North Carolina, indicates that there was much more widespread access to European trade goods within native societies of the Southeast by the mid-to-late 1600s.

The Tuckasegee Site

An assemblage of 26 glass beads was found on the floor of a domestic structure at the Tuckasegee site (31Jk12), located within the area of the historic Cherokee Out towns on the Tuckasegee River, roughly 20 miles east of the Coweeta Creek site (Figure 12) (Dickens 1978:123; Keel 1976:58–59; Ward 2002; Ward and Davis 1999:268–271). Other historic artifacts from the site include a piece of scrap iron from the structure floor and a piece of dark green wine bottle glass from

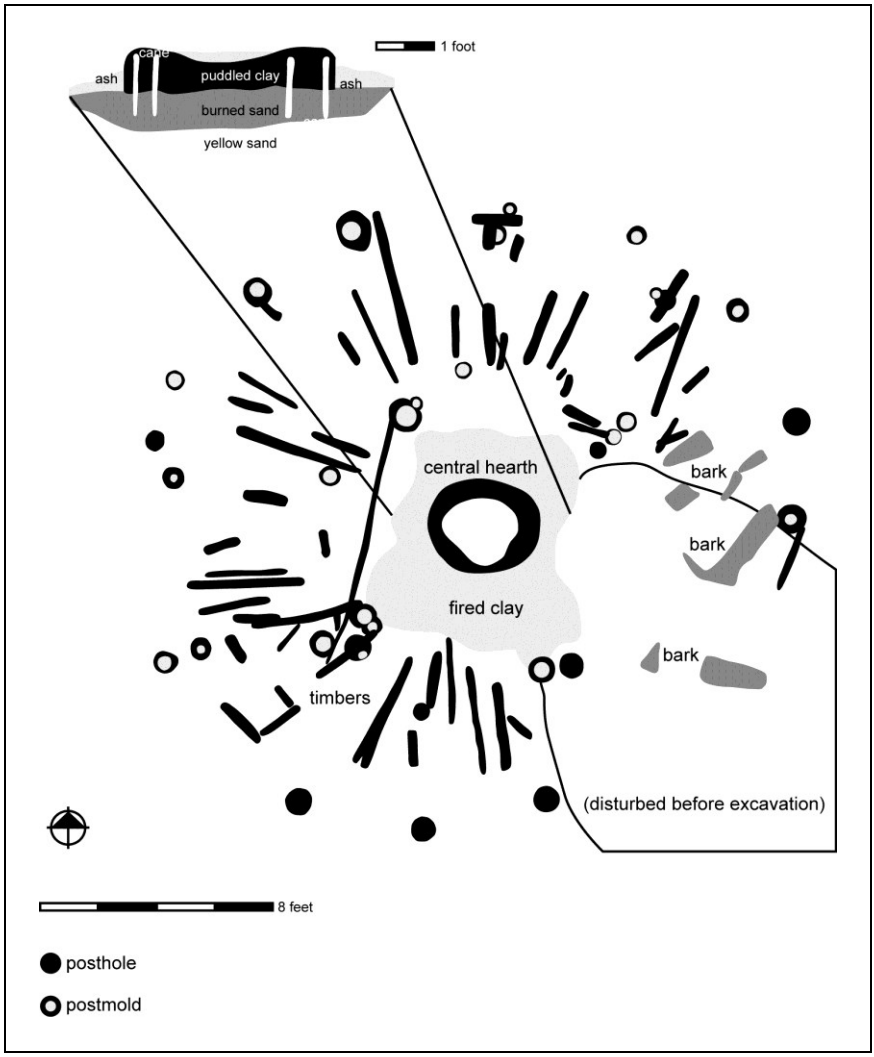

Figure 12. Burned structure (ca. 1700) at the Tuckasegee site (after Keel 1976:30; Ward 2002:87).

an early plow zone. This circular house burned down, and, therefore, it was relatively well preserved, with sections of bark roof material and wooden roof beams identified during excavations. The structure was roughly 23 feet in diameter, with a central clay hearth, four roof support posts, and a daubed section of the roof around the smokehole (Keel 1976:28–34). Most of the pottery from Tuckasegee—and the vast

majority of the pottery from the floor of the burned structure at the site, including two large reconstructible vessel sections—can be attributed to the Qualla series (Keel 1976:40–48; Riggs and Rodning 2002; Rodning 2008). That identification and the presence of glass beads place this structure in the late 1600s or early 1700s, although there are earlier components at the site as well (Keel 1976:58–64; Ward 2002).

Keel (1976:58) summarizes the glass beads from the Tuckasegee structure as follows:

> This assemblage was composed of the following types of beads: one black, one red with green glass core, five blue, eight turquoise[e], and eight white seed beads; one turquoise[e] barrel bead; and two lemon colored, lobed spherical beads. Except for the lobed specimens which seem to be unique and undatable all of the other types were long used during the Indian trade. Chronologically speaking, the most that can be stated about this assemblage of beads is that they represent 17th or 18th century trade.

The bead described as "red with green glass core" is a Cornaline d'Aleppo bead, a type seen at many sites in North Carolina dating to the late 1600s or early 1700s (Davis and Ward 1991; Dickens et al. 1987; Ward and Davis 1988, 1993, 1999:237–255, 2001). Generally speaking, the types of glass beads from Tuckasegee are comparable to those found at Coweeta Creek and Alarka (Shumate et al. 2005); however, the Tuckasegee glass bead assemblage differs in at least one important respect. Several dwellings and a public structure have been excavated at the Coweeta Creek site, and the paired winter house and summer house at Alarka apparently represents the entire Qualla settlement in its isolated cove, but the one excavated structure at Tuckasegee probably represents just a single house within a settlement of some unknown number of dwellings. In other words, the 1997 excavations at Alarka probably uncovered that entire farmstead, and excavations at Coweeta Creek from 1965 to 1971 uncovered large areas including both public and domestic structures. By contrast, there probably were more structures at Tuckasegee outside the areas excavated by the Cherokee Project in 1964.

Discussion and Conclusions

> [I] have always told my People to be well with the English for they cannot expect any Supply from any where else, nor can they live independent of the English. What are we Red People? The Cloaths we wear, we cannot make ourselves, they are made [for] us. We use their Amunition with which we kill Dear. We cannot make our Guns, they are made [for] us. Every necessary Thing in Life we must have from the White People. [Skiagunsta,

> Lower Cherokee town leader, to Governor James Glen of South Carolina, at Charles Town, in 1753, as quoted by James Axtell 1997:70]
>
> The Original great tye between the Indians and Europeans was Mutual conveniency. This alone could at first have induced the Indians to receive white people differing so much from themselves into their country. Before they were acquainted with Europeans they supplied their few wants with great labor for want of Instruments. Love of ease is natural and they envied the facility with which they saw Europeans Satisfy much greater wants. An ax, a knife, a Gun, were then deemed inestimable acquisitions, and they could not too much caress or admire people, who contributed to their ease & happiness by Furnishing them with such instruments...A modern Indian cannot subsist without Europeans…So that what was only Conveniency at first is now become Necessity and the Original tye Strengthned. [John Stuart, Superintendent, Southern Indian Department, 1764, as quoted by Kathryn Braund 1993:26]
>
> Any study of the changes in economic behavior of the Creeks, or of any other southeastern Indian group, must begin with a discussion of the Carolina colony, founded upon the Ashley River in the year 1670. While documentary and archaeological evidence confirm beyond a shadow of a doubt that the Creeks' forbears had traded in Spanish Florida since the mid-seventeenth century, the real transformation in economic behavior did not occur until the English first established this important colony. [Steven Hahn 2002:82–83]

While it is possible that some of the European trade goods from the Coweeta Creek, Alarka, and Tuckasegee sites were acquired through direct or indirect contact with Spanish expeditions of the sixteenth century, or with English traders from Virginia, it seems more likely that the majority of the European trade goods from these sites reached the Middle and Out settlements through trade networks connecting Cherokee people to the Carolina colony. Spanish expeditions largely bypassed historic Cherokee town areas, or skirted the northern edge of Cherokee territory, en route from the western North Carolina Piedmont to the Tennessee River Valley. Peaches and wrought nails could have been acquired through indirect contact with Spanish expeditions, but there are no examples of sixteenth-century glass bead types from these sites, and Spanish expeditions are unlikely sources of metal tools at sites far from the routes of those expeditions themselves. French efforts to develop trade relations with Cherokee towns—both during the late 1600s and the mid-1700s—focused more upon Cherokee towns in eastern Tennessee than in other areas. Traders from Virginia were active in Cherokee towns during the late 1600s and early 1700s, but, again, trails connecting Virginia to Cherokee towns led first to eastern Tennessee. On the other hand, trail networks connected Charles Town with Cherokee settlements on the Carolina frontier, and there were sustained efforts by Carolina

colonists to maintain trade relations with native groups throughout the Southeast beginning in the late 1600s. If Charles Town is the correct colonial source for some or many of the trade goods found at the Coweeta Creek, Alarka, and Tuckasegee sites, and if we are correct in dating the relevant assemblages from these sites to the late 1600s and very early 1700s, then these sites give us glimpses of access to English trade goods before or very soon after the founding of the Carolina colony, and at the beginning of the rapid spread of its trade network across the Southeast. This source makes geographic sense, and it also fits the chronological clues that we can identify in the European trade good assemblages from these sites.

Ward and Davis (1999:254–257) have argued that in the North Carolina Piedmont, early access to English trade goods from Virginia did not dramatically alter Native American ways of life, at least not at first (see also Brown 1979, 1985; Gulløv 1985; Kaplan 1985; Knight 1985; Perttula 2002a, 2002b; Rogers 1990, 1993). They have demonstrated that even though native groups adopted firearms, glass beads, and metal tools when they had access to them, these new forms of material culture complemented, rather than replaced, aboriginal forms of material culture. Clay pottery and chipped stone projectile points, for example, were still made and used, even after the early introduction of guns (which may have been difficult to maintain on the colonial frontier) and brass or copper kettles (the metal of which may have been valued more as sources of material for ornaments than as cookware to replace aboriginal pottery).

Odell (2001) draws similar conclusions about the timing and tempo of continuity and change in Native American toolkits in his study of metal tools found at the protohistoric Wichita village at the Lasley Vore site in northern Oklahoma. Native groups of the southern and central Plains probably had some access to European trade goods, primarily through indirect contact and brief encounters with Spanish and French explorers, as early as the seventeenth century, and perhaps even as early as the sixteenth century (Vehik 1986, 2002). On the other hand, there were not many European traders or trade goods in this part of the Plains until after 1718, when a French trading post was established near Caddo settlements, and after a French expedition reached Wichita villages in Oklahoma in 1719 (Odell 2002, 2003). As evident from analyses of artifacts found at the Lasley Vore site, some types of tools, such as metal axes and knives, were quickly adopted as replacements of aboriginal

counterparts. Other types of tools, such as stone scrapers (see also Johnson 1997), stone grinding tools (see also Hudson 1993), and chipped stone arrowheads were not quickly replaced by metal alternatives.

Ward and Davis (1999:267–272) have also noted evidence for cultural conservatism and stability in Cherokee towns after the beginning of the Charles Town trade, in the continuation of Qualla ceramics, for example, and the continued significance of Cherokee townhouses throughout the eighteenth century (see also Riggs and Rodning 2002; Wilson and Rodning 2002). I think they are right, in general, that there were elements of cultural stability and conservatism, and, furthermore, that Cherokee groups in southwestern North Carolina actively asserted elements of that stability and conservatism in adapting to dramatic changes and challenges they faced in the colonial Southeast. I think it is also worth noting that trade goods were actively sought and readily adopted by Cherokee groups in southwestern North Carolina very soon after the founding of the Carolina colony.

Mason (2005) notes a comparable pattern for Lower Creek towns, as evident from ethnohistoric sources and from archaeological finds at Ocmulgee Old Fields, the site of a Lower Creek settlement and a Carolina trading post from roughly 1685 to 1715. One of the trading paths from Charles Town led west across the Savannah and Oconee rivers to the Ocmulgee and Chattahoochee rivers, crossing the Ocmulgee River at Macon Plateau, the location of a major Mississippian mound center (Mason 2005:43–44). English trade goods started flowing westward along this trail soon after Henry Woodward made contacts with native groups in the interior in the 1670s and 1680s (Mason 2005:7–14). Archaeologists still debate which Lower Creek town was located at Ocmulgee Old Fields, and which English trader resided at Macon Plateau, but it is clear that considerable amounts of trade goods reached the site and the native towns nearby (Mason 2005; Smith 1992, 2005; Waselkov 1994). Several Lower Creek towns moved from the Chattahoochee River Valley, on the border of modern Georgia and Alabama, to the Ocmulgee River, in about 1685, but most moved back to the Chattahoochee after the beginning of the Yamassee War in 1715, after they sacked and looted English trading houses built along the Ocmulgee River near Lower Creek settlements (Hahn 2004:90; Mason 2005:22, 40, 151–152). One point to emphasize here is the active pursuit by a native community of English trade goods from Charles Town, and the ability of Carolina traders to deliver, very soon after the westward

spread of the Carolina frontier. Another point to emphasize is that, given the presence of a great deal of English trade goods in the vicinity of Macon by the end of the 1600s and the beginning of the 1700s, it is not surprising to find glass beads, kaolin pipes, copper ornaments, and some metal tools at Cherokee settlements in southwestern North Carolina.

The interest of Cherokee groups in southwestern North Carolina in English trade goods is well illustrated by the presence of glass beads, an iron celt, and peach pits at the mid-seventeenth-century Alarka site. Shumate et al. (2005:6.33) write that these artifact finds from a small site in a relatively remote mountain cove indicate either that such trade goods were already widespread or that Alarka was an exceptional site. I favor a variation of the former interpretation, that these and other forms of European trade goods were highly desired by native groups, even in relatively remote areas, even before they became widespread. Given the mid-seventeenth-century date for this site, which predates the formal founding of Charles Town, it is likely that the trade goods from Alarka were acquired, either directly or indirectly, from Virginia traders or from Spanish settlements in Florida.

Early acquisition of European trade goods also is evident in Chickasaw villages in northeastern Mississippi. English traders from Carolina first reached Chickasaw villages in 1685, at which point the Chickasaw were already in possession of European goods, perhaps from Spanish sources (Atkinson 1987, 2004:74–99; Johnson et al. 2008; Morgan 1996, 1997). Archaeological evidence confirms that some European goods were present at Chickasaw sites dating between 1650 and 1700, that a greater number and a greater variety of trade goods were present at sites dating between 1700 and 1730, and that the numbers of metal tools and glass beads increased exponentially at sites dating after 1730 (Johnson et al. 2008). Before 1715, the Chickasaw involvement in exchange with English colonists focused primarily on trading war captives as slaves. After 1715, the emphasis of trade relations between native groups and the Carolina colony shifted from slaves to deerskins. Johnson et al. (2008:23) express some puzzlement that there are not more European trade goods at Chickasaw villages from the late 1600s and early 1700s, but they relate the dramatic increase in the numbers of trade goods at Chickasaw sites after 1730 to the founding of the Georgia colony in that year, and an intense competition that developed between Georgia, Virginia, and South Carolina. It seems that Chickasaw villages were interested in having access to European trade goods as early as

1685, and probably earlier than that, even if there were not steady streams of those trade goods until 1730. I am struck by parallels between the Chickasaw and Cherokee cases, in which there is an evident interest in English trade goods as early as the mid-seventeenth century, and an apparently eager entry into direct trade with the Carolina colony—whether in the form of trading slaves, deerskins, or both—when those trade relations became possible.

The interests of native groups in the Southeast in European goods, of course, probably were first piqued by firsthand encounters and secondhand knowledge of Spanish expeditions in the sixteenth century. Following those expeditions, sources of European goods were scarce until the establishment of Spanish mission settlements, and the trade networks associated with them, during the seventeenth century (Waselkov 1989). By the late seventeenth century, the reappearance of European colonists along the Southern frontier—in the form of French and English explorers, as well as traders from Virginia and Carolina—suddenly offered new outlets for trade and trade goods (Brown 1992; Crane 1929; Hatley 1993; Mason 2005; Merrell 1989, 2006; Waselkov 1992, 1993). At first, it would seem, native people adopted European goods alongside of—rather than instead of—aboriginal forms of material culture, and in many cases traditional native material culture probably had some advantages. This conservatism, or even resistance, may have owed itself in part to the scarcity of European trade goods, rather than the lack of demand for them.

