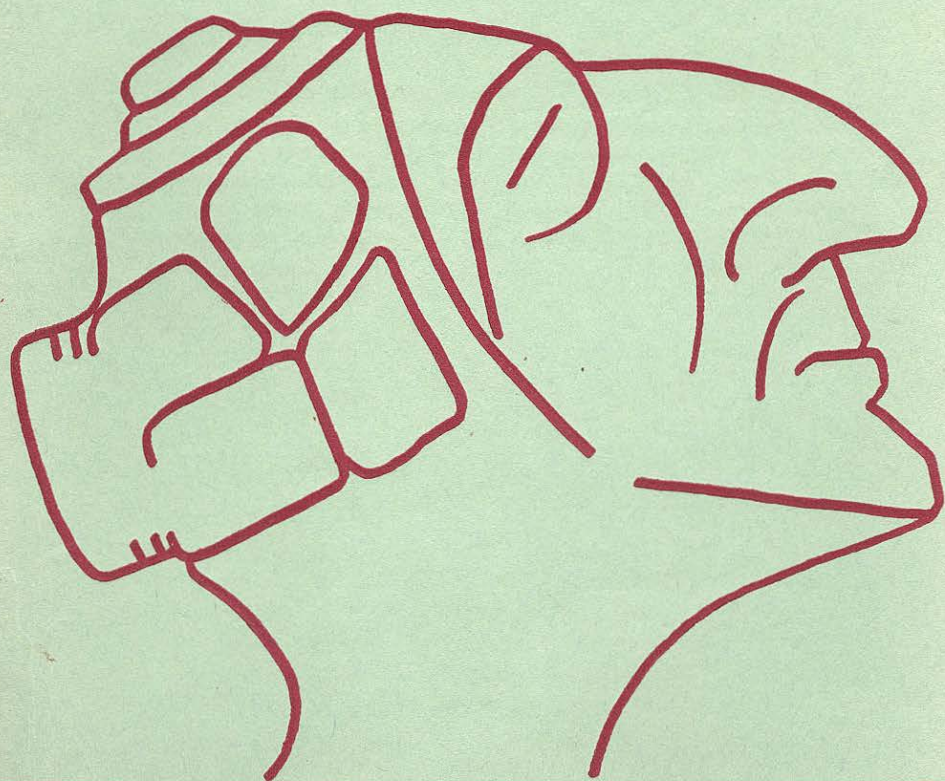


Southern INDIAN

STUDIES



Vol. 1

October, 1949

No. 2

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The *Southern Indian Studies* was established in April, 1949, as a medium of publication and discussion of information pertaining to the life and customs of the Indians in the Southern states, both prehistoric and historic. Subscription by membership in the North Carolina Archaeological Society (annual dues \$2.00) or \$1.00 per year to institutions and nonresidents of North Carolina.

PUBLISHED SEMI-ANNUALLY
by
THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NORTH CAROLINA
and
THE LABORATORY OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
Chapel Hill

Southern Indian Studies

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CONTENTS

A FLORIDA INDIAN TRADING POST, CIRCA 1763-1784	John M. Goggin 35
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE NATCHEZ TRACE PARKWAY	John L. Cotter 39
STONE PIPES OF THE HISTORIC CHEROKEE	John Witthoft 43
NOTES OF GENERAL INTEREST ANTHROPOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE	63
ANTHROPOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA	64
BOOKS WORTH READING Sight-seeing in the Wilderness Lawson: A NEW VOYAGE TO CAROLINA	65

Notice

Beginning with the next issue it will be the policy of the *Southern Indians Studies* to publish at regular intervals the description of archaeological type material. These descriptions will be reprinted in loose-leaf form and distributed free to all members of the Society. They will be available at cost to any other interested person. The pottery of the Miller culture, Mississippi (see page 42) will be the first type published in this form. These type descriptions are not limited to pottery, and every reader of this journal is invited to contribute material for publication.

THE EDITOR

A FLORIDA INDIAN TRADING POST, CIRCA 1763-1784

JOHN M. GOGGIN

When an intensive archaeological survey program was recently begun in the Central Florida region, one of its main purposes was to find and recognize Seminole archaeological material.¹ It was thought that this would be simple since the vicinity of Gainesville was known to have been a center of Seminole activity for about 75 years, or roughly from 1750 to 1825.