This is not to say that native groups in the Southeast did not want access to European trade goods on their own terms. They did, and they pursued their own interests through trade, through talks with colonial traders and diplomacy with colonial governors, and through participation in conflicts between French, Spanish, and English colonists, and the Native American groups periodically or permanently allied with these European rivals. Of course, we should not presume that native people were "powerless to resist the temptation of European items" (Wesson 2008:xiv), nor that aboriginal material culture and ways of life were discarded at the historical moments of early European contact or the later development of European colonial trade networks. On the other hand, we should acknowledge that native groups actively sought out trade and trade goods, with their own interests and agendas in mind, and that those interests and agendas began developing during early encounters with Spanish expeditions in the sixteenth century (Hudson 1976, 1994, 1997,

2002, 2005). Relatively soon after direct trade relations between English colonists, whether from Carolina or Virginia, developed, however, native groups—including Cherokee towns—became deeply immersed in that trade. As early as 1700, members of the Upper Creek group known as the Tallapoosas were indebted to English traders, and by 1711, people in the Lower Creek settlements on the Ocmulgee River had become greatly indebted to Carolina traders through the credit system that led to the dependency of Creek people on English traders and trade goods (Hahn 2004:75–77). By the 1740s, Cherokee towns had become very much involved in trade with English colonists (Schroedl 2000:216–217), and by the 1760s, Cherokee towns were greatly in debt (Hatley 1993:48), but they were significantly affected by trade and diplomacy with Carolina as early as the years leading up to the Yamassee War (Hatley 1993:17–31).

As discussed here, archaeological evidence from the Coweeta Creek, Alarka, and Tuckasegee sites does not give any clear indications of how "dependent" the residents of these settlements were on European trade and trade goods, although there must have been interest in these areas for European goods, even before the formal development of trade relations between the Cherokee and Carolina colonists in the early eighteenth century. Eventually, that did change, and, arguably, mid-eighteenth-century Cherokee towns were indeed dependent on colonial trade networks (Schroedl 2000:216–217), as the Cherokee leader Skiagunsta said to South Carolina Governor James Glen in 1753 (Axtell 1997:70), and as John Stuart noted in his report about English relations with Creek towns to the South Carolina Board of Commissioners in 1764 (Braund 1993:26). Certainly, the archaeology of Cherokee settlements dating to the mid-to-late eighteenth century confirms the idea that by that point, Cherokee people had widely adopted European material culture and the exchange activities through which they could access it (Baden 1983; Russ and Chapman 1983; Schroedl 1986b).

The Coweeta Creek site was located near the point at which the trading path from Carolina, by way of Keowee and the Lower Cherokee settlements, entered the upper Little Tennessee Valley. If this was the route by which English trade goods from Carolina reached the Middle Cherokee towns, the Coweeta Creek site was well situated to take advantage of that stream. It is even possible that the formally planned settlement—with townhouse, town plaza, and domestic houses around the plaza—was built at the site specifically to take advantage of that developing trade network.

The Coweeta Creek site was probably abandoned relatively soon after the end of the Yamassee War, when the Carolina colony attempted to centralize and regulate trade activities in Cherokee towns, and when an English trading post was established at Cowee, 12 miles north of Coweeta Creek. Meanwhile, during the eighteenth century, there were gatherings of Cherokee town leaders with Carolina traders in the Nequassee townhouse, located some seven miles north of the Coweeta Creek site. The abandonment of the Coweeta Creek site may have been driven, at least in part, by the concentration of trade activities at larger settlements, such as Cowee, Quanassee, Tugalo, and Keowee, and the interests of Cherokee people in having access to trade goods from Carolina. It may also have been driven, in part, by the seventeenth-century slave trade and its effects on reshaping Cherokee settlement patterns and locations. The same trails along which English trade goods reached the upper Little Tennessee Valley during the late 1600s and early 1700s may also have been the paths taken by Westo slave raiders from the Savannah River Valley, for example, and the paths taken by English colonial militias during raids on Cherokee towns in 1761 and in 1776. Such raids were different from traditional forms of warfare in southeastern North America (Dye 1995, 2002, 2009), in that warriors attempted to capture entire villages and towns (Bowne 2005), and they may have encouraged the spatial dispersal of houses, including perhaps the abandonment of domestic houses at Coweeta Creek, even though its townhouse was kept in place. These developments may have encouraged the concentration of Middle Cherokee settlement towards the northern end of the upper Little Tennessee Valley during the eighteenth century, and, indeed, when Bartram visited in 1775, there were many traces of abandoned settlements south of the town of Echoee, but there were greater numbers of people living in and around Echoee, Whatoga, and Cowee.

Access by Cherokee towns to European goods did not lead to immediate abandonment of aboriginal material culture or traditional ways of life, but Cherokee towns did experience significant changes shortly after the spread of English trade networks to southwestern North Carolina. Soon after the Yamassee War and the attempt by Charles Town to establish trading posts along the Carolina frontier, the Coweeta Creek site was abandoned, the Lower Cherokee settlement of Chattooga was abandoned, and the movement of many Cherokee towns west to the Overhill Cherokee settlements had begun. The Grant expedition of 1761 found many people still living in the settlement of Echoee, north of the

Coweeta Creek site, but at the time, most of the Middle Cherokee settlements were concentrated in the northern part of the upper Little Tennessee Valley (King and Evans 1977). William Bartram found many people living in areas from Echoee north to Cowee in 1775, but along his path from Keowee to the Middle Cherokee settlements, old fields and ruins of abandoned settlements were more common (Waselkov and Braund 1995). The abandonment of the Coweeta Creek site and surrounding areas must be related to these developments and also to Cherokee responses to the slave trade and deerskin trade of the late 1600s and early 1700s.

The significance of European material culture to the domestic and political economies of Native North American societies during the 1700s and 1800s is sometimes characterized as dependency. Of course, "dependency" implies lack of control by consumers and participants in the exchange of goods, and dependency in this sense connotes some amount of vulnerability, if a group of people needs a supply of goods for the maintenance of social life and community vitality. This understanding of dependency does not fit the case of Cherokee interest in and access to European goods in the late 1600s and early 1700s. On the other hand, "dependency" can also be thought of as an historical and sociological phenomenon in which an economy is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy. This concept of dependency, explored by Richard White (1983) in his groundbreaking book about changes in Native American societies and landscapes after European contact, is applicable to the Cherokee case considered here for the following reasons. First, the English and French colonial interest in trade networks was driven by interests in deerskins, in Native American slaves, and in the maintenance of alliances with Native American groups that contributed to the safety and success of colonial settlements and colonial activity—these interests made European goods available to native people in the Southeast in the first place. Second, native groups did alter settlement patterns (Goodwin 1977), subsistence practices, and practices of diplomacy and warfare (Ethridge 2006) in response to European colonialism in the Southeast and in pursuit of trade goods and alliances that served the interests of native groups—or, perhaps, the interests of the leaders of native towns who participated in diplomacy and exchange with English and French colonists and who may have benefited from those activities, at least in some cases. I do not want to diminish the dramatic and devastating impact that European contact had on the lives of Native American societies in the long run. I do want to

emphasize, on the other hand, that Cherokee groups, and probably other groups in eastern North America, made choices about how to interact with European colonists and choices about what roles European goods would play within native communities. Eventually, the demand for deerskins in Europe dropped considerably, and the deerskin trade in the colonial Southeast collapsed. Again, just as they had in the late 1600s and early 1700s, when the deerskin trade spread widely and rapidly across the Southeast, developments in an increasingly global economy had dramatic effects on the lives of people in the southern Appalachians.

This consideration of European goods from the Coweeta Creek, Alarka, and Tuckasegee lends itself to the following points. First, the source of most or all of these goods is probably Charles Town and the Carolina colony, rather than Jamestown or French colonists in the Mississippi Valley. Second, they reflect early access to English trade goods by Cherokee towns before the development of formal trade relations with the Carolina colony in the early 1700s, although English traders from both Virginia and Carolina are known to have been present in Cherokee towns by the late 1600s. Third, peaches and peach trees seem to have been relatively common in the Cherokee landscape in the seventeenth century, well before English colonists themselves had any constant presence along the Carolina frontier, and well before William Bartram found them growing in old Cherokee town sites and old fields. Fourth, soon after European goods first reached Cherokee towns in southwestern North Carolina, during the mid-to-late seventeenth century, they reached both large settlements and town centers, like Coweeta Creek, as well as small farmsteads, like the Alarka site. After the Carolina colony's establishment of formal trading posts in selected Cherokee towns in the early 1700s, and after the Carolina colony's construction of forts in Cherokee towns during the mid 1700s, the circulation of trade goods became focused on those settlements where English colonial outposts were located. For that reason, and because of the severity of attacks by English colonial militias on the Middle Cherokee towns in 1761, large areas of the upper Little Tennessee Valley were largely abandoned, and Cherokee settlement became concentrated at and around mound centers such as Nequassee and Cowee, as was apparent to William Bartram during his travels through the Lower and Middle Cherokee town areas in 1775. Fifth, the establishment of the formally planned town at Coweeta Creek and the establishment of the mid-seventeenth-century farmstead at Alarka both coincide closely with the early introduction of English trade goods to southwestern North

Carolina, suggesting the possibility that early access to European goods was a catalyst for both of these developments. Lastly, this study of European goods from Coweeta Creek, Alarka, and Tuckasegee underscores the significant interest by Cherokee people in the seventeenth century in trade and in trade goods, including many items such as glass beads and kaolin pipes that probably had more social and symbolic value than utilitarian value.

Notes

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[1] The colony of Carolina was founded in 1670, with the establishment of Charles Town on the Ashley River, and Carolina was divided into North Carolina and South Carolina in 1729. Strictly speaking, the Cherokee towns were located within the territory of North Carolina, but South Carolina was far more involved in trade with the Cherokee than its northern neighbor.

[2] During the eighteenth century, there were settlements known as “Stecoe” or “Stecoa” on the Tuckasegee River (Duncan and Riggs 2003:16; Smith 1979:48), but like other Cherokee placenames, “Stecoe” may refer to more than one place, including, perhaps, one or more locations on the upper Little Tennessee River. William Bartram traveled from Keowee and the Lower Cherokee settlements to the Middle Cherokee settlements in the upper Little Tennessee Valley. Following the descriptions of trails by Crane (1929:129–131), it seems likely that Bartram would have followed the trail from Keowee to Oconee, then to Chattooga, and then, by way of Rabun Gap, to the headwaters of the Little Tennessee. It seems less likely that Bartram would have first entered the Tuckasegee River Valley before crossing the mountains again to the upper Little

Tennessee Valley on his way to Cowee. According to Smith (1979:48–53), there actually was a settlement known as "Stecoe" in the upper Little Tennessee Valley, in addition to the "Stecoe" located along the Tuckasegee River. As in the case of the multiple locations known as "Estatoe" or "Old Estatoe," the multiple locations known as "Stecoe" perhaps reflect "old" and "new" settlements of a single community, or a pair of closely related towns (Smith 1979:52). Maps and written accounts from the mid-to-late eighteenth century consistently place "Chatuga" adjacent to "Great Tellico," on the Tellico River in eastern Tennessee, in one of many examples of a town (the Lower Cherokee town of Chattooga) moving to an area associated with a different Cherokee town group (the Overhill Cherokee settlements in eastern Tennessee) during the eighteenth century (Smith 1979:56).

[3] I think the Dillard mound site (9Ra3) is the likely location of a settlement known as Old Estatoe (Crane 1929:130; Duncan and Riggs 2003:16), or the abandoned settlement of Stecoe, where William Bartram found an abandoned mound and townhouse, as well as abandoned houses and old fields, in 1775, on his way to the Middle Cherokee settlements (Crane 1929:129; Waselkov and Braund 1995:78). Crane (1929:129) suggests that Stecoe was located along the trading path before it crossed the Blue Ridge, which would indicate that the Dillard mound more likely corresponds to Old Estatoe. Crane (1929:130) notes that soon after entering the upper Little Tennessee Valley, the trading path was close to the settlement of Tessentee, the source of the name of Tessentee Creek, and a likely candidate as a possible eighteenth-century manifestation of the Middle Cherokee community whose seventeenth-century settlement was situated at the Coweeta Creek archaeological site.

[4] I think it is interesting to note that the Cherokee Out towns were at the very end of this network of trails connecting Cherokee towns to the Savannah River and to the Carolina colony. The major Cherokee Out town was Kituwha, known as one of the very ancient and culturally conservative Cherokee towns (Mooney 1900:225), one of the seven "mother towns" of the Cherokee people (Mooney 1900:182), and one of the places where an "everlasting fire" burned inside an earthen mound (Mooney 1900:395–396). Perhaps the status of Kituwha as an ancient settlement and a mother town—and as a haven for cultural conservatism, in the present as in the past—is related in part to its placement at the end of the paths connecting Charles Town and Cherokee settlements (Goodwin 1977:115–116).

[5] Kidd and Kidd (1970) outline the most widely cited and most widely used glass bead typology for North America. Glass beads discussed in this paper are tabulated with the type designations that Brain (1979) has developed for trade beads from aboriginal sites in the Lower Mississippi River Valley. I follow Brain's type designations because his published photographs of examples of each bead type very closely resemble beads from the Coweeta Creek site, more closely than do the drawings in Kidd and Kidd's monograph, and both classificatory systems are similar to each other. I find it interesting to note the general similarities between the glass beads from the Coweeta Creek site (probably acquired through trade with Carolina) with those found at aboriginal sites in the Lower Mississippi Valley, where they were acquired through trade with French colonists. Spector (1976) has actually advocated alternative frameworks for glass bead typology, focused less on specific types whose designations are essentially arbitrary letters and numbers, and focused more on descriptive attributes of size, shape, color, and translucency. Mason (2005), Quimby (1966), and others, of course, conducted analyses of glass bead assemblages before any of these classificatory systems had been developed,

and Smith (1987) usefully identifies the groups of glass bead types that are (or are not) chronologically diagnostic.

[6] Soon after Harrington (1951, 1954) published his kaolin pipestem dating method, some authors (Chalkey 1955; Omwake 1956) challenged its validity. Since then, numerous analysts (Eaton 1962; Irwin 1959; Mason 2005:90–92; Schroedl 1986b:436, 2000:214–216, 2001:288–289) have derived dates for kaolin pipe stems from Native American settlements and colonial trading posts that seem very reasonable and even quite accurate, based on independent sources of evidence about the dates for those sites. I am confident, therefore, that the kaolin pipe stem dates reported here can be trusted as one of several chronological markers, although, strictly speaking, they should be considered *terminus post quem* dates for the pit features at Coweeta Creek in which they have been found.

[7] The regression formula developed by Binford (1972, 1982) necessitates the same type of data (that is, measurements of pipe stem bore hole diameters, in increments comparable to modern drill bit sizes) as does the approach developed by Harrington (1951, 1954). If the basic assumptions underlying Harrington's technique (including, for example, the assumption that the bore hole diameters of kaolin pipestems tend to decrease through time) are shown to be problematic, then Binford's formula is also problematic. I think both techniques are valid methods for determining general dates for assemblages of kaolin pipe fragments, although like any other dating method in archaeology, they are best used as one of several methods of dating assemblages, or sites, or specific contexts at sites.

[8] This settlement to which Bartram refers as "Sticoe" was probably located along the upper reaches of the Little Tennessee Valley, near the point at which the trail from Keowee entered the area of the Middle Cherokee settlements (Crane 1929:129–131; Duncan and Riggs 2003:16).

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"DID YOU BUT KNOW THE WORTH THAT'S BURIED HERE": MANAGING FORT BRAGG'S HISTORIC CEMETERIES

by

Linda F. Carnes-McNaughton
and
Jennifer Friend

Abstract

Since 1996, Fort Bragg's Cultural Resources Management Program has conducted intensive and extensive annual monitoring of its 27 historic cemeteries located on the 160,000-acre reservation. As stewards and managers for these resources, our challenge is to bring the information within these graveyards to descendant groups, Civil War enthusiasts, historians, and researchers. Policy issues to manage these resources are presented, along with case studies to demonstrate how Department of Defense regulations, U.S. Code (Public Law), and Installation Requirements are implemented. Discussion includes use of non-intrusive techniques to locate interments, along with demographics related to the types of cemeteries, their use dates, and preservation issues.

The title quote is taken from an 1811 gravestone marker of Margaret McKoy, consort of Angus Gilchrist, who was buried at Long Street Church Presbyterian Cemetery on Fort Bragg lands. The remainder of the quote is "you'd heave a sigh, my friend, you'd drop a tear, or her deserts, tis nough, this truth to know, she lived a christ'in, she died without a foe." We chose this epitaph as fitting to describe the multiple meanings of "worth" demonstrated by this marker and others like it. Indeed, they contain "riches" measured in their cultural meaning, historical relevance, and the burial customs they reflect. This overview of Fort Bragg's 27 historic cemeteries is the first ever offered in the 14 years since the resources have been formally documented.

Fort Bragg, located in the Sandhills region of North Carolina, was established in 1918 from lands purchased by the War Department from 170 private landowners, many of whom were descendants of Scottish Highlanders, African-Americans (of former slaves), and Native Americans. Most had lived on this land for decades, if not centuries.

Once the purchase process was concluded in 1923, the lands were cleared of structures for military training. What remained were the burial places of their ancestors, along with the archaeological ruins of former houses, businesses, and churches, laced together by a nexus of dirt roads and pathways. As such, these burial places or cemeteries testify to nearly 250 years of settlement history on this landscape, dating from the 1770s to the present, and represent three primary ethnic populations: Scottish Highlanders, African-Americans (or freed slaves), and Native Americans, as well as the blended descendants of all three groups.

The location of these cemeteries and basic information related to the families associated with them was first recorded during the 1960s by forestry interns working under the direction of a professional forester, Ken Harris. In 1996, Beverly Boyko (from the newly-formed Cultural Resources Management Program or CRMP) and retired Army Colonel Bill Kern (from the Directorate of Public Works) took Harris' compiled data and added detailed site maps with state site numbers to each cemetery (Table 1). They also completed epitaph data where possible, added individual plot numbers to each marker, and put together an in-house publication on the historic cemeteries of Fort Bragg (including Camp Mackall). Each cemetery was assigned a (family or location) name, mapped, and given grid coordinates (Figure 1). For archival purposes, each numbered headstone was recorded photographically (in black and white and, later, digitally). In addition to the 27 known cemeteries containing families, isolated and grouped military markers found across the reservation were also documented and their locations recorded. Some of these markers are associated with the known cemeteries, while others are found on remnant battlefield sites, such as Civil War-period Monroe's Crossroads, the corresponding Kilpatrick's Campsite, and the Revolutionary War-period Piney Bottom Massacre Site (where nine Patriots are reported to have perished at the hands of a Tory raiding party). A closer look at all cemeteries is now provided to discern regional chronologies, settlement history, and land-use patterns, in tandem with military training lands compatibility and overall resource management practices.

Cemetery Types

Using descriptive categories drawn from several relevant resources (primarily Riedl et al.'s 1976 study of historic cemeteries located on Tennessee's Cumberland Plateau, Little's 1998 research on the

Table 1. List of Cemeteries by Name and State Site Number.

Cemetery	Site Number	Township	County	Type	Community or Church Association	Earliest Date	Last Date	Only Known Date	Known Number of Burials	Number of Marked Graves	Memorial Markers	Military Graves
Austin	31HT120	Johnsonville	Harnett	Multi-Family	-	-	-	1891	1	1	0	0
Campbell	31HK514	Quewhiffle	Hoke	Single Family	-	-	-	1865	10	6	1	0
Ellis	31CD205	Seventy-First	Cumberland	Single Family	-	1850	1918	-	19	19	0	4
Goins	31HK24	Little River Township	Hoke	Multi-Family	-	1902	1929	-	14	14	0	0
Keyser	31MR272	Sandhills	Moore	Community	-	1912	1928	-	33	33	0	0
Knox	31CD458	Manchester	Cumberland	Individual Plot	-	late-19th century	early-20th century	-	1	1	0	0
Lane	31HK509	Quewhiffle	Hoke	Individual Plot	-	-	-	1911	1	1	0	0
Long Street Cemetery	31HK518	Little River Township	Hoke	Community	Long Street Presbyterian Church	1773	1932	-	277	233	4	14
Lord	31CD756	Manchester	Cumberland	Individual Plot	-	-	-	1896	1	1	0	0
McDonald Cemetery	31HK367	Quewhiffle	Hoke	Multi-Family	-	1829	1884	-	9	9	1	1
McIntyre	31CD450	Seventy-First	Cumberland	Multi-Family	-	1801	1869	-	20	20	0	0
McLeod	31HK512	Little River Township	Hoke	Community	-	1826	1930	-	45	44	0	3
Monroe	31HK511	Little River Township	Hoke	Multi-Family	-	1866	1892	-	8	8	1	0
Newton	31CD103	Seventy-First	Cumberland	Community	Rocky Mount or Hill Church Cemetery	1884	1912	-	46	43	2	1
Priest	31SC89	Spring Hill	Scotland	Individual Plot	-	-	-	1889	1	1	0	0
Sandy Grove Cemetery	31HK510	Quewhiffle	Hoke	Community	Sandy Grove Presbyterian Church	1859	1977	-	218	216	1	14
Smith	31HK513	Quewhiffle	Hoke	Multi-Family	-	1814	1866	-	23	21	1	2
Smith-Campbell-Blue	31HK515	Quewhiffle	Hoke	Multi-Family	-	-	-	1838	5	2	1	0
Stinson	31CD641	Manchester	Cumberland	Community	-	1896	2006	-	77	73	0	2
Taylor	31CD452	Manchester	Cumberland	Community	-	1886	1941	-	5	5	0	0
Thomas	31CD451	Seventy-First	Cumberland	Multi-Family	Clark Family	1902	1942	-	4	3	1	0
Thompson	31SC90	Spring Hill	Scotland	Multi-Family	-	-	-	1916	3	3	0	0
Townsend	31CD626	Manchester	Cumberland	Single Family	-	1904	1916	-	3	2	0	0
Utley	31HK516	Quewhiffle	Hoke	Single Family	-	-	-	1916	4	4	0	0
Whitehead	31CD106	Seventy-First	Cumberland	Dual Plot	-	1905	1909	-	2	1	0	0
Wilson	31HK519	McLauchlin	Hoke	Community	Zion Wall Church/ African American Community	1901	1915	-	5	5	1	0
Totals									**835**	**769**	**14**	**41**
(Excluded from Demographic Analysis)												
McDonald	31CD449	Seventy-First	Cumberland	Single Family	-	mid-19th century	early-20th century	-	28	28	0	0

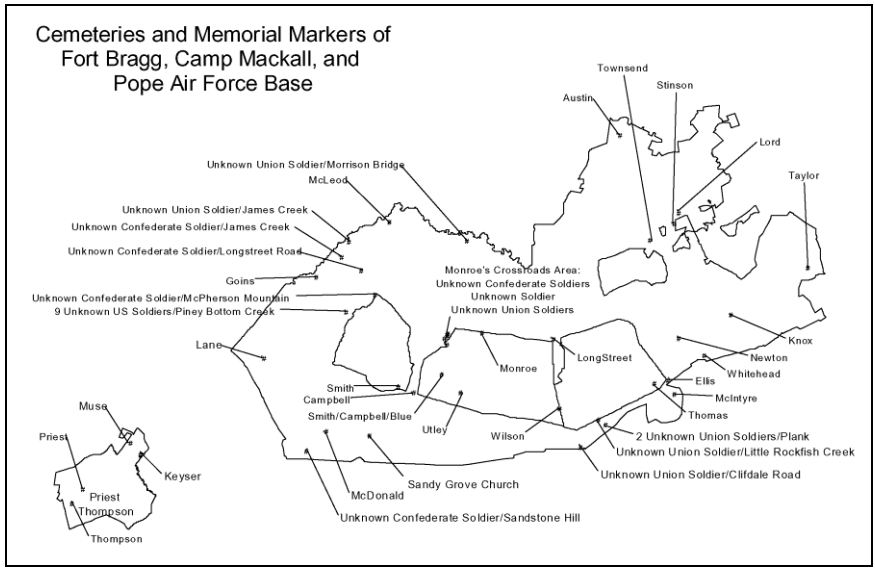

Figure 1. Map of Fort Bragg with location of cemeteries (from Boyko and Kern 2001).

gravestones of North Carolina, and Clauser's 1994 overview article of the southern folk cemetery), the 27 historic graveyards on Fort Bragg can be sorted into six primary types: multiple family, single family, community, community/church, individual plot, and dual plot (Figure 2). Nine (or 36%) of the cemeteries are identified as "multi-family," indicating that more than one family name is associated with readable grave markers in these locations. These may represent extended family units (representing two or more families) as former landowners, or occupants of small farming hamlets, common in the Sandhills region. Four of the 27 cemeteries (or 15%) are typed as "single family" in that only one surname is reflected in readable headstones. These cemeteries tended to be located on isolated properties or are situated on the corner of what was once a single family farmstead.

"Community" cemeteries totaled four (or 15%); these are larger graveyards not associated with any church or urban area, but which reflect multiple surnames on the headstones. These tended to cluster in areas of known milling activities (e.g., sawmilling or gristmilling) or turpentine industries, and often reflected families who earned their subsistence in these enterprises. Landownership in these areas was centered on these common extractive or milling activities, referred to as

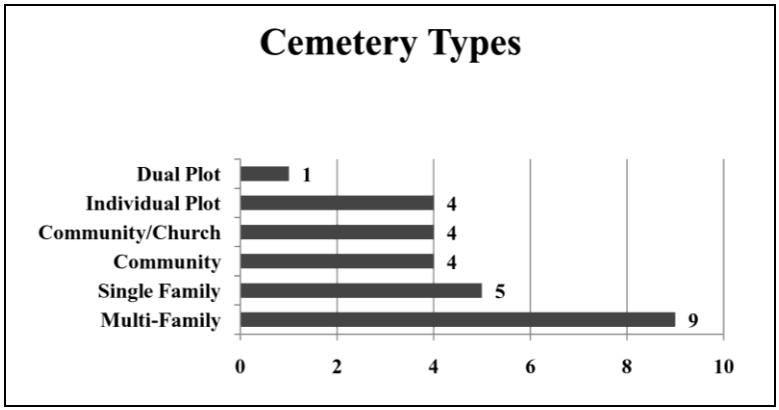

Figure 2. Frequency distribution of cemetery types.

rural industries. "Community/church" graveyards are represented by four sizable cemeteries (or 15%), two of which are the largest graveyards of the group and associated with extant nineteenth-century churches. Long Street Presbyterian Church, built in 1847 (Figure 3), is located adjacent to the earliest documented graveyard on Fort Bragg (ca. 1770s) and contains 277 identifiable burials. Sandy Grove Presbyterian Church, built in 1854, has an adjacent cemetery (Figure 4) with 218 recognizable interments. Each of these major cemeteries contains multiple family names associated with two centuries of settlement pioneers.

"Individual plot" graveyards are represented by four (or 15%) and are located on old farmlands of the original owners. One graveyard marked by a single obelisk marker identifies the only "Dual plot" type, an interment of husband and wife, located on the eastern edge of the military installation, but on lands once held by this family. Also located on Fort Bragg is the large Main Post Cemetery, which began in 1918 as a graveyard for soldiers, veterans, dependants, and POWS. Since it is maintained by the Army's Office of Mortuary Affairs, it falls generally outside of CRMP's management parameters and is not furthered considered in this overview. Interestingly, however, it was the final location for a recent custody transfer and reburial of ancient human remains, which directly involved the CRMP, Fort Bragg's Garrison Command, and leaders of the Catawba Indian Nation.

Figure 3. Long Street Presbyterian Church and adjacent cemetery.

Figure 4. Sandy Grove Presbyterian Church and adjacent cemetery.

Policies, Laws, Regulations, and Statutes

Public Access

As long-term stewards and designated managers for these unique resources, the Fort Bragg Cultural Resources Management Program is responsible for preserving these historic properties, whenever possible, and bringing information found within these graveyards to the public shareholders, such as descendant groups, Civil War enthusiasts, historians, and researchers. Various Public Policies and U.S. Code, Department of Defense Regulations, and Installation Requirements provide our necessary guidelines for overall management of these cemeteries (Table 2). Primarily, public access to the cemeteries and placement of new or redone markers falls under Army Regulation 210-190, Chapter 2, Section 1. For definition, this covers all private cemeteries located on government-owned lands, where "private" means any graveyard previously owned by a person or agency other than the United States. Private cemeteries (like the 27 on Fort Bragg lands) were

Table 2. List of Department of Defense Regulations, Policies, and Codes.

Guidelines & Statutes	Areas of Relevance
Federal Guidelines	
AR210-190	Post Cemeteries, operations, maintenance and administration
AR200-3(4.3)	Natural Resources, maintenance of cemetery fences & stones
DA PAM290-5(5)	Administration and operations of Army cemeteries
AR420-10	Directorate of Public Works, real property easements for burials
AR420-70 & 74	Maintenance of buildings and structures related to cemeteries
NAGPRA	Protection of Native American burial remains and grave goods
North Carolina General Statutes	
GS14-148 & 149	Assesses penalties for defacing or desecration of graves
GS65-13	Details procedures for removal/relocation/reinterment of burials
GS70-29 to 33	Procedures for discovery of unmarked burial/human remains

allowed to remain in place even after the United States acquired fee title to the land, and all fall under this definition. Therefore, the Army recognizes certain duties to the families, churches, or next of kin to maintain these historic properties and provide access as needed, in addition to long-term preservation. Access is coordinated through relevant Fort Bragg authorities, namely the Cultural Resources Management Office and Range Control. Requests for interments in these cemeteries require an affidavit filed with the Director of Public Works. A burial easement (e.g., a contractual agreement, based on available space, and documentation of kinship) is prepared and submitted for approval. If necessary, availability of space is sometimes determined by archaeological methods to avoid encroachment of any unmarked burials. Easements are executed through coordination with the installation's Real Property Office, within the Directorate of Public Works. The affidavit must include "Next of Kin" documentation and proof of relationship to the interred family, a clear line of descent, and just cause for placement.

Requests for memorial markers (new or replacements) to be added in the graveyards also requires significant evidence (e.g., oral history, historical documentation, and family records) and coordination with the CRMP. For military memorial markers (new or replacements), application forms provided by Veterans Administration Office are completed by family members and then submitted by CRMP staff for approval. Placement/installation of these special markers is then coordinated by the CMRP in designated areas of the graveyards. Memorial markers, honoring fallen soldiers buried elsewhere (for example), are installed in rows apart from the interment spaces, usually along edges or perimeter fence lines.

Maintenance

Other Army Regulations pertain more to maintenance of the grounds and markers, and coordination with Natural Resources (for tandem protection of endangered species present), Forestry Branch (for annual schedule of control burns as part of forest management), and Grounds Maintenance Division (for replacement or repair of the fences, structures or roadways associated with these graveyards, and annual mowing where appropriate). Minor repairs of markers (cleaning of bio-growth from the stones, and resetting leaning markers) are done in-house by the CRMP staff (Figure 5). Major repairs which involve the mending of stone markers using epoxy or welding compounds is typically

Figure 5. Cultural Resources Management Program staff cleaning grave marker.

contracted out to a conservation specialist (Figure 6). Further details of maintenance and schedules are described below.

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), enacted by Congress to protect American Indian burials and sumptuary items, and to repatriate previously discovered human remains, also factors into the CRMP's management practices and shared stewardship of the land. Recently at Fort Bragg, NAGPRA was invoked to insure the appropriate treatment of an inadvertent find and the successful transfer of custody of those remains to the Catawba Indian Nation for reburial. NAGPRA also provides guidance for on-going archaeological surveys and consultation with the Native American community.

Figure 6. Example of major stone repairs using epoxy bonding and supportive clamps.

Burial Discovery and Protection

In addition to federal mandates, several North Carolina State General Statues also apply to burial discovery and protection protocols: namely, GS 14-148 & 149, which outline penalties for defacing or desecrating a grave or marker; GS 65-13, which details the proper protocols for the removal, relocation, or reinterment of burials; and GS

70, Sections 29 to 33, which outline procedures for notifying the appropriate authorities upon discovery of an unmarked cemetery or burial and the preparation for its protection or removal if warranted. Appropriate authorities include, but are not limited to, the coroner's office and the state archaeologist, and on Fort Bragg these authorities include Garrison Command, CRMP archaeologists, and, ultimately, relevant consulting Indian nations.

During the past few years requests by family descendant groups to visit the burial places of their ancestors have become more frequent as access policies and coordination with the CRMP staff and Range Control have become more formalized. Popular events among descendant groups (directly related to the Fort Bragg lands) are family reunions where, through special arrangements, large gatherings of clans are permitted to visit their ancestors' cemetery and honor their heritage. These family gatherings are attended by descendants who travel from all across the United States, not just North Carolina. Some visitors participate in a "decoration" of the graves (Figure 7) on an annual basis or on anniversaries of the interments. Group and individual photographs are taken and if requested, other special activities are permitted (such as blessing ceremonies or historical programs).

Still, other visitations to the cemeteries are sometimes shrouded in mystery, such as the frequent visitors to the single grave of Anna May Buchanan who died in 1910 at the age of 16. In this instance, numerous grave offerings, some perhaps culturally meaningful to the deceased or her visitors, have been placed at her headstone (and footer) over several months (Figure 8). These offerings include stuffed animals, family photos, coins, jewelry, a can of pineapple juice, and seasonal gifts such as Santas and Valentine roses. Genealogical research and local inquiries have yet to link the deceased to any known descendants; still, the remembrances (if non-toxic) are noted in the quarterly monitoring visits of this graveyard and are allowed to remain in place until they deteriorate. And, Anna May's life (and death) story remains untold at this time.