It was recognized that pottery, our most useful archaeological marker, was rare in the Southeast at this late period, because of European trade kettles, but we expected to find some, since as late as 1823 it was reported that the Seminoles in this vicinity were making pottery vessels.²

However, our field of research was disappointing. Over 100 sites were located within a 15-mile radius of Gainesville, but all seemed to date from an earlier period. Either we had not found a Seminole site or else were not able to recognize one. The problem was to find some kind of Seminole material of whose identity we were fairly certain.

Previously we had turned to that early Southeastern classic, William Bartram's "Travels"³ for a clue to the location of Cuscowilla, a major Seminole town described in some detail. However, that location could not be definitely pinned down. This time we considered the trading posts mentioned by Bartram on the St. Johns River. We reasoned that these posts for the Seminole trade should have some Indian material around them. Furthermore, since these posts were here only during the British occupation of Florida (1763-1784) all Indian materials found

1. The research described in this paper is part of the program of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Florida, aided by a grant from the Viking Fund, Inc.

2. Pierce, 1825, p. 135.

3. William Bartram first visited Florida in 1765-6 in company with his father, John. A little later he returned in 1773-4, spending considerable time on a long trip throughout Florida and the Southeast. His daily diary was to be the source of his famous *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive Territories of the Muscogulges or Creek Confederacy and the Country of the Choctaws* (London, 1791), in succeeding years this work has been recognized as a classic among naturalists, anthropologists, and historians. Moreover, it has been a source of inspiration for many of the literary great — foremost among them being Coleridge.

there must be Seminole. The task then was to locate and excavate one of these stores.

Locating a trading store proved simple because a few years ago Francis Harper had critically edited the diaries of John Bartram (1942) and William Bartram (1943). In his exhaustive annotations he mentions these stores, locating one of them specifically.

Spaulding's Lower Store, William Bartram's temporary headquarters, was said by Harper to be at Stokes Landing on the St. Johns River, a few miles south of Palatka. A visit by a field party discovered the evidences that Harper reported — old bricks and China ware were found. With permission for excavation kindly granted by the owner, Mr. A. M. Thomas, plans were made for excavations here.

Stokes Landing forms an ideal spot for human habitation as it is an elevated piece of land extending right to the water's edge — an unusual feature since most of the river is lined with swamps or marshes. Recent occupation has changed it only slightly. Houses and outbuildings of the present occupants blend into the beautiful oak forest, and one feels that the spot must have appeared very much like this at the time of Bartram's visit.

No exact description of the trading post is available, but it was one of several owned by Spaulding and Kelsall of Savannah. The agent here was Charles McLatche. Various references suggest that several buildings were present, all enclosed in a palisade.

At present the only surface evidence of this former occupation is two areas where concentrations of bricks were noted by Mr. Thomas. In the larger, southernmost of them we began our excavations. By local repute this area is considered to be the actual trading store, but our work, admittedly incomplete, did not confirm this supposition. Instead it appears that this was a dumping area for refuse. Several small and large shallow pits were made at some time in the past, and these and the adjacent area were filled with broken bricks, mortar, and household refuse of all kinds.

In terms of Colonial artifacts the site was very rich. Objects found included musket balls, gun flints, rum bottle fragments, and numerous sherds of English china, salt glaze ware, Delft, and

other types of pottery, as well as many pieces of Chinese porcelain. Hand wrought nails were very common and other metal pieces include scissors, a key, a fork, a knife, a pewter spoon, brass and pewter buttons, iron barrel hoops, gun fragments, and many pieces of decorated brass, probably ornaments from chests or gun stocks.

Objects designed purely for Indian trade were very scarce. They included one small tubular opaque white glass bead, a small heart-shaped silver brooch, and a conical sheet copper "tinkler."

It may be recalled that our original purpose was the discovery of pottery or other aboriginal material which could be definitely assigned to the Seminole Indians. In this we were successful. A number of sherds of a type now called *Stokes Brushed* were found. These are like west Florida forms in paste, and in surface treatment like other late types attributed to various Creek peoples. A fewer number of sherds of a fine, thin ware with mica inclusions were found, as was a single incised sherd suggestive of *Ocmulgee Fields Incised*.