Maintenance and Monitoring

Maintenance and quarterly monitoring of the 27 cemeteries is the task of one full-time person, assisted on occasion by one intern and volunteers when available. Under Federal Department of Defense burial

Figure 7. Example of African-American Grave (Stinson) with "decorations".

laws, primarily AR 210-190, and the two AR420s, each cemetery receives an annual inspection, along with repairs or upgrades as warranted. Typically, these monitoring inspections are spread out annually so that seven cemeteries are visited per quarter. Basic monitoring includes: visual site inspection of the grounds and individual markers; removal of limb and leaf debris with minor policing; photography of conditions, changes or damages; and completion of in-

Figure 8. Grave offerings at Anna May Buchannan headstone and footstone.

house monitoring forms (digitally and hardcopy). Assessing the continual damage caused by natural factors (e.g., erosion, fire, lichens, tree fall, etc.) and some cultural factors (e.g., vandalism and new construction) is captured in the quarterly monitoring program. In 2006, a new approach was taken to assess these pre-existing conditions at each cemetery and assign a status ranking for future conservation treatment. Three rankings were created: poor, fair, and good (see following text).

Figure 9. New wooden fence and signage at Austin Cemetery.

Ground Maintenance and Fence Repair

As part of on-going grounds maintenance of the graveyards, fence repairs are sometimes needed. Existing fence styles on most of the cemeteries are more than 20 years old and consist of wooden posts strung with parallel rows of barbed wire. Exceptions include three cemeteries which are surrounded by eighteenth or nineteenth-century dry-laid stone walls, another three which are enclosed with modern chain link fences, and a few cemeteries which have stylized concrete posts with wooden runners. Fence replacement projects, such as the one at Austin Cemetery (Figure 9), now incorporated as "green space" in a new subdivision, are done through installation contract services and are designed by the CRMP staff. As previously mentioned, annual mowing and tree removal are coordinated with the Grounds Maintenance division and the Forestry Branch, respectively. Coordination with the Forestry Branch is also required in areas where historic cemeteries are located in "control burn" zones. Special precautions are taken to prevent fires from overtaking these cemeteries (e.g., raking around perimeters and fence lines, monitoring, and ditching as needed).

Figure 10. Eagle Scout Group cleaning at Stinson Cemetery.

On occasion, further cemetery maintenance is done as special stewardship projects, utilizing the services of volunteers, youth groups, and school classes. At the Stinson Cemetery, our only "active" graveyard, an Eagle Scout Merit Award project involved grounds cleanup, marker realignment, and stone cleaning (Figure 10). At the Keyser Cemetery located on Camp Mackall, an eighth grade class from a neighboring school spent a day learning how to record cemeteries, how

Figure 11. Muse grave being cleaned by eighth grade students.

to conduct basic conservation techniques on cleaning stones, and helped to re-expose the curbing and marker of a child's grave covered by years of erosional sediments (Figure 11). And at the McIntyre family graveyard, the History Hunters Club from Albritton Middle School (on Fort Bragg) "adopted" this cemetery as its class project and spent two days learning about conservation, recording, and maintenance of these valuable resources. Public outreach opportunities such as this provide a useful outdoor classroom setting to educate future generations on the merits of stewardship and the history of southern cemeteries (patterns, arrangements, symbols, and use of raw materials), as well as to enhance their understanding of genealogies as exemplified in family customs.

Marker Condition and Repair

Maintenance efforts by CMRP in the past three years have also narrowed the focus on the conservation of individual grave markers at these cemeteries. A total of 835 known graves have been recorded in 26 of the 27 historic cemeteries (one graveyard is excluded from our statistical totals in this presentation because it falls outside the

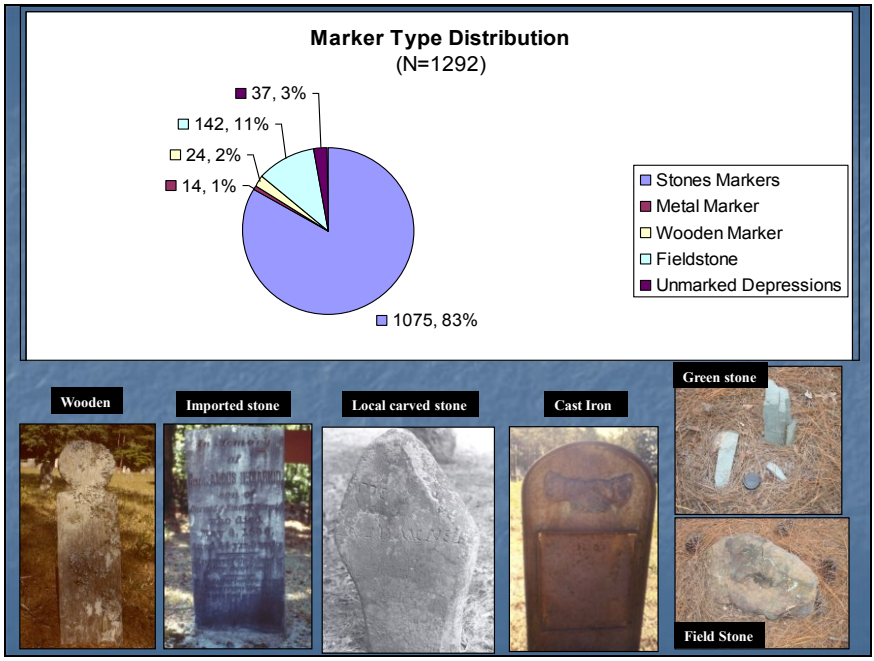

Figure 12. Types of grave markers found on Fort Bragg.

reservation boundary, though we continue to monitor its condition). Added to the 835 known graves is the suspected location of at least another 16 burials identified by their orientation, position in the graveyards, and general morphology of a slumped depression. Grave markers (including headers and footers) associated with the known burials total 1,292 and are composed of a variety of materials: wooden (carved or barrel stave), imported stone (marble or granite), locally carved stone (laminate), cast iron, natural greenstone, and uncarved sandstone (Figure 12). Stone markers, totaling 83%, comprise the largest type. These include imported stones of marble and white granite, and local stone of ferruginous sandstone. Twenty-four (or 2%) recorded markers are made of wood; some of these are thicker planks carved with circular tympanums, and some are simply planks or stave-like pieces (used in the construction of barrels). The latter may represent a preference or local availability of staves for burial markers by certain families who were cooperers or wood craftsmen (associated with milling or turpentine industries in the area). There are two unusual cast iron grave markers (headers and footers) for Archibald and Isabella McLeod

located in Sandy Grove Churchyard, which bear patent dates of March 22, 1887.

The condition of the 1,077 stone markers have been further assessed and sorted into three categories for treatment purposes: good, fair, and poor. Markers in "good" condition have legible inscriptions, no surface damage, minimal leaning, and only residual bio-growth; those in "fair" condition are leaning or out of ground, damaged or stained, efflorescing, moderate soiled, or show minor loss of surface; and markers in "poor" condition are severely cracked or broken, have failed repairs or eroded inscriptions, exhibit severe bio-growth or tree encroachment, or show signs of corrosion. Those beyond all restoration or repair efforts have been deemed irreparable. General cleaning of bio-growth from the surface of the stones is undertaken to remove lichens, molds, and grime to stabilize the surface and to expose legible carvings. Using soft-bristled brushes and a mild biocide (rinsed with water) has proven the most effective.

Occasionally, old markers are found in unexpected places. Recently, during an on-base construction project, a broken marker was exposed by landscaping activities downhill from the Ellis Cemetery. Construction workers contacted the CRMP staff to document and retrieve the broken marker. Subsequent research indicated that the newly discovered marble marker belonged to Foster Ellis, son of Jesse and Levina Ellis, who died in 1849 at the age of two. How the marker ended up 300 yards away remains unknown, but after in-house cleaning and repairs, the marker was reinstalled in the family graveyard (Figure 13).

The majority of "poor" condition markers identified in this assessment are related to failed repairs done in 1997, which used nylon pins and epoxy resin to rejoin broken markers. This repair work, done under a contract, was at the time considered the "state of the art" method of mending broken stones. Indeed, many proponents of the nylon pin/epoxy method are still in business and swear by the long-lasting results of this technique. At Fort Bragg, however, we discovered that of the several dozen markers repaired using this method, the failure rate after a five-year period was over 90% (Figure 14). After a recent visit (2008) from a conservation specialist who purports this method of repair as fail-proof, and who successfully used it on several other cemetery markers outside of Fort Bragg's environs, the failed examples were examined once again. As result of this reexamination, the CRMP staff

Figure 13. Replacement of Foster Ellis marker in Ellis Cemetery.

concluded that the primary cause for such failures on the Fort Bragg grave markers was most likely due to percussion episodes created from exploding ordinance or low-flying aircraft, a regular event on military training lands.

Unfortunately, these failed repairs generated even greater damage to the stones by subsequent breakage as well as face-spalling on the stone caused by the drilled pin holes. Coordinated efforts to repair over 30 stones in this condition are now underway, but the task is very time consuming and must be done in the field under suitable weather conditions. In extreme cases, descendants have requested a replacement marker be installed to preserve the inscribed data on the damaged marker. Placement and size of these new markers must then be coordinated with the CRMP staff but are paid for by family members.

Although the maintenance and monitoring of these historic cemeteries is a part of our on-going stewardship and management responsibilities, two cemeteries are located in restricted-access impact zones and fall outside of our abilities to completely preserve them. One

Figure 14. Example of failed pins on marker repaired in 1997.

is actually located in what is now a target range and earlier efforts to protect it using an earthen embankment (to deflect exploding shrapnel) have failed. The other graveyard, situated within an impact zone, is

fortunately within a buffered edge and is undamaged, but it requires a pre-arranged escort with explosives escorts to visit it (for monitoring purposes).

Cemetery Demographics

Burials and Markers

We now will discuss two recent projects which involved the 27 historic cemeteries on Fort Bragg. One project utilized basic demographic data (by Friend 2008) extracted from our cemetery archive files and summarized here for the first time. The second project involved the use of various scientific instruments to conduct geophysical surveys of several target cemeteries. These two studies serve to demonstrate that the historic cemeteries on Fort Bragg provide excellent opportunities to enhance our understanding of the resources and the cultural information they contain. These studies should be considered preliminary in their findings but promising in the potential to generate future research questions. Also, as previously mentioned, one cemetery (the McDonald Cemetery, Cumberland County) falls on the border of military ownership, and though it is included in our annual monitoring, it falls outside of our jurisdiction for repairs and restoration efforts.

Within the remaining 26 cemeteries, there are 769 marked graves of which only 532 have readable markers (or 69%). These include 14 military memorial markers, 42 military grave markers, and 476 non-military grave markers. Of the 14 memorial markers, only nine represent men that are interred in the cemetery. The other five represent markers placed by family members in memory of their ancestors who were killed and buried elsewhere. Therefore, 527 legible markers (532 minus those five memorial indicators) identify persons buried in or around the extant cemeteries.

Because several graves contain more than one individual, the 769 markers represent a total of 835 individuals. One marker (in Long Street Church Cemetery) marks the location of a Civil War-period mass grave which, according to differing local accounts, contains between 9 and 30 Confederate soldiers who died at the nearby Monroe's Crossroads Battlefield site but were later exhumed and reburied in the church grave yard. Focusing on individual interments and what they can tell us about the former occupants of this landscape, we have determined that, out of

the 835 known burials, we can identify 556 individuals with varying degrees of personal data. These individuals represent 67% of the known burials and are representative of the 527 markers we were able to identify.

Demographic data were gathered from the gravestone inscriptions of the 556 known individuals, whose death dates range from 1794 to 2006. Three categories of information were extracted from the epitaphs: seasonality of death (i.e., winter, spring, summer, fall); age at death (within 10-year groups); and period of death (within 25-year, or quarter-century, chronological periods). By utilizing specific categories, even with a limited number of known burials, settlement patterns and population fluctuations were noted that may or may not have been influenced by environment or economic variables. One particular discovery noted in this study was the high incident of longevity among those buried in these graveyards. A more in-depth study into the genetic or biological composition of these individuals, and matching that data to family histories, may reveal new insights into the economic and environmental factors which affected their lives, and ultimately their deaths.

By examining the deaths by seasons, we were able to determine the time of year that death occurred most frequently and therefore identify periods of vulnerability. At first glance, it appeared winter was the harshest season. With the exclusion of war-time deaths (e.g., Civil War), however, a very different picture emerged. Based on our preliminary results, it seems that deaths were more frequent during the spring and summer months within the Sandhills region of North Carolina, where these burials occurred.

The age range at death was set in 10-year increments except for infants which were set at 0 to one year. The frequency of deaths (Figure 15) ranges between 14 and 48 per age group until ages 60 through 89. Beyond age 60, the frequency of deaths noticeably increased, indicating a large portion of the population had a longer life-span than was typical at that time period. The frequency of deaths occurring between the ages of 60 to 89 are almost equal (37%) to the numbers of deaths occurring between 0 and 59 (43%).

The first time interval we measured was set for deaths occurring before 1800 (our earliest readable marker for a death date is 1773 in

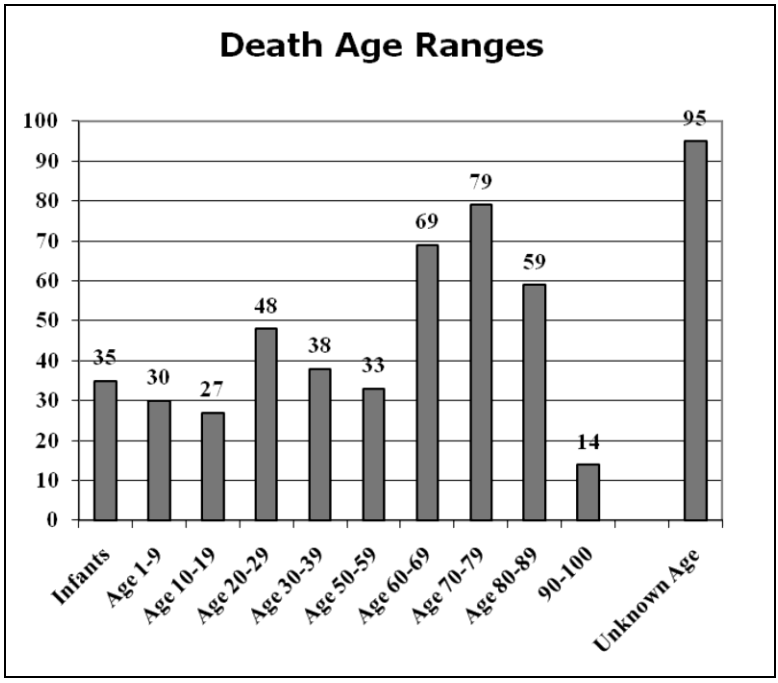

Figure 15. Frequency distribution of deaths by age group.

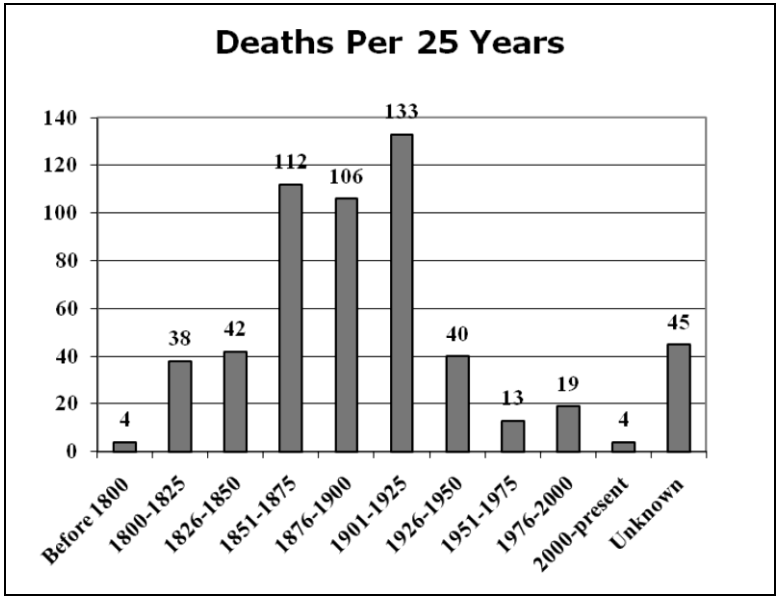

Figure 16. Frequency distribution of deaths by chronometric period.

Long Street Church graveyard), and then subsequently for every 25 years beginning with 1800 to 1825, up to present (Figure 16). The incident of deaths occurring every 25 years ranged from 4 to 45, except for the interval spanning 1851 to 1925, when the greatest number of deaths occurred (351 of 556, or 63%). It was also noted that 24 of the 26 historic cemeteries were in use during this time span. Although the total number of known infant deaths is 35 from 1800 to present, 30 of these deaths occurred between the years 1870 and 1920, by which time burials began to decrease.

One obvious factor was the change in ownership of the cemeteries created by the development of Camp Bragg (in 1918), forcing a population diaspora and the relocation of many families. After 1925, only nine cemeteries remained in use, six of which were considered abandoned by 1942. Burials in Sandy Grove Church graveyard continued up until 1977. And Stinson Cemetery, located on the boundary of Fort Bragg, near a residential community, continues as the only "active" cemetery, with its most recent interment occurring in 2006.

Vital statistics information such as name, age, birth date, and death date can be culturally significant data when trying to analyze populations by examining extant cemeteries within a region. Moreover, the composition, style, size, motif, and epitaphs (if present) of each marker, along with location of the grave within a cemetery, can be useful tools to further identify social and economic status, occupational and fraternal order affiliation, and ethnicity. Within Fort Bragg's historic cemeteries, three primary descendancy groups are represented: African-Americans, Historic Native Americans, and Highland Scots (or Gaels).

Military and Memorial Markers

Military-related memorials and gravesites are associated with some cemeteries, but they also occur throughout Fort Bragg's landscape. These memorial markers represent burials related to combat operations that occurred here in 1781 and 1865, and include the graves of soldiers (Union and Confederate) who were killed during the Civil War and a mass grave from a Revolutionary War skirmish. In the early 1990s the U.S. Army placed several memorial markers in the close vicinity of historic military graves, based on a 1943 USGS topographic map, period journals, documents, and oral histories. The purpose of these memorials was twofold: to create an historical awareness of fallen soldiers from the

past, and to create a sense of connection to the landscape for modern soldiers in training.

The largest Civil War memorial marker on Fort Bragg is found on the Monroe's Crossroads Battlefield site (31HK249). This archaeological site, also eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, is commemorated by a stone monument to Union and Confederate cavalry soldiers who died in the battle and are buried in graves throughout the site. As a battlefield cemetery, it differs in design and location from the other 26 historic cemeteries. Still, the CRMP is responsible for the management and stewardship of this special site and the graves of fallen soldiers. Educational tours for the general public and staff rides for the military units are conducted at this historic site by CRMP staff, and perpetuate a sense of historical significance about the site, the battle, and the conflict.

Geophysical Studies

Non-intrusive techniques for historic cemetery explorations were attempted at several Fort Bragg sites in 1999 (one cemetery) and again in 2002 (on four cemeteries). This experimental scientific work was contracted to Archaeophysics (Geof Jones and David Maki) and supervised by Dr. Michael Hargrave with the Corps of Engineers Research Laboratories (or CERL). Several techniques were employed, including a ground-penetrating radar (GPR) sensor and software, Pulse EKKO GPR with 450 MHz antenna and wheel odometer. For electrical/magnetic resistance survey on these sites, a Geoscan RM15 machine along with a Geoscan FM36 fluxgate gradiometer was used. The results of these surveys were partially inconclusive due to "noise" or "clutter" created by metallic military debris and false readings emitted from the naturally-occurring ferruginous sandstone deposits. Two examples are given here.

Long Street Presbyterian Church Cemetery

At Long Street Church Cemetery, the magnetic and GPR surveys were done within one 800 square meter area. Half of the survey quad revealed neatly aligned graves while the other half was devoid of burials or markers. Magnetic anomalies were frequent here, caused by subsurface sandstone, but the GPR revealed 25 linear-like anomalies associated with markers, and another 35 anomalies potentially

representing unmarked graves (Figure 17). One large anomaly along the eastern edge of the block may represent a mass grave of several Civil War soldiers (known to have been interred here).

Ellis Cemetery

The 2002 survey at Ellis Cemetery demonstrated the best utility of both GPR and magnetic surveys. Here, 18 distinct graves were outlined (Figure 18), and 16 were aligned with existing markers (headers and footers). The researchers assumed that strong anomalies would be associated with graves that contained substantial coffins or grave linings. Ironically, the grave of Jesse Ellis, the patriarch, revealed no discernable anomaly, while his wife Levina's grave exhibited a distinct anomaly. Another important finding was the presence of possible (unmarked) graves located immediately outside the perimeter fence of this cemetery, on the south, east, and north sides.

Results

The use of geophysical testing at five historic cemeteries demonstrated a wide variation of success. Soil conditions, drainage, the density of tree roots, and types of materials used in the construction of coffins played critical factors. Despite these shortcomings, use of these techniques in Sandhills environs can be valuable given a few criteria: (1) magnetic survey is recommended where metal objects (such as military debris) and iron-bearing sandstone are sparse; (2) resistance testing is best suited where stone markers are present and natural rock is sparse; and (3) small-scale surveys to test subsurface conditions work best before expanding the perimeters. Otherwise, GPR does appear to work well in the Sandhills, where there are favorable soil types with uniform good drainage (from Hargrave et al. 2003).

Conclusion

In review, the numerous historic cemeteries located on Fort Bragg lands can be considered in a variety of aspects beyond simply burial grounds of the deceased. They exist as cultural landscapes, sacred grounds, green spaces, large artifacts, military memorials, managed resources, historic sites, and genealogical goldmines. As communities of deceased ancestors, they form direct, tangible connections to the past as

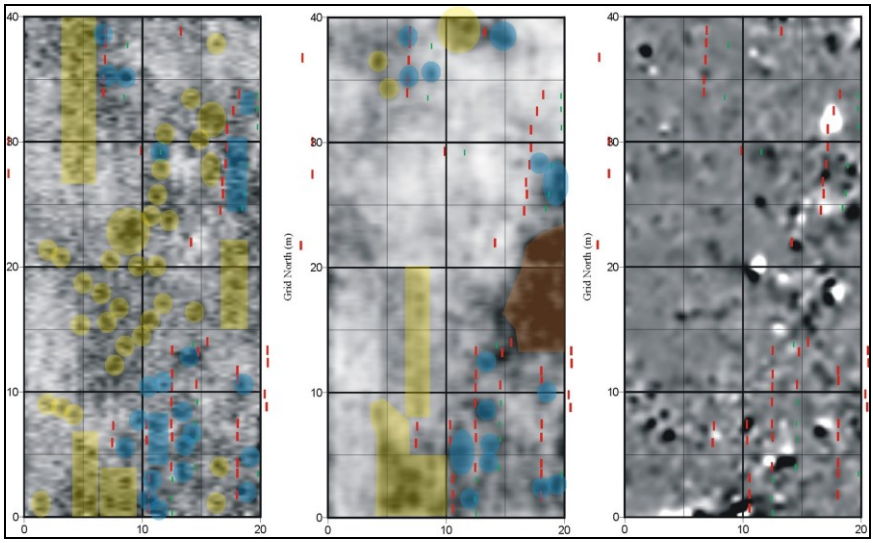

Figure 17. Ground-penetrating radar images from Long Street Church Cemetery.

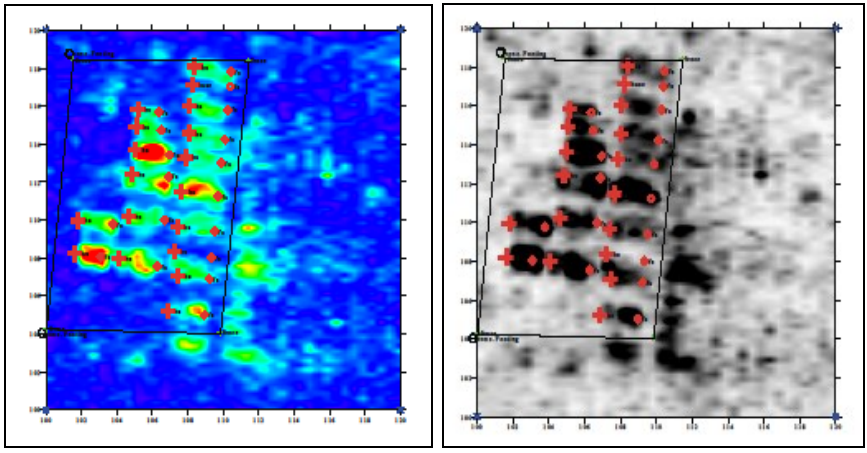

Figure 18. Ground-penetrating radar images from Ellis Cemetery.

well as to the present. Each of these aspects has been briefly considered in this initial overview of the 27 cemeteries managed by the CRMP, but each aspect can and will be more fully explored as research continues on these historic properties and the descendant families associated with them. Through these efforts, combined with historical and archaeo-

logical data compiled by CRMP staff, a much more interesting and vital interpretation of the former Sandhills settlers is emerging.

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"NEXT TO TWO RIVERS": THE WILSON COUNTY SESQUICENTENNIAL SURVEY TO LOCATE THE LATE WOODLAND AND PROTOHISTORIC TUSCARORA COMMUNITY OF TOSNEOC

by

Thomas E. Beaman, Jr.

Abstract

The 2005 Sesquicentennial Celebration of Wilson County provided the opportunity to formally search for archaeological sites associated with Tosneoc, one of the 15 named protohistoric Tuscarora communities reported by early eighteenth-century explorer John Lawson. As the name Tosneoc (or Toisnot) has persisted in the area for two and a half centuries, through research into previously recorded archaeological sites, interviews with many local artifact collectors, and a field survey based upon the modified use of Byrd and Heath's (1997, 2004) predictive model of Tuscarora settlement patterns along the Lower Contentnea Creek, a total of 18 Late Woodland and protohistoric sites with Cashie pottery were conclusively identified. Along with site 31Gr93, the distribution of these sites along the Upper Contentnea Creek and Toisnot Creek drainages suggests they likely represent part of at least one Tuscarora community, most likely Tosneoc, within the modern political boundaries of Wilson County.

"While walking through a field one day I found an arrowhead;
I idly turned it round and round and then to it I said:
'O arrowhead, could you but talk, I know strange tales you'd tell.'
Then spoke a voice, 'Hear of my life, Ere to the earth I fell'…"

(from "The Arrowhead," a poem by Hugh Buckner Johnston [1982:41], written ca. 1929–1930)

Toisnot is a prominent historical toponym in the folklore of eastern Wilson County. Toisnot Creek, also referred to as Toisnot Swamp, is a tributary of Contentnea Creek that originates just south of the Greene County border and terminates just over the Nash County line. The early history of Wilson County revolves around Toisnot Creek, as John Thomas, the first European settler in the area, purchased and settled 300 acres along Toisnot Creek and White Oak Swamp in 1741 (Valentine 2002:5). This was followed in 1756 by the establishment of Toisnot Primitive Baptist Church, the first European house of worship in the

region, also along Toisnot Creek (Valentine 2002:8). Since this initial historic settlement, the name Toisnot has been used throughout the eastern part of Wilson County for a myriad of locations and entrepreneurial endeavors, including a now defunct banking company, a nineteenth-century academy for boys, two short lived nineteenth-century newspapers, and as "Toisnot Town," the original name of modern day Elm City prior to 1913 (Powell 1968: 162; Valentine 2002). Today the trend continues, with Toisnot referring variously to a reservoir, a park, a public middle school, a fire district and fire department, street names in Wilson and Elm City, and even a discount retail center known as Toisnot Village, the marquee road sign of which includes a small triangular "teepee" incorporated as part of the design (Figure 1).

Toisnot is a modern phonetic spelling of "Tosneoc," the name of a historically identified Tuscarora community. The persistent use of the Toisnot name in Wilson County led to speculation and previous searches, to no avail, for a single archaeological site in Wilson County that may represent a Late Woodland and protohistoric central Tuscarora village. However, recent studies of six other named protohistoric Tuscarora communities on Lower Contentnea Creek by Byrd and Heath (1997, 2004; Byrd 1996) validated Byrd's (1995) model of Tuscarora community settlement patterns—a model not of a single location but as a clustered collection of sites. With this new perspective on Tuscarora communities and generous financial support from Wilson County, a formal archaeological investigation was undertaken by Tar River Archaeological Research to reevaluate known archaeological sites and to locate additional ones in Wilson County that may be associated with the Tosneoc community. This study details the methodology, results, and final interpretation of this Sesquicentennial Search.

The Tuscarora and Tosneoc: Historical and Archaeological Backgrounds

The Tuscarora

Beginning about AD 800 and extending into the first decades of the eighteenth century, the northern Inner Coastal Plain of North Carolina and southern Virginia was occupied by Native American cultural groups identified in the ethnohistoric records as the Tuscarora, Meherrin, and Nottoway (Phelps 1983:43). Iroquoian people in social and linguistic origin, it has been suggested (Byrd 1997; Byrd and Heath 1997) that

Figure 1. This Toisnot Village Shopping Center marquee road sign along Ward Boulevard is one prominent example of the many modern uses of the Toisnot (Tosneoc) name in the eastern portion of Wilson County.

their appearance in this region corresponds with the time of their emigration out of Appalachia or central Pennsylvania after AD 600–700 (Snow 1995, 1996). Their occupation extended from the Neuse River to the fall line and the Pamlico-Albemarle river systems, though ethnohistoric sources suggest that hunting parties may have trekked as far south as the Cape Fear River (Barnwell 1908a; Phelps 1983:43). The Meherrin and the Nottoway occupied river drainages of the same names in southern Virginia, both of which are tributaries of the Chowan River (Phelps 1983:43).

Socially and politically the Tuscarora were a rank-level society, with each community autonomous within a larger, tribal organization (Byrd 1997; Phelps 1983:43). Considered to be sedentary

horticulturalists, their settlement patterns reveal carefully selected locales to practice multiple subsistence strategies, from the cultivation of maize and beans to hunting bear, deer, raccoon, possum, rabbit, turtles, and fish (Byrd 1997; Byrd and Heath 1997, 2004; Phelps 1983:43, 46). The appearance of Europeans in the region initially promoted a vigorous trade in deerskins, but the eventual encroachment of European settlements into Tuscarora territory led to a series of conflicts in the late seventeenth century and open warfare by 1711 (Paschal 1953). The defeat of the Tuscarora at Neoheroka fort (31Gr4) in 1713 led to their mandated disbandment in the region. By 1715, some were moved to established reservations in modern day Bertie County (known today as "Indian Woods") and a few returned north to an ancestral homeland, while many others fled to the swamps near the North and South Carolina borders (Paschal 1953). In fact, many modern day members of the Lumbee society in Robeson County claim ancestral descent from the Tuscarora.

Archaeologists generally recognize the Tuscarora materially through their unique ceramic series. Named for a tributary of the Roanoke River in northwest Bertie County, the Cashie cultural phase and related pottery series was first described by Phelps (1980, 1983), and has been further refined into a "working typology and general overview" by Phelps and Health (1998:13). Presently, the Cashie ceramic series is viewed as being a "significant modification" of the Branchville series, defined by Lewis Binford (1964) from limited surface collections along the Meherrin and Chowan Rivers. Other Native American ceramics recovered by archaeologists from the Inner Coastal Plain region have similar attributes to Cashie ceramics, including the Gaston Simple Stamped type (Coe 2006 [1964]), the Sturgeon Head series (Smith 1971), and the Tower Hill series (Crawford 1966; Eastman et al. 1997). Though similar, Phelps and Heath (1998:6) assert that the tempering and interior vessel finish attributes, "combined with specific surface treatments, make the Cashie series unique in the regional archaeological record." *Phelps and Heath (1998:2–3) stress the need for further comparative studies to explore the potential relationships, "if any, between these geographically and chronologically disparate series"* (italics added for emphasis).

An analysis of excavated ceramic assemblages from Jordan's Landing (31Br7), Fort Neoheroka (31Gr4), Sans Souci (31Br5), Thorpe (31Ns3), Battle Park (31Ns19), Parkers Ferry (31Hf1), Mount Pleasant (31Hf20), Ellis (44Sn24/65), and Fishing Creek (31Hx61) sites led

Phelps and Heath to proposed a subdivision of the Cashie series into two different types, Cashie I and Cashie II. In North Carolina, Cashie I is used to describe the Tuscarora ceramic tradition from the prehistoric and European contact period in the northern Inner Coastal Plain from approximately AD 800 to AD 1650. This ware type is tempered with occasionally crushed, granule and pebble-sized quartz particles, varying in size from 0.5 to 7.0 millimeters, that are often visible through the exterior and interior surfaces of vessel walls. A physical trait common to the majority of Cashie I vessels are "floated interiors—some describe the interior finish as having a 'slip-like' finish" (Phelps and Heath 1998:10). Based on the excavated assemblages, fabric-impressed and simple-stamped are noted as the more common exterior surface treatments on Cashie I, though plain (smoothed or paddle-stamped) and incised applications are noted as well.

Seventeen distinct vessel forms have been noted, including varieties of jars, pots, bowls, beakers, and a dipper, which curiously contains fine sand or no visible tempering (Phelps and Heath 1998:6–12). Cashie I sherds with the "floating interior" and fabric-impressed surface treatment from Jordan's Landing (31Br7) are shown in Figure 2. Interestingly, the physical attributes of Cashie I bear remarkable similarity to the description of an undefined ware type recovered during the "Chowanoke" excavations in Hertford County, which Green (1986:84–86) termed "Liberty Hill," and may in fact be the same ware type.