One of the surprises of our work was the discovery that the site had been occupied at even an earlier time level, for underlying the Colonial remains was a fairly heavy St. Johns II occupation; and a few sherds, including a *Deptford Linear Check Stamped*, in one corner of our excavations indicated an even earlier group of peoples in early St. Johns Ia times.

In the coming fall we plan to continue our excavations where they were left off, finishing the refuse area. We plan then to dig exploratory trenches to discover, if possible, the former palisade and any remains of buildings.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE NATCHEZ TRACE PARKWAY

JOHN L. COTTER

Archaeological investigations on the route of the new Natchez Trace Parkway, now under construction by the National Park Service between Natchez and Nashville, have revealed definite linkage between burial-mound-building peoples of a basic Woodland pattern in the Central and Eastern states and prehistoric inhabitants of Northern Mississippi. Following the lead of Jesse D. Jennings, former Park Service archaeologist who pioneered the location of over 200 sites along the Trace and identified the Miller culture within the Woodland pattern at Lee County sites in 1940-41, the writer began work on MCs-16, a mound and village group in Chicksaw County near Houston, Mississippi, known as the Bynum site.

Progress on the Bynum site continued uninterrupted through the winter of 1948. In all, five conical burial mounds were excavated, three in essentially undisturbed condition, the remaining two being only remnants. Simultaneously, a five-acre village area was systematically gridded with 10-foot trenches at 40-foot intervals, with the result that seven circular patterns of individually set post molds denoting large communal houses were uncovered, one of which extended partially beneath a mound. Significantly, this mound, designated A, featured an extended flesh burial of a paramount individual accompanied by flexed burials nearby, all lying on a burnt floor and framed by large logs. Although the only grave goods were two pairs of copper spools on the wrists of the paramount burial, sherds in the mound fill of Mounds A and B indicated clay-grit cordmarked pottery was known at the village when the mounds were constructed.

Evidence indicated that the intact mounds, B and D, were built by people whose burial customs included such key traits as the deposition of cremations and flesh burials in circular pits following a fire ceremony. The fire involved destruction of a canopy of some sort supported by heavy upright logs. Copper spools in pairs differing slightly in manufacture from those of Mound A, greenstone celts, flaked spear points, bucyrcon shells and

galena traces were included in the pit with the burials. Finally, the earth mound was erected over the pit and its contents in a single continuous operation. No intrusive burials were encountered nor were additional burials laid down in the mound fill during construction.

An occupation at the Bynum village by people associated with cordmarked pottery may have followed the first mound building represented by Mound D. These people left a scattering of flexed burials cramped into small oval pits, head oriented to the east. None of these burials occurred inside the large house patterns, nor were they identified with any other post-hole patterns in the village.

As an added horizon above the prehistoric occupation of Bynum village, burials of early 19th Century Chickasaws were discovered as the excavations drew to a close. One cluster of these burials lay directly above and intrusive upon a 60-foot circular house pattern.

The final report on the Bynum site was written by the author and John M. Corbett, laboratory archaeologist, who joined the Natchez Trace Parkway staff during the Bynum operations, but left for a Washington office assignment when the first draft of the manuscript was completed. Publication of this report is expected within the next two years.

Operations were next transferred to the Natchez area in Mississippi in October 1948, and a series of stratigraphic tests were made on the second largest temple mound in the United States, the Emerald Mound, near the extinct village of Selzer-town, 12 miles north of Natchez. This earthwork, with basal dimensions of 700x400 feet, averaging 30 feet in height, and surmounted by a 17 foot truncated mound at the west end and a disturbed remnant of a mound now six feet high on the east end, was found to be essentially as estimated by Squier and Davis over a hundred years ago, i.e., earth fill contoured over a natural oval hill, the top of which may have been flattened as the peripheral area was filled. Profile cuts demonstrated that a village site had first occupied the hill, and rectangular walled structures with posts set in trenches were encountered in this initial occupation. Next, an earth rampart five feet high was created at the foot of

the hill, possibly with a palisade along the inner slope of the rampart. Finally, fill was added between the rampart and the hill, and beyond the rampart; and a second occupational level was established, to disappear in turn beneath more fill.