Cashie II denotes specific differences in the ceramic tradition during the protohistoric and early historic period, from approximately AD 1650 to AD 1715 (Phelps and Heath 1998:6). While there are many similarities between Cashie I and Cashie II, such as construction methods, pebble and granule sized quartz tempering, and surface treatments, the most pronounced differences are less diversity in vessel form, vessel "hardness" (Cashie II is more friable), and lack of a "slip-like" finish on vessel interiors (Phelps and Heath 1998:6–10). Figure 3 illustrates the coarse temper and absence of an interior finish on three Cashie II sherds recovered from excavations among native dwellings "inside" Neoheroka fort (31Gr4). Evidence of Cashie II ceramics have also been recovered from other historic Tuscarora sites, such as "Hancock's Fort" (31Lr230) near present day New Bern. While no formal explanation for the change from Cashie I to Cashie II ceramics has been posited, it has been suggested this shift may represent a reprioritization in native female activities during the historic period, from

Figure 2. Three sherds of classic Cashie I ceramics from the Jordan's Landing site (31Br7). A fabric-impressed exterior is illustrated in the middle between two visible slip-like "floated interiors" on the left and right sherds. The Jordan's Landing artifact collection is curated at the Phelps Archaeology Laboratory at East Carolina University, and these sherds were photographed by the author with permission.

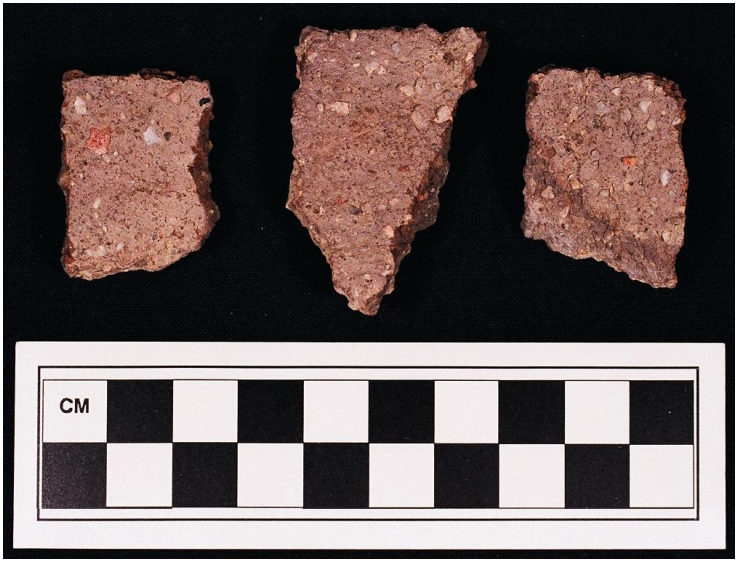

Figure 3. The interior of three Cashie II sherds excavated from "inside" of Neoheroka fort (31Gr4). Note the coarse temper and absence of a "floating interior" slip. These sherds are part of the Neoheroka fort artifact collections curated by the Phelps Archaeology Laboratory at East Carolina University, and were photographed by the author with permission.

the production of high-quality, durable pottery to increased hide tanning for the growing European deerskin trade (Heath, personal communication 2005).

It should also be noted that this division of Cashie ceramics into two different types that represent either prehistoric or protohistoric presence, presented in Phelps and Heath (1998), is currently under reconsideration by Heath. Recent personal communication with the author led Heath (personal communication 2010) to observe that the type division is most effective "as an analytical tool when dealing with more substantial, block excavation context assemblages, not surface or shovel testing collections, when you can better assess vessel forms, decorative treatments, etc." Given thoughts on this matter are presently in an evolutionary state, this study proceeds with the ideas presented in Phelps and Heath (1998), but may be reconsidered in the future.

Tosneoc

The earliest and most often cited reference to Tosneoc is as one of the 15 named protohistoric Tuscarora towns reported by John Lawson (1967 [1709]: 242) in *A New Voyage to Carolina*, a travelogue of his 1701 expedition from Charleston, South Carolina, to what is now Bath, North Carolina. There is some disagreement in the reconstruction of his exact route during his "journey of 1000 miles," but he does cross Contentnea Creek in early February 1701. Footnotes by Hugh Lefler in the 1967 reprinting of Lawson's journal place his travels near modern day Goldsboro in Wayne County. However, more recent interpretations (e.g., Natural World Productions, LLC [2007]) place Lawson's crossing of the Contentnea in Wilson County, where they traded a dressed deerskin to a Native American for 24 barbequed shad (cf. Lawson 1967 [1709]:66). In either case, Lawson provides no description of Tosneoc, only its name as one of the Tuscarora towns.

Though Lawson's mention of Tosneoc is the earliest, mentions of Tosneoc are scant in known historical records as compared with other protohistoric Tuscarora communities. Tosneoc appears with alternative spellings in 1711 and 1712 treaties between the Tuscarora natives and the colonies of North Carolina and Virginia, respectively, and on the ca. 1716 map of North Carolina by Baron Christoph Von Graffenried. Given that Barnwell (1908a, 1908b) did not visit or attack Tosneoc, as well as its general lack of mention or description in his accounts of his

expeditions, it is likely the Tosneoc community was not one of the Contentnea Creek communities that actively participated in the Tuscarora wars against the European settlers. Similarly, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* series contains no mention of the Native American community, only the later European settlement along Toisnot Creek. Though drawn as an unnamed physical feature on maps from earlier in the eighteenth century, "Tosneot Cr" [sic] first appears labeled as tributary of "Great Coteckney Cr" [sic] on John Collett's 1770 *Compleat Map of North-Carolina* (Cummings 1998:Plate 63).

In its most common spelling, Tosneoc means "next to two rivers" or "next to an unusual river" in the Iroquoian language of the Tuscarora, and alternative historical spellings such as "Tostohant" carry similar meanings (Rudes 2000). Two older histories of Wilson County define the name as "halting place" or "tarry not," but unfortunately provide no linguistic derivation of these translations (Davis n.d.; Watson 1932). Local Wilson County historian and long-time artifact collector Marion "Monk" Moore recounts a more colorful derivation of the name Tosneoc, as he relishes opportunities to tell the story of a Tuscarora chief telling a native woman who was about to throw her unwanted baby into a creek to "Toss Not!" (Moore, personal communication 2005). A similar though less commonly told tall tale among artifact collectors—with the same punch line—involves native boys throwing rocks who were told to stop by either the chief or by their mothers.

The persistent use of the Toisnot name in Wilson County has led to previous attempts to locate a single archaeological site in Wilson County that may represent a unique centralized Late Woodland and protohistoric Tuscarora village. By the 1960s, a location suspected to be the village of Tosneoc was identified by the late Hugh Buckner Johnston (Figure 4), a local Wilson County historian, artifact collector, and part-time poet, on a ridge toe situated near the confluence of Toisnot Creek and Buck Branch. Not likely a coincidence, this was on property owned by Johnston and is still within his family. The property also contains the original site of the Toisnot Primitive Baptist Church of 1756. Files in the North Carolina State Archives show that Johnston was refused a state historic highway marker to denote this as the location of Tosneoc on two different occasions (due to their desire not to mark every named historic Native American community), but one was eventually granted for the establishment of the 1756 church. Yet through the efforts of the late Johnston and his protégé Moore, this location persists in local lore as the

Figure 4. The late Hugh Buckner Johnston, local Wilson County historian, artifact collector, and part-time poet. Johnston believed the central village of Tosneoc was located on his family property at the confluence of Buck Branch with Toisnot Creek. Of the 18 archaeological sites with Cashie ceramics identified by the Sesquicentennial Search, one site (31Wl178) does apparently match Johnston's reported location.

village of Tosneoc, and was even described as such in Powell's (1968:494) *The North Carolina Gazetteer*. This statement was deleted in the recently published second edition of *The North Carolina Gazetteer* to reflect the current research ideas of potentially multiple sites of the Tosneoc community produced by the Sesquicentennial Survey (Powell and Hill 2010:525).

A more formal search for a single village of Tosneoc was conducted in Fall 1990 by archaeologist Paul Gardner from an "Introduction to Southeastern Archaeology" course he taught at Barton College. Gardner and his volunteer crew, which included college students, local businessmen, public school teachers, and retirees, visited and surface collected 15 archaeological sites along Toisnot Creek. Four of these 15 locations had been previously recorded by archaeologists, and 11 new sites were documented. He reported these surveys did not identify a potential site for the village of Tosneoc, even noting that they were unable "to locate any sizeable Woodland period occupation" (Gardner 1991:1–2). Gardner (1991:2) does add that local informants claimed to

know of such sites, but due to time restrictions he did not follow up on any of these potential leads.

The Sesquicentennial Search

One of the most exciting aspects of scientific archaeology is the on-going process of discovery, interpretation, and reinterpretation. Newly identified patterns of past cultural behaviors and paradigms are regularly operationalized into hypotheses and used to evaluate previously excavated archaeological collections to hopefully illuminate new meanings in older data. With this thought in reference to the location of prehistoric and protohistoric Tuscarora communities, previous archaeological data were considered in the development of a distributional model hypothesized by Byrd (1995) and successfully tested along Lower Contentnea Creek in Lenoir, Pitt, Greene, and Wayne counties by Byrd and Heath (1997, 2004; Byrd 1996). Through the use of this model to locate archaeological sites, combined with historical accounts by Barnwell (1908a, 1908b), locations of six distinct Tuscarora communities—Catechna, Caunookehoe, Innennits, Neoheroka, Kenta, and Torhunta—were identified, as shown in Figure 5. Interestingly, the original Contentnea Creek drainage study also included a planned survey of Wilson County for sites related to the Tosneoc community, but this portion of the project was later omitted due to limited time and budgetary constraints (Byrd and Heath 1997:2, 2004:117; Heath, personal communication 2005). The same criterion used to identify a Tuscarora archaeological component by Byrd and Heath (1997:32-33)—the presence of Cashie ceramics—was adopted for this project to make the Sesquicentennial Survey of Wilson County as comparable as possible to their Lower Contentnea Creek studies.

The density of these communities along Contentnea Creek is not a coincidence, as Contentnea is also a Tuscarora toponym that means "fish passing by" (Rudes, personal communication 2005). While the Tuscarora towns are named and described in Lawson (1967 [1709]: 242), Barnwell (1908a, 1908b), and various historical treaties and maps, these studies by Byrd and Heath provided archaeologists with a new model of Tuscarora settlement—not one of a single site, but a number of individual archaeological sites that constitute a named community. Such community sites may range from nucleated villages to organized hamlets, single farmsteads, seasonal camps, and special activity sites, and were chosen by the Tuscarora more on similar environmental

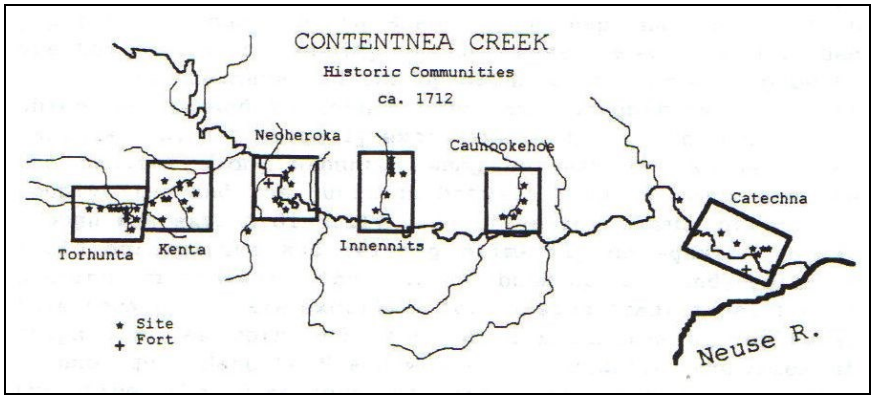

Figure 5. Distribution of Cashie sites along Lower Contentnea Creek and the named Tuscarora communities with which they are associated (after Byrd and Heath 2004:Figure 5.8).

conditions of soil type, distance to water, and elevation than did their prehistoric predecessors in the same region (Byrd 1995, 1996; Byrd and Heath 1997, 2004; Phelps 1983:43; Phelps and Heath 1998:4).

The Wilson County Sesquicentennial Survey for Tosneoc resulted in the identification of 18 archaeological sites with Cashie components, as shown in Figure 6. These sites were located through the combined use of three different methodologies gleaned from previous successes and recommendations: (1) evaluation of previously recorded sites and artifact collections, (2) partnership with local artifact collectors to identify unrecorded locations, and (3) field survey of high probability areas. While a complete technical report for this project is in preparation, more detailed information obtained from these sites is summarized in Table 1, and they are individually discussed in the sections that follow.

Step One: Background Research

Background research was the first step. When this study formally began in 2005, there were a total of 291 previously recorded archaeological sites listed in the files of the North Carolina Office of State Archaeology for Wilson County. These sites ranged from early locations initially recorded by local artifact collectors to later university studies, but the vast majority resulted from federally mandated cultural resource management (CRM) projects. All site reports for Wilson County were consulted to ascertain sites that may have yielded Cashie

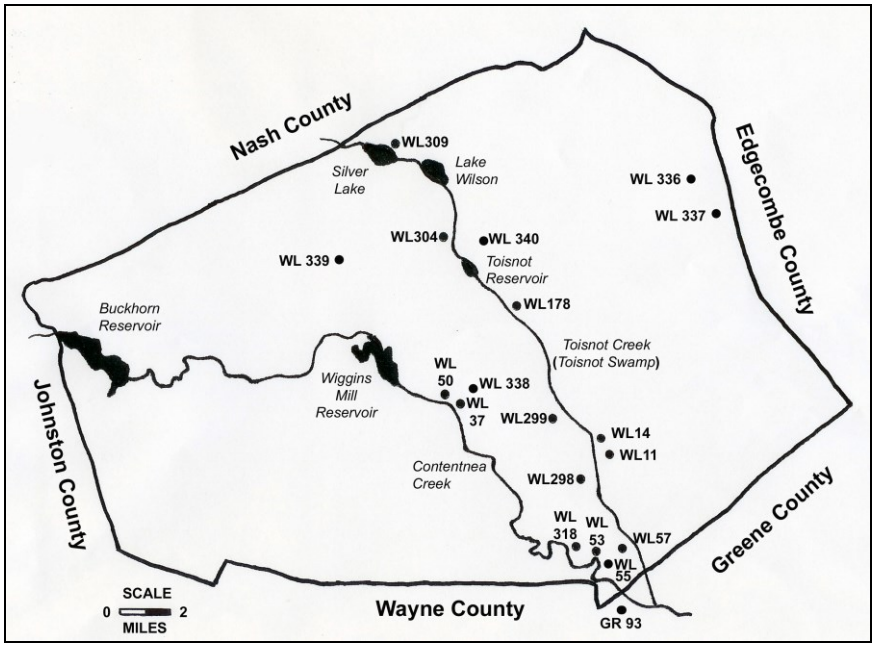

Figure 6. Distribution of Cashie sites in Wilson County. Many of these likely comprise the Late Woodland and Protohistoric Tuscarora community of Tosneoc.

ceramics, as well as an especially critical scrutiny of previously recorded sites that met the criteria of Byrd's (1995) model.

With artifacts from specific sites identified for examination, the inspection of extant collections curated at the Phelps Archaeology Laboratory of East Carolina University, the Research Laboratories of Archaeology at the University of North Carolina, and the Office of State Archaeology Research Center yielded very positive results. Four sites with Cashie ceramics were recorded in cultural resource management studies, and Gardner (1991) with his students collected Cashie ceramics from four sites, one of which was a CRM site. In total, background research that entailed the visual inspections of archaeological collections from Wilson County yielded a total of seven distinct sites that contained Cashie ceramics. These sites are summarized in Table 1 and individually described below.

The earliest recorded sites were 31Wl11 and 31Wl14, documented by Randolph ("Randy") J. Widmer in 1971. Widmer was a student of

Table 1. Archaeological Sites in Wilson County with Cashie Series Ceramic Components.