Also in accord with Squier and Davis's report of lateral secondary mounds observed on top of the primary platform early in the 19th Century, internal evidence on the north side of the primary fill indicated steep-sided earth mounds were once erected and later obliterated by added fill within the primary structure.

Natchezean-type incised pottery with clay-grit paste was found throughout the fill of the primary mound, with brushed pottery conspicuous, particularly in the old village level. A small minority of shell tempered ware was observed. In general, the pottery types corresponded more clearly to Louisiana-Southern Mississippi ceramic types than to the more northern Middle Mississippi ceramic wares.

Analysis of sherd types by stratigraphically established zones was carried out by the writer at the laboratory at headquarters after the completion of the tests, and a final report is now in its first draft.

Concurrently, a small test was made at the rich Anna Mound site on the bluffs of the Mississippi 15 miles north of Natchez. One of the smaller of eight truncated pyramidal mounds was tested to a depth of 17 feet and over 1300 sherds were recovered from a 5x10 foot excavation. Zones of occupation and building were established, beginning with a village zone at the base. A close correspondence with the Emerald Mound was established, with, however, significant differences in ceramic type percentages as in the Emerald Mound tests, no features except post-holes in trenches were noted, and the artifacts were almost 100 percent ceramic. The Anna test report is being undertaken at this time by the writer.

A third field campaign is scheduled to begin September 15, 1949, at MJe-1, a Coles Creek village and mound group known as the Gordon site, in Jefferson County, 25 miles northeast of Natchez. This excavation is expected to take three months and will be followed by a laboratory operation to process and study the material. Programmed work on five additional sites will be

supplemented by salvage of any new sites found within construction limits of the Parkway for the duration of the Archaeological Survey Project.

The first extensive investigations on Natchez Trace Parkway, undertaken before the work described above, were conducted between April, 1940, and February, 1941, by a Works Projects Administration project sponsored by Natchez Trace Parkway with Jennings, as sponsor's representative, supervising work at four sites and Albert C. Spaulding, WPA State Supervisor, in charge of the excavation of four more sites. These eight sites, all in Lee County, Mississippi, were as follows: MLe-14, 18, 19, and 90, all historic Chickasaw villages associated with the "Chickasaw Old Fields" west of Tupelo, Mississippi; MLe-14, though yielding Chickasaw house patterns, also sowed by the evidence of Natchezean pottery that it may have been in the area of the Ackia battlefield of 1736 when Bienville's punitive expedition against the Chickasaw and their Natchez wards failed. The remaining four, MLe-53, 53a, 56, and 62 were related to an older horizon, designated the Miller culture, derived ultimately from a generalized Woodland basic pattern and were characterized by burial mounds and cordmarked pottery. A complete report of the eight historic and prehistoric sites was made by Jennings.¹

The war years brought the work of the Archaeological Survey of Natchez Trace Parkway to a halt. In 1946, a new project was programmed by Jennings and accepted by the Park Service, with funds annually set aside for field work. Four major and five minor sites were chosen for excavation within the Parkway right-of-way. Before work could begin, Jennings was transferred to the office of Region Two and the Trace assignment was assumed by the writer.

Archaeologist
Natchez Trace Parkway
Tupelo, Mississippi

1. J. D. Jennings, "Chickasaw and Earlier Indian Culture of Northeastern Mississippi," *Journal of Mississippi History*, III, (July, 1941).

STONE PIPES OF THE HISTORIC CHEROKEES

JOHN WITTHOFT

Stone pipes of a peculiar class, found frequently in private and museum collections in the eastern United States, can be attributed to the nineteenth century Cherokees of North Carolina. Often such specimens are provided with some archaeological provenience, although identical pipes are not known in well documented collections from any archaeological site. Their status as modern Cherokee products is recognized by some older collectors and dealers, and has been suggested a couple of times in the literature, but they have never been adequately described or studied.¹ Although Mooney, Harrington, and other ethnologists collected specimens from Qualla Reservation, these have not been described. Moorehead and West illustrated typical examples without indicating their source or age.² McGuire illustrated one of the specimens collected by James Mooney at Qualla in 1886, giving its source in error, as Cherokee County, North Carolina, and at least suggesting that it was an archaeological specimen.³ Although such pipes have not been made at Qualla in 1886, giving its source, in error, as Cherokee County, the hands of an Indian, I have attempted to pull together as much information concerning them as possible at this late date, both from museum collections and living Indian sources. This paper is based on only a portion of the specimens available, and should be considered preliminary to a more thorough study of ethnological specimens scattered through many collections and of archaeological specimens of related types. These apparently related forms occur in widely separated areas, and are very poorly known.

The stone pipe, called *ganc nawà*,⁴ is the only form recognized by some older Cherokee informants as a traditional form.⁴ Pottery pipes are attributed to Catawba influence or

1. Parker, 1922, Part 1, p. 146; McGuire, 1899, p. 598-99.

2. McGuire, 1899, p. 599 (fig. 199); Moorehead, 1910, Vol. 2, p. 87 (fig. 495, no. 3); West, 1934, Vol. 2, Pl. 128, fig. 4; Pl. 136, fig. 1; Pl. 195, fig. 3.

3. McGuire, 1899, p. 599, (fig. 200) (illustrated here, Pl. III, fig. 5).

4. Floyd Lounsbury, of Yale University, who is currently engaged in a comparative study of the Iroquoian languages, tells me that the Oneida term for pipe is cognate to the Cherokee word.

recent Cherokee innovation. The few pottery pipes I have seen are crude, modern, and apparently made for the tourist trade; the stone pipes, on the other hand, suggest a graceful stereotype and are readily recognizable. According to Cherokee informants, such pipes passed out of use prior to 1910, although a few later copies have been made for the tourist trade.

These pipes were made of green or grey steatite or of grey-black shale from local sources; some are also said to have been made from fragments of soapstone pots found on archaeological sites. Blocks were cut roughly to shape with a saw, and the pipes whittled into final form with a knife. No file marks have been noted on museum specimens. Moses Owl of Birdtown, Qualla Reservation, tells me that the pump drill was used to drill the bowl and stem holes. (This is my only reference to the pump drill for Cherokee.) Stems are said to have been carved from willow, the pith being forced out with a wire, but almost no stems have survived to the present time.

We have record of one Cherokee pipe maker, and know almost nothing about him. The Valentine brothers, of Richmond, Virginia, excavated several mounds in the Qualla area in 1881-82, and collected a good series of ethnological specimens at that time. These include several pipes, cataloged as "Carved soapstone pipes, made by Will Peckerwood, a Cherokee".⁵ Will Peckerwood's name appears several times in James Mooney's field notebooks of 1886-87, and Mooney got fairly long series of plant names and herb usages from him. I judge that Mooney's specimens in the United States National Museum were made by him, since the following account of Mooney's would seem to rule out any other person.

133021 Stone pipes and pipe rock (kanu'ñawu): both pipes and rock are called by the same name, the material being a dark brown micaceous rock, soft and easily carved, and found only in a few places. One vein is at Birdtown, on the reservation, another at the Cheowah settlement, near Robbinsville in Graham County. Many superstitions are connected with this rock, which is the same of which the antique pipes and pendants found in the mounds are

5. Anonymous, 1898, p. 54. Specimens in the Valentine Museum, Richmond, Va.

commonly made. The specimens were all made by one old man, who is now almost blind and unable to do as good work as formerly. The designs represent bears and squirrels perched in front of the bowl. The carving was done with a common pocket knife, and the pipes are afterwards greased to color them. In the last century the Cherokees were famous among all the southern Indians for their skill in carving pipes of stone.⁶

The Valentines' pipes, Mooney's specimens, and two examples collected by Edward Palmer in 1882 appear to have been made by the same workman.⁷

Several of the pipes in collections of the Heye Foundation, Museum of the American Indian, New York City, have short pieces of willow twig, with the pith removed, as stems. These apparently represent very recent specimens, more so than the pipes themselves. Mooney collected six stems in 1887, made of sourwood and elaborately carved. (United States National Museum Collections, Cat. No. 133,016. Plate III, fig. 1.) These are ten to twelve inches long, and are dyed red and black. According to a manuscript note of Mooney's, these were made by Jim Diwatli' of the Big Cove,⁸ and were called *kanû'nawu gû'hûlti'*, this name being given on the catalog card.