Site Number	Method of Site Identification	Cashie Series Present	Site Environmental Data			
			Nearest Water	Distance (in meters)	Soil Type[1]	Elevation (in feet)
31Wl11	Background Research	Cashie I	small stream off Toisnot Creek	50	WaB, NoB	100
31Wl14	Background Research	Cashie I	Toisnot Creek	500	NoB	80–100
31Wl37	Background Research	Cashie I & II	Contentnea Creek	70	StA, TaB	60
31Wl50	Background Research	Cashie II	Contentnea Creek	200	StA	80
31Wl53	Background Research	Cashie I	Contentnea Creek	20	NoA, WaB	80
31Wl55	Background Research	Cashie I	Contentnea Creek	20	NoB	60
31Wl57	Background Research	Cashie I	Toisnot Creek	200	StA, TaB	60
31Wl178	Background Research	Cashie I	Buck Branch off Toisnot Creek	200	WaB	110
31Wl298	Survey	Cashie I & II	small stream off Toisnot Creek	200	NoB, WaB	80–90
31Wl299	Survey	Cashie I	small stream off Toisnot Creek	200	NoB	110
31Wl304	Collector	Cashie I & II	Toisnot Creek	200	NoA, NoB	110–120
31Wl309	Survey	Cashie I	Silver Lake	50	NoB	140
31Wl318	Collector	Cashie I	Contentnea Creek	200	StA	70
31Wl336	Collector	Cashie I	Town Creek	200	Tt	70
31Wl337	Collector	Cashie I	small stream off Town Creek	200	NoB	100
31Wl338	Collector	Cashie II	Hominy Swamp	150	AaA	100
31Wl339	Collector	Cashie I	Bloomery Swamp	50	GtB2	130
31Wl340	Collector	Cashie I	small stream off Toisnot Creek	100	NoB	140

[1]Based on classifications and descriptions in Sink (1983), soils are either sandy loams (AaA, GtB2, Tt), loamy sands (NoA, NoB, StA, WaB), or sands (TaB).

David Phelps at East Carolina University, and worked with local collectors to document their collections and to record the locations of the more promising sites as candidates for potential archaeological investigation. Surface collections at both of these sites yielded Cashie I sherds. Site 31Wl50 was identified through limited shovel tests in late 1981 by Trawick Ward (1982) of the UNC Research Laboratories of Anthropology (now Archaeology) as part of a mandated assessment prior to the installation of a sewer along Contentnea Creek. Though he identified the prehistoric ceramics he recovered as grit tempered (and presumably Middle Woodland of the Mount Pleasant variety), a recent re-inspection and comparison of these ceramics with examples of Cashie II sherds from Fort Neoheroka argues for them to be less Mount Pleasant and more Cashie II in construction and temper. Robert Webb (1985) recorded sites 31Wl53, 31Wl55, and 31Wl57 as part of a mandated survey for sewer improvements near Stantonsburg. Cashie I sherds were recovered through surface collections and limited shovel testing at these three sites. Paul Gardner (1991) recovered Cashie I ceramics from four of the 15 locations he and his Barton College students surface collected. Three of these sites (31Wl11, 31Wl14, and 31Wl37) had been previously documented and collected, and one was newly recorded (31Wl178)—a location that Johnston had claimed as part of the Tosneoc site at Buck Branch and Toisnot Creek. None of these sites have been evaluated beyond the initial level of archaeological survey, and more detailed examination is warranted to ascertain subsurface integrity and the presence of possible Cashie-era features.

One particular site, 31Wl37, warrants a more detailed discussion. Referred to as the Wilson Bypass site and the Contentnea Creek site, this extraordinary archaeological site serves as a common link between CRM studies and a survey by Gardner and his students. Well known to almost every avocational archaeologist and artifact collector in Wilson County, this location has continually yielded evidence of repeated land use during every cultural era of prehistory and history, from the early Archaic to late twentieth-century tenant farmers. Its formal archaeological documentation and assessment was by North Carolina Department of Transportation (NCDOT) archaeologists as part of the Highway 264 Wilson Bypass project (Millis 1998; Padgett 1983; Padgett and Baroody 1980; Robinson 1992). The Phase III mitigation excavations conducted from July to December 1998 by TRC Garrow Associates, Inc. (now TRC Environmental) focused exclusively on the southern end of the site, which contained extensive subsurface evidence of prolonged reuse

during the Middle and Late Woodland eras. The Tuscarora component included the identification of prehistoric and historic period materials, including Cashie I ceramics, Cashie II ceramics, glass trade beads, and ornaments of European copper, recovered from 42 human interments, 11 large pit features, and two smaller pit features, though Millis et al. (2009:428-429) speculate the main Cashie habitation was located outside the project study area.

When the northernmost portion of 31Wl37, which evinces a large surface component of Cashie ceramics, was considered for a soil borrow pit in 2005, joint investigations by archaeologists from the Office of State Archaeology and NCDOT yielded extensive evidence of subsurface features below the plow zone, including post molds, pit features, and human burials (John Mintz, personal communication 2010). The Archaeological Conservancy purchased 31Wl37 in 2007, and the author has since served as the local site steward (cf. Stout 2007). Thanks to the foresight of the Archaeological Conservancy, the remaining 63 acres of this site will long be protected from further development or reuse, but will be accessible for professional archaeological research. To date, 31Wl37 remains the only archaeological site in Wilson County that has been deemed eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. There is still a great deal that can be learned about the Tuscarora occupation, as well as all prehistoric and historic cultural phases, of Wilson County through additional, future archaeological investigations at 31Wl37.

Step Two: Local Artifact Collectors

Many archaeologists have had a long history of both friendship and frustration when they rely on and work with artifact collectors. While most collectors willingly show their collections, many are less forthcoming with the specific locations from which these collections were obtained until a solid level of trust has been established. In his report, Gardner (1991) remarked that local artifact collectors had knowledge of other sites with large Woodland components in Wilson County. Widmer and Gardner had built trust and goodwill with many collectors. This project sought not only to continue that relationship between the archaeological community and locals, but also to use local collectors as a source of information on the material prehistory and history of Wilson County.

As a long-time resident of Wilson County, the author has personally known many of these collectors for years. Trust with unfamiliar artifact collectors was easily obtained through introduction by mutual friends, a gift of a Coe Foundation for Archaeological Research (CFAR) projectile point poster, and an offer to help organize and document their collections. The real difficulty in working with personal artifact assemblages during this study was that most individuals collected or saved only unique stone artifacts (like projectile points), and for various reasons generally did not pick up or pay attention to prehistoric pottery sherds. Yet discussions with many local artifact collectors eventually yielded leads to the identification of seven previously undocumented locations in Wilson County that contained Cashie ceramics. An added benefit was the continued trust and goodwill of many collectors towards archaeological research gained through the recordation of many previously undocumented artifact collections, several of which contained unreported finds of Paleo-Indian points.

Once the background research had been conducted and contacts had begun to be made for the interview phase, the first collectors who came forward to assist in this study were Jim and Jeff Boykin, two brothers who, over a number of years, had repeatedly collected a very large and unique site. Their personal collection of artifacts not only contained dozens of quartz and quartzite triangular points as well as Cashie I and II sherds, but early European artifacts, such as fragments of delftware and white ball clay pipe stems of 6/64-inch to 5/64-inch bore diameter (dated roughly from 1680–1750 [Harrington 1954]). There was also an early nineteenth-century component with sherds of pearlware and blue shell-edged wares. As veterans of Gardner's Barton College class, their material was well organized and they had made maps from their surface surveys with artifact concentrations noted.

They expressed concerned over the future of the "Boykin Brothers site," later assigned site number 31Wl304, because it was partially developed into a residential subdivision. A visual inspection revealed that the remainder of the former field had lain fallow for several seasons, and contained no surface visibility. Given the prehistoric and protohistoric artifacts of a potentially large Tuscarora settlement, with permission of the land owner the author and a number of local volunteers conducted systematic shovel test units at 30-meter intervals over the undeveloped portion of this large site. This survey produced a rich material return of Cashie ceramics and several quartz triangular points,

as well as the presence of at least one subsurface feature. The shovel test over this feature was expanded into a one-meter-by-two-meter test unit, and revealed two clear edges of a large pit feature. A sample of this feature yielded low-fired Cashie I ceramic sherds and an ample quantity of charcoal. Several large fragments of charcoal sent for radiocarbon analysis produced an AMS date of 820 ± 40 BP, yielding a 2–sigma calibrated date of AD 1160–1280 (Beta Analytic, Inc., Sample 240936). This site certainly warrants additional investigations to fully define the Cashie and any other components, especially given plans for its long term development. For now, a large Tuscarora presence has been documented at 31Wl304 thanks to efforts of local collectors Jim and Jeff Boykin.

Daniel ("Danny") Ferrell had been a life-long artifact collector, and had also taken Gardner's course at Barton College. He had learned how to organize his collections by site and had developed a personal method to record the site location. A long time member of the North Carolina Archaeological Society, Ferrell understood the goals of the Sesquicentennial Search project and kindly shared his extensive, orderly collections from across Wilson County. Four of his site collections (31Wl336, 31Wl337, 31Wl339, and 31Wl340) contained Cashie I ceramics, and one (31Wl338) yielded Cashie II sherds. Ferrell was very generous with his time and information, and his maps of the different sites were so complete that their locations were easily transferred onto United States Geological Survey (USGS) quadrangle maps. Another site he collected on the Wilson County and Greene County border has since been destroyed as part of a sand mine for road construction. Previously recorded as state site number 31Gr93, it also contained Cashie I ceramics. Given its close proximity to other Tuscarora-era sites near modern day Stantonsburg, it is depicted in Figure 6 and is likely associated more with the Tosneoc community than the Neoheroka community documented by Byrd and Heath (1997, 2004) in Greene County.

However, the organization demonstrated by Boykin Brothers and Danny Ferrell proved to be more the exception than the rule. Bill Shelton of Stantonsburg was more a typical model of the artifact collector encountered and interviewed as part of Sesquicentennial Search project. Of advanced age, Shelton had been a farmer his entire life. Many of his cultivated fields contained artifacts that he collected during each planting cycle. His collection consisted of a bucket of projectile

points from almost every prehistoric era, including a clear quartz Clovis, as well as a bucket of prehistoric ceramics that contained Deep Creek, Mount Pleasant, and Cashie series ceramic fragments. Despite the lack of formal organization, his recollection as to the source of most of the material was lucid. When asked about the simple-stamped Cashie I sherds, he took the author to a field near his house. Cashie I sherds were noted and collected from the surface of this field, and the location was recorded as 31Wl318. While this project was fortunate to document the collections of many "Bill Sheltons," it is troubling to consider how much information will be lost when future generations inherit only buckets of artifacts without the memories of their origins.

Step Three: Predictive Model Field Survey

Following the background research and discussions with many artifact collectors, intermittent field surveys conducted between 2005 and 2007 yielded three additional sites with Cashie series ceramics. At the beginning of the project, high-probability areas were identified based on Byrd's (1995, 1996) distributional model using a number of various environmental factors, including soil texture, soil depth to water table, soil permeability, site elevation, distance to nearest stream, order of the closest stream, and proximity to stream junction. Byrd's statistical evaluation from known sites with Cashie ceramics revealed the most consistent environmental factors were distance to nearest stream (no greater than 1,000 meters), soil texture (usually a mixed sand and loam base), and site elevation, which varied slightly based on area. Distance to stream was calculated on USGS maps along the major Wilson County streams, including Contentnea Creek, Toisnot Creek, White Oak Swamp, Town Creek, and Bloomery Creek. All soils within this corridor were part of the Norfolk-Gritney-Wagram, Tomotley-Altavista-State, or Bibb-Wilbanks-Wehadkee soil series, each of which contains sandy loam and loamy sand soil textures. However, the original values of site elevation could not be initially used, as Wilson County is located on a different geologic escarpment, and the elevations of Tuscarora sites in Greene, Pitt, Lenoir and Wayne counties were lower than all of Wilson County. The seven sites with Cashie ceramics identified in the background research were used to calculate a new site elevation value for the higher escarpment. This new variable allowed for more refined high-probability areas to target by field survey.

Figure 7. When possible, surface collections were made in agricultural fields between planting cycles for better ground visibility. Here at site 31Wl4, archaeologists Nick Jarman (left) and Tom Beaman (right) identify and discuss artifacts with a farmer. Barton College Professor Emeritus of History Jerry MacLean, who assisted in much of the field survey, is visible in the background.

Almost all of these high-probability areas were agricultural fields. Permissions from landowners to examine these locations were obtained with a general agreement to survey between planting cycles. As seen in Figure 7, this provided better ground visibility for the archaeologists and avoided potential damage to crops for the farmers. After almost two years of intermittent surveys, all of the high-probability areas along Contentnea and Toisnot creeks had been surveyed, as well as the majority of the higher-probability areas along the other creeks.

As shown in Table 1, three previously undocumented archaeological sites with Cashie ceramics were discovered and recorded. Surface collections from sites 31Wl299 and 31Wl309 contained only Cashie I ceramics, while a surface survey of 31Wl298 yielded sherds of both Cashie I and Cashie II. In addition to investigations of the high-probability areas, as part of the field survey new artifact collections were made from all of the sites identified in the background research and from locations identified by artifact collectors.

Discussion and Conclusions

Overall, the Sesquicentennial Search for Tosneoc succeeded well beyond its initial goals, as it provided an opportunity to revisit the

material prehistory and history of Wilson County with new ideas and testable models of prehistoric and protohistoric Native American settlement patterns. In addition to revaluating decades' worth of existing artifact collections made by archaeologists, a total of 31 new archaeological sites were recorded and 14 already documented sites were revisited. Consultation with almost two dozen local individuals, some of which had extensive personal artifact collections obtained through a lifetime of walking fields, built substantial goodwill and education on more responsible artifact collection practices to help preserve the integrity of their finds, including basic record keeping strategies and collection organization by their specific location of origin. Many pleasant discoveries were located within these private collections, including six distinct Paleo-Indian period projectiles, of which the three undocumented Clovis points were examined and recorded by Randy Daniel of East Carolina University for his North Carolina Fluted Point Survey database (cf. Daniel 2000; Daniel and Goodyear 2006).

Byrd's (1995) successful distributional model for Tuscarora site location along lower Contentnea Creek proved replicable in Wilson County, even with a modified site elevation variable. All 18 sites occurred within 1,000 meters or less of a stream—some along Contentnea and Toisnot creeks and others along smaller tributaries off these primary drainages. As with the other Tuscarora communities, the order size of the stream appeared not to be a primary consideration for settlement. The soil texture component proved equally successful as a predictive factor. Soil maps in Sink (1983) and field survey demonstrated that locations with Cashie ceramics contained matrices of: Altavista (AaA), Gritney (GtB2), and Tomotley (Tt) sandy loams; Norfolk (NoA and NoB), State (StA), and Wagram (WaB) loamy sands; and Tarboro (TaB) sands. However, it also must be remembered that some archaeological models can be self-fulfilling prophecies. There may be additional sites with Cashie pottery in Wilson County that fall outside of the high-probability locations. Just as this study has built on previous investigations to provide a new interpretation for the Tosneoc community, future scientific archaeological research may locate additional Tuscarora sites and further refine Byrd's (1995) predictive model or the interpretations presented here.

But did this study locate Tosneoc? Based on the identification of 18 archaeological sites with Cashie ceramics as compared with the toponyms and folklore in eastern Wilson County, it can be argued that

most of these sites do represent the Late Woodland and Protohistoric Tuscarora community of Tosneoc. Certainly most of the sites are distributed along Contentnea and Toisnot creeks ("next to two rivers"), though in the other six Tuscarora communities the sites depicted in Figure 5 tend to cluster more on smaller tributaries. Of these 18 sites defined by this study, 16 yielded Cashie I ceramics, which based on the most current interpretations by Phelps and Heath (1998) represent locations of prehistoric habitation or activities. Sherds of Cashie II, Tuscarora ceramics that represent the protohistoric and early historic periods from approximately AD 1650 to AD 1715, were identified on four sites. Based on the Late Woodland radiocarbon dates for Mount Pleasant obtained by Millis et al. (2009) at 31Wl37 and from the Cashie I feature at 31Wl304, this area of Wilson County may have been settled much later than the initial entry of the Tuscarora into the Inner Coastal Plain at about AD 800. Given the defined domain of Tuscarora presented in Phelps (1983), Phelps and Heath (1998), as well as Ward and Davis (1999), the location of these sites immediately east of the Fall Line may also represent the last concentration of sites along the western edge of the Tuscarora territory in North Carolina, and may explain the potentially later settlement.

With regards to the distribution of the sites in Figure 6, one site (31Wl178) does appear to correspond to the general location for Tosneoc hypothesized by Hugh Johnston and Marion Moore, and four of the sites visited by Gardner (31Wl11, 31Wl14, 31Wl37, and 31Wl178) are likely part of the Tuscarora community as well. Site 31Gr93, located on the border of Greene and Wilson counties, may also be associated with the Tosneoc community. The visual spatial separation between the cluster of sites along the major creeks and sites 31Wl336 and 31Wl337 was surveyed and yielded no Cashie ceramics. Therefore, these two locations may be more likely associated with another Tuscarora community concentrated in modern Edgecombe County. While there has not been an intensive investigation of any of the sites except 31Wl37, based on their sizes and recovered artifact assemblages, most of the sites are likely smaller hamlets and farmsteads, though 31Wl37 and 31Wl304 remain extremely viable candidates for larger, nucleated community sites. Additional archaeological exploration of all 18 sites could provide more conclusive interpretations of site function and extent of occupation.