Older Cherokee informants who remember seeing such pipes claim that they were made in the last century by a few individuals in the Qualla Reservation towns of Birdtown and Yellow Hill and were sold for a quarter or fifty cents apiece. Reservation storekeepers of this period did a great deal of barter, since cash was scarce among the Indians, and they dealt in herbs, tanbark, hides, livestock, wool, homespun, corn, and all sorts of other local produce. Among other items they bought and sold pipes, most of which were resold in their stores but some of which were resold to dealers in other parts of the country, and ultimately to curio dealers. The McCoy family, store-keepers in Birdtown for several generations, still had several of these pipes in their possession in 1946.

Pipes which found their way into curio dealers' hands and to country stores in other parts of North Carolina must have

6. Mooney, N. D. a., p. 30.

7. Palmer's specimens are in the United States National Museum, (Cat. Nos. 62950 and 62951.

8. Mooney, N. D. b., p. 57.

been frequently resold as archaeological specimens. Older collectors with whom I have discussed these pipes remember seeing them in New York and Philadelphia shops, and they crop up in the collections. An example in the Ethnology Range of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, in the Peterson Alaskan Collection, was accessioned as a Tlinket pipe from Sitka, Alaska.⁹ This particular specimen is a typical Cherokee bear effigy pipe, of green steatite, very closely resembling the pieces I believe Will Peckerwood made. Scratched inside the bowl is the date 1891. Four specimens in the University Museum, Philadelphia, were cataloged as coming from Mississippi Valley mounds, and at some time prior to 1910 they were labeled "imitation mound pipes" and placed with the museum's frauds.¹⁰ Similar mislabeled examples occur in other collections.

The usual Cherokee pipe varies in length from two and a half to five inches, and generally has a small bowl which is at right angles to the stem, although some are slightly obtuse angled. The bowls are circular in cross-section, and in almost every case have a little pointed prow or rounded lip at the front edge of the bowl. Sometimes the heel also has some suggestion of a pointed prow. The stem sections are long in proportion to the bowl height, and the majority are square in cross-section, while many are round and a small minority octagonal. Usually an animal figure in full relief stands on the stem, separate from the bowl. This figure, in all but two examples which I have examined, faces toward the smoker and away from the bowl.

A very few of these pipes occur without effigies. The small example, Plate II, fig. 1, is the smallest specimen I have seen and is atypical in other ways. It was collected by F. C. Macauley Philadelphia, Cat. No. 2502). Plate II, fig. 2, shows the coarser in 1890 and has been smoked in recent times. (University Museum, work and slight crudity of Will Peckerwood's later pipes and is in the same collection (Cat. No. 2517). My third example is one of the more graceful, lighter, and probably earlier type, and has also been smoked. It comes from the H. N. Rust Collection, given to the University Museum by Professor Cope in 1893 (Cat. No. 10526, Plate II, fig. 3).

9. Cat. No. 2613.

10. Cat. Nos. 14305, 11965, 14304, 14157.

The most frequent type, however, has an effigy on the stem. The bear and the squirrel are the most frequent animals, but others occur. Plate II, fig. 4 is the most usual bear form, but this pipe is peculiar in that the heel is cut away to form a facet below the bowl (Rust-Cope Collection, University Museum, Cat. No. 10524; has not been smoked and locality not recorded). Fig. 5 is a strange looking bear, and may be intended for some other animal. It was collected by Macauley and is cataloged "Georgia, modern." It has been smoked and differs in several details from other Cherokee pipes. Quite possibly this example came from one of the small Cherokee remnants still resident in northern Georgia during the closing decades of the last century. (University Museum, Cat. No. 2514, accessioned 1890.) One of Mooney's specimens (Plate III, fig. 3) bears the slimmest and most graceful bear I have seen. (Collected at Qualla Reservation, 1887, U. S. National Museum Cat. No. 133,021.) A single specimen has two bears and shows other peculiarities. (Plate II, fig. 6, from the Robert H. Landon Collection, 1893, University Museum, Cat. Nos. 11965 and Pam 315, locality unknown.)