Though the 2005 Sesquicentennial celebrations have passed, more substantive evaluations of these 18 sites and the search for additional

sites are planned to better define, understand, and interpret the Tuscarora community of Tosneoc. Educational outreach efforts from this project have included formal and informal presentations to North Carolina history students and local civic organizations, as well as consultation with Imagination Station Science Museum to construct interpretive displays, and serve to help local residents learn more about the material prehistory and rich archaeological resources of modern Wilson County. Most importantly, Tar River Archaeological Research continues to involve many local volunteers and artifact collectors as part of these efforts.

"…With these last words the voice died out; It never spoke again.
But still I keep that arrowhead to look at now and then."

(from "The Arrowhead," a poem by Hugh Buckner
Johnston [1982:43], written ca. 1929–1930)

Notes

Acknowledgments. A multidisciplinary study of this magnitude is not the sole effort of an individual but a collaborative endeavor of many, for which the author wishes to thank for their valuable encouragement and assistance, and he hopes the final product reflects well on their efforts. Generous funding for this project was provided by the Wilson County Commissioners, administered through the Wilson County Sesquicentennial Committee, and from the Wilson County Tourism Authority, administered through the Wilson County Historical Association (WCHA). Jerry MacLean, Professor Emeritus of the History Department at Barton College, was instrumental in project organization, the location and administration of funds, and provided overall enthusiastic support. Archaeologist Nick Jarman, alumni of the Appalachian State University Anthropology Department and current Ph.D. candidate at the University of New Mexico, as well as a native of Wilson County, volunteered his time and energy to conduct lithic identification and analysis. Jerry and Nick also served as stalwart field companions on numerous occasions. Upon Jerry's retirement emigration to Salisbury, Phil Mooring, President of the WCHA, continued the administration of funds and support for this project. Angley Herring Wilson of the State of North Carolina State Archives located and shared several of Hugh Johnston's papers with notes on the Buck Branch area near his property as part of rejected requests for an historical road marker for Tosneoc. Alex Keown and Gray Whitley both gave outstanding, on-going press coverage for the Sesquicentennial Survey in *The Wilson Daily Times*. Additionally, I am also indebted to professional colleagues Charles Heath, who graciously shared his time, expertise, and ideas on Tuscarora settlement patterns and Cashie ceramics, and Joe Herbert, who patiently endured my barrage of questions as he shared his knowledge of prehistoric coastal Carolina ceramics. The late UNC-Charlotte linguist Blair Rudes provided interesting and valuable insight into the structure of the Iroquoian language as related to local topoymns, for which I am most appreciative.

Earlier versions of this study have been presented at the 2008 North Carolina Archaeological Council meeting, a current research article in the 2008 spring issue of the North Carolina Archaeological Society *Newsletter*, and at many civic events and school

classes in Wilson County. Its publication here represents the final incarnation of the Sesquicentennial Search results.

Editorial advice was generously provided by Charles Heath (Fort Bragg Cultural Resources), Jack Bernhardt (Wake Technical Community College), John Mintz (NCOSA), and Pam Beaman in the preparation of this manuscript, for which it is much improved. Thank you to R. P. Stephen Davis, Editor of *North Carolina Archaeology*, for providing the technical support necessary to see this manuscript into print.

Heartfelt thanks also go to my wife Pam, for her patience of my long hours (and sometimes days) with prehistoric ceramics on our kitchen table, as well as for everything else.

This article is dedicated to the memory of David Sutton Phelps. Phelps' pioneering, in-depth archaeological investigations of the North Carolina Coastal Plain in the late 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s served to initially define the regional culture history for the eastern third of North Carolina. It is likely that no present or future archaeologist will ever equal his overall contributions to our understanding of the prehistoric populations who occupied the Coastal Plain.

Finally, great appreciation is extended to the dozens of land owners, artifact collectors, and local volunteers who participated in this study. They allowed us to trod through their fields, collect artifacts from their land, and spent time sharing their artifacts and locations of their collection sites. Though too numerous to mention here, this study would not have been possible without their support.

Figures. Figures 1–3 were taken by the author. Figure 4 is uncredited, but originally appeared on page A2 in *The Wilson Daily Times* on September 24, 1980. Figure 5 is after Figure 5.8 from Byrd and Heath (2004). Figure 6 was created for this publication, for which Lt. Dennis Bissette provided Photoshop assistance. Figure 7 is a photograph taken by Gray Whitley, and originally appeared on the front page of *The Wilson Daily Times* on November 14, 2006. All are reproduced here with appropriate permissions.

Collections. The collections used in the background research phase of this study are housed at the Phelps Archaeology Laboratory of East Carolina University in Greenville, the Research Laboratories of Archaeology at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, and the Office of State Archaeology Research Center (OSARC) in Raleigh. Charlie Ewen, Steve Davis, and Billy Oliver, respectively, allowed me access to requested collections for which I am most appreciative. All artifacts collected during this project are presently housed at Tar River Archaeological Research in Wilson, and will eventually be permanently curated at OSARC.

Disclaimer. Even with the tremendous support and assistance of the individuals acknowledged above, the author assumes full responsibility for any factual errors and the interpretations presented in this article.

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BOOK REVIEW

Historical Archaeology: Why the Past Matters. Barbara J. Little. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California, 2007. 216 pp., illus., biblio., index. $22.95.

Reviewed by Thomas E. Beaman, Jr.

Historic period archaeology in the United States began sporadically as an activity of architects, antiquarians, and prehistorians, born from the desire to locate and better interpret notable historic sites, as well as to more accurately restore historic structures. While there is no common consensus as to exactly when historical archaeology emerged as a separate subject from its parent fields of history and anthropology in the past 50 years, what is apparent is a shortage of widely available texts that offer a critical approach to its present status. With the publication of *Historical Archaeology: Why the Past Matters*, Barbara Little has offered one modern perspective with a short but substantive overview of the discipline that begins to fill this void.

Practitioners of historical archaeology will most likely be familiar with Little's work from her previous publications on public archaeology as well as her lengthy tenure with the National Park Service. While acknowledging her colleagues "don't always see things the same way," *Historical Archaeology* is based on her perspective on a discipline she has watched "grow and change remarkably" throughout her career (p. 17). In the Preface, Little initially notes her motivation in crafting this text is for a reader to journey through an exploration of the ambitions and successes of historical archaeology, yet later acknowledges her actual vision of this text "as a call for the international archaeology profession to re-engage and reinvigorate discussions about site significance and public involvement" (p. 207).

What starts as a promising journey of exploration quickly becomes a descent into a post-modern advocacy of archaeological interpretation as a socially responsible equalizer, able to reveal and understand the past as a way to improve the present and future. The concept of *sankofa*, an idea of West African origin centering on "reclaiming the past and understanding how the present came to be so that we can move forward," is introduced early into the text as a "useful concept for thinking about the way that we can relate the past to our current and future needs" (p.

15). Little thematically revisits the concept of *sankofa* many times throughout the text to remind that the practice of historical archaeology need not be just an academic exercise, but can have real relevance to the past and its conveyance to the public. The subtitle, *Why The Past Matters*, is certainly significant in directly addressing the importance of *sankofa* as the overarching structuralist theme of this work.

Equally as important as Little's perceived need for active descendant or local community involvement in archaeological projects to achieve *sankofa*, *Historical Archaeology* also concerns how our perception of the past is problematically constructed. She asserts that despite the common "ownership" of the past, we actually learn very little from it, largely due to its interpretation being based on what we know or want to believe. Citing often ignored evidence to generally support "the status quo, with all its intolerance, injustice, and inequality," Little laments this present practice allows us to "connect only with selected parts of the past" (p. 9). To combat this problem, she advocates archaeology as a more democratic laboratory to explore commonalities in the trials and tribulations of humanity. As such, excavated information is seen to offer hope and renewed perspective in its ability to generate actual knowledge that can interpretively challenge the lies, misperceptions, and partial truths of the past that create modern social injustices, such as prejudices and fear.

After these concepts are covered in a preface and introductory chapter, the remaining text is organized into four thematic sections. Each section contains multiple brief chapters that explore or expand on a particular theme. In the first section, "What Are Our Ambitions?," Little outlines the interdisciplinary goals of historical archaeology, which reflect a mixed academic parentage of the discipline but do complement each other well. Beginning with "Preserving and Interpreting the Past" (Ch. 3), other chapters highlight archaeology for documentary supplementation (Ch. 4), reconstruction of past lifeways (Ch. 5), the continued exercise of improving archaeological methods (Ch. 6), and understanding the past in the context of modernization and globalization (Ch. 7). The often overlooked search for improved exploratory methods as an overall goal is gratifying to see included in this section. The overall information presented in these chapters reinforce the idea that historical archaeology is not an exercise limited to a particular location, cultural group, or time period, but as a method to *sankofa*, has the ability and potential to explore many social, cultural, economic, political, and

religious influences and impacts on global populations throughout the past five centuries.

Section Two, "What Do We Care About?," explores the types of subjects that interest historical archaeologists. Little cautions the reader of a past "white-centrist perspective" bias, and notes that archaeologists must be willing to learn from past mistakes to move forward and develop archaeology as a method of *sankofa* (p. 43). Such examples include research foci on gender, biological race, ethnicity, and class not as "lines that divide" but rather to view them as "struggles that unite" (p. 45). Noting the ability to move between local and global foci, specific chapters center on colonialism, capitalism, and slavery (Ch. 10), material culture (Ch. 11), ideology, ambiguity, and muted groups (Ch. 12), and ethical considerations (Ch.13). The chapter on the many complex ethical considerations is especially welcomed as a topic not broached enough in introductory texts. In addition to stressing the importance of conserving the archaeological record, it also branches into ethical considerations to diverse modern cultural groups (e.g., NAGPRA) as well as for general public outreach. The chapter concludes with a number of URLs for on-line codes of conduct from a number of professional archaeology organizations.

The third section is by far the largest in the book and contains chapters that illustrate "examples of a wide variety of questions for global archaeology done one site at a time" (p. 79). Little couches this section as a "Windshield Survey," noting that it only "hints at the depth and breadth of the work that has been done" (p. 79). Individual chapters include excavated foci on the Native Monacan population in Virginia as they traded with the English colonists at Jamestown (Ch. 15), the lasting cultural and religious affects of the Spanish mission chain in La Florida (Ch. 16), the cultural redefinition and marking of land associated with the rise of rural capitalism in the English countryside (Ch. 17), redefining of gender roles in Annapolis households (Ch. 18), behavior in an Australian factory for female convicts (Ch. 19), the effects of early industrialization on domestic life and social relations in Harpers Ferry (Ch. 21), the working class of ethnic neighborhoods in New York's Five Points and in West Oakland, California (Ch. 22), and modern dietary behavior as examined through the "Garbage Project" (Ch. 23). A particularly well-rounded chapter examines the diaspora of Africans and their descendents in America, from the material life of the plantation to freed communities at Fort Mose, Seneca Village, New Philadelphia, and

Freedman's Town (Ch. 20). While Little obviously chose these examples to support the general themes and concepts presented in *Historical Archaeology*, it is curious that almost all presented here are basic research projects, which constitute the vast minority of historical archaeology conducted when compared to investigations mandated for cultural resource management. A similar problem has been noted in other works with examples of historical archaeology (e.g., *Unlocking the Past*, edited by Lu Ann De Cunzo and John Jameson, University Press of Florida, 2005), and it is regrettable that Little chose not to feature newer, fresher projects from the libraries of grey literature that illustrate similar concepts.

This reviewer found Section Four, "Historical Archaeology as Public Scholarship," the most controversial aspect of this work. Using examples such as Elmina Castle on the Ghana coast, the African Burial Ground in New York City, slavery at house museums, and the Enola Gay museum exhibit, Little explores the role that the public or relevant community should have in archaeological interpretations, and in turn, how the associated "commonly owned" history should be presented to the public. Seeing archaeology not as an end to itself but as a conduit to the past for *sankofa*, Little sees archaeology as a discipline that "can be of service to society" and "offers its scholarship in the public realm" (p. 170). Specific chapters highlight public meanings in public places (Ch. 25), the roles of public education and outreach (Ch. 26), dealing with controversial or "painful pasts" (Ch. 27), the "culture wars" in presenting history to the public (Ch. 28), the possibilities of civic renewal and restorative justice (Ch. 29), and how archaeology can provide "transformative learning" about the past (Ch. 30). It is curious that in these days of strained budgets that Little did not suggest associated communities or public involvement as a potential source of funding as well. Those interested in the basic concepts of ethical public archaeology that is concerned not just with cultural resource management but with social justice and civic responsibility presented in this section have more recently been further expounded upon by Little and Paul Shackle in *Archaeology as a Tool of Civil Engagement* (Altamira Press, 2007).

Little's explanations of social responsibility advocated in Section Four are troubling at best as redressed political correctness. Though acknowledging the "usefulness in supporting identity and community does not supercede or override knowledge goals aimed at understanding

how things in the past really were" (p.170), this idea is ultimately countermanded by the bulk of information presented in this section. Given the ethical considerations presented in Chapter 13, Little would likely not disagree that preceding interpretation, social responsibility to any public or community should involve the ethical collection of data to address relevant research questions, analyses with accepted methodologies, proper archival curation of artifacts and records, and timely dissemination of the results—in other words, putting the archaeological resource first. So why should the resource and its data not be the primary determinant of interpretation? Whether academic or legally mandated investigation, the ills or needs of any descendent and/or modern community should never precede or interject with archaeological interpretation. If interpretation of data reveals a past different from what is currently accepted, then the alternate view should certainly be presented and offered for peer consideration. But good, bad, or ugly, interpretations should be firmly and honestly grounded in archaeological data, and be neither geared nor skewed towards advocacy for social justices or perceived civic responsibilities in the reconstruction of the past—no matter who may be offended. While the view of socially responsible archaeology advocated in *Historical Archaeology* was apparently influenced largely by NAGPRA mandates, no such mandate presently exists for non-native historic resources nor is it warranted.

There are some positive aspects of this publication. Well written in narrative style with very little technical jargon, *Historical Archaeology* is a very affordable and accessible work for archaeologists as well as historians, students, and the general public. The chapters are brief, and average only several pages each. An absence of in-text citations is almost compensated with a by-chapter section of references for further research, virtually all of which are published articles, monographs, and URLs to specific web sites and pages. The 11 images that are included are appropriate and well chosen, some of which, such as the cover photo of young African American men working with excavated artifacts from Jamestown circa 1934, are rarely seen. Certain sections could also be very useful in an academic setting. The information presented on the goals of historical archaeology would be a good basis for a lecture or supplemental readings in an undergraduate introductory archaeology class, as would some examples from the "Windshield Survey." More advanced discussions on the controversial aspects of socially responsible archaeological research and interpretation would be well considered in a graduate seminar.

Other than previously stated, specific criticisms of this work are few but noteworthy, and may want to be considered if a second edition is planned. Despite the positive aspects of short chapters, the text often felt redundant in Sections one, two, and four. In each section introduction, Little describes what the included chapters contain in such detail that often this reviewer felt chapter content was repetitive and needed to be more thoroughly discussed. The lack of in-text citations was a deliberate choice (p. 17), presumably for better narrative flow, but is sorely missed. The only things cited were quotes, references for which are included in a brief "References Cited" at the end of the book. There are also a few citation errors in the "Further Readings" section, mainly incorrect publication dates. With the volumes of archaeological publications every year, incorrect citations are becoming a more common and bothersome trend, and unfortunately devalue the overall academic merits of a publication.

Little's *Historical Archaeology* will likely have appeal to archaeologists with a post-modern paradigm, and certainly may serve well those who advocate or practice non-mandated descendant and local community involvement in reconstructing the past. However, to be entirely honest, the perspective and themes presented in this work simply did not resonate with this reviewer's 16 years of experience actually practicing academic and mandated historical archaeology in the Mid-Atlantic and Southeast. Little's views on archaeological interpretation presented in this work have a much more humanistic bias commonly found in the Northeast, and are not readily reconcilable with the primarily scientific, pattern-based historical archaeology practiced in the Southeast.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Thomas E. Beaman, Jr., Wake Technical Community College, Northern Wake Campus, AB 417, 6600 Louisburg Road, Raleigh, North Carolina 27616

Linda F. Carnes-McNaughton, Fort Bragg Cultural Resources Program, Department of the Army, Directorate of Public Works, ATTN IMSE-BRG-PE, 2175 Reilly Road, Stop A, Fort Bragg, North Carolina 28310-5000

Jennifer Friend, Fort Bragg Cultural Resources Program, Department of the Army, Directorate of Public Works, ATTN IMSE-BRG-PE, 2175 Reilly Road, Stop A, Fort Bragg, North Carolina 28310-5000

Christopher B. Rodning, Department of Anthropology, Tulane University, 101 Dinwiddie Hall, New Orleans, Louisiana 70118