Squirrels are as frequent and most of them are almost identical with Mooney's specimens (Plate III, figs. 5, 6, 7, Qualla Reservation, 1886, Cat. No. 130,497). One example (Plate IV, fig. 6) has a squirrel and a rabbit mounted on the stem (Heye Foundation, Cat. No. 3/4788, Cherokee, North Carolina). Otherwise, the squirrel pipes show almost no variation from type.

A few other animal forms occur. Plate IV, fig. 2 shows a horse pipe from the Trexler Collection in the Lehigh County Historical Society Museum, Allentown, Pennsylvania. This is one of the few examples on which the animal faces away from the smoker. A very similar horse pipe in the Heye Foundation Collections (Cat. No. 20/2931) has the animal facing in the opposite direction. Another pipe in the Heye Collections (Cat. No. 1/9003, Plate IV, fig. 3) is of peculiar shape, with incised decorations, and bears the figure of a groundhog. Another example (Heye Collection, Cat. No. 10/9619, Plate IV, fig. 1.) represents a lizard or salamander, probably the blue-tailed skink.

Three Cherokee pipes which I have seen bear human figures. The most interesting of these, and the finest Cherokee pipe I

know, is in the W. H. Dickson Collection in the University Museum, Philadelphia (Cat. No. 14304, Plate II, fig. 8) and is catalogued as coming from a mound at Natchez, Mississippi, doubtless in error. The thin, almost knifelike face suggests the caricature of the booger-dance masks, and the figure is unlike any other Indian art object with which I am familiar. A specimen in the United States National Museum (Cat. No. 200,353; Plate III, fig. 4) accessioned from Emile Granier in 1899, shows a human figure and a jug. This is one of the few examples with incised decoration, but I have seen the same motif carved on other pipes. The third human effigy form is the only example I have seen which would conform to Adair's description of immodest sculpture, quoted later in this article. This specimen, of which I unfortunately do not have a photograph, is in the Willard Yaegar Collection at Hartwick College, Oneonta, New York, and came from the William Hakes Collection. Yaegar has it cataloged as a Cherokee pipe, from Graham County, N. C. (Cat. No. 4230), and it must date well back into the last century. Judged by its material, style, workmanship, and evidence of recent smoking, it is a recent Cherokee pipe, but the shape does not correspond with any other examples. The bowl is drilled between the shoulders of a kneeling figure, facing the smoker with head bowed. Although the wooden stem is missing, the stem portion of the pipe obviously represents the base of an exaggerated phallus clasped between the hand of the figure.

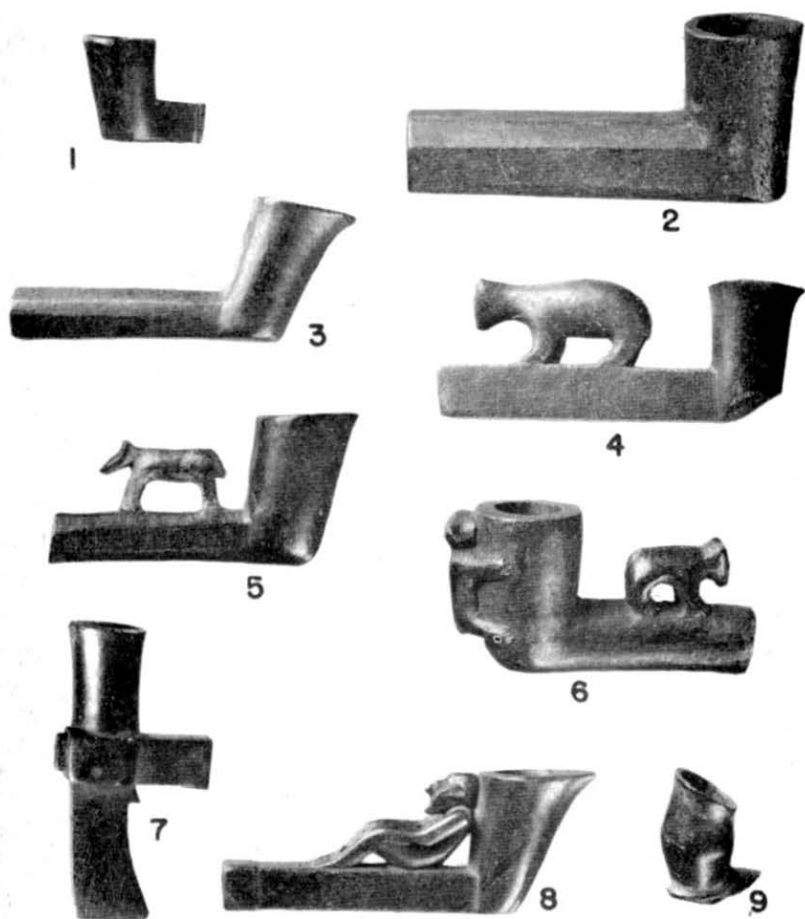
A few pipes represent objects that are not life forms, and I suspect that they are copied from non-Cherokee models. A few are copied from pipe-tomahawks, and most likely represent copies of Catawba clay pipes, of which the tomahawk is one of the most frequent patterns. Catawba were living on Qualla Reservation at least as early as 1880, and probably much before that time. Mooney's specimen (Plate III, fig. 2; United States National Museum Cat. No. 130, 497) resembles Catawba examples in breadth of blade and bowl size, but not in stem and other details. An extremely graceful example of an earlier period is in the W. H. Dickson Collection in the University Museum, Phila-

Plate I



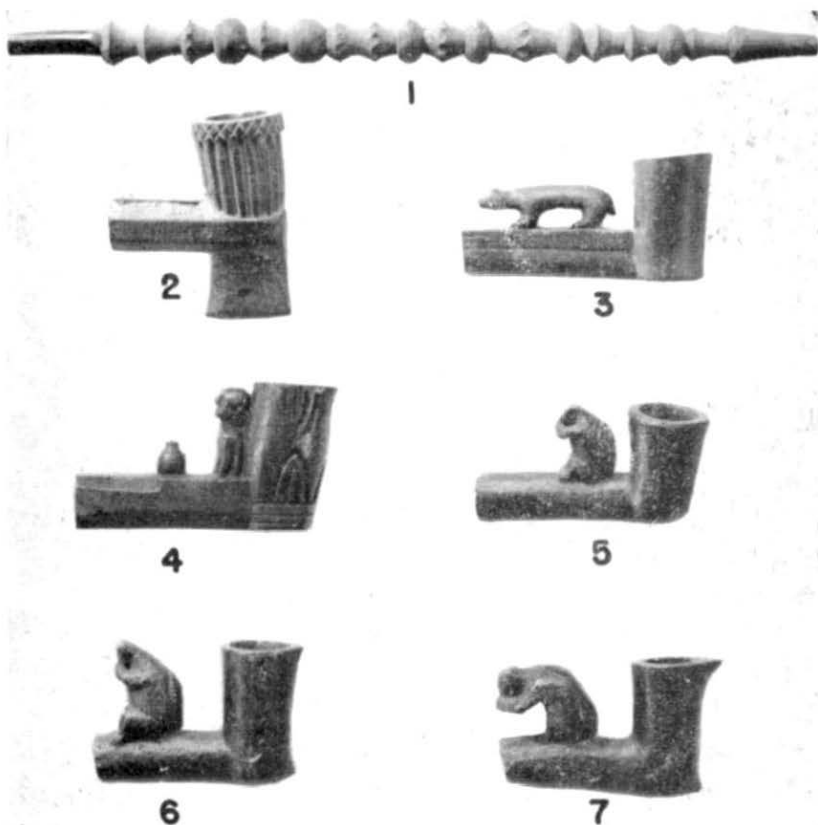
Teh-ke-neh-kee, the Black Coat. From the original oil painting by George Catlin (1836) in the Division of Ethnology, U. S. National Museum. Photograph through the courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution.

Plate II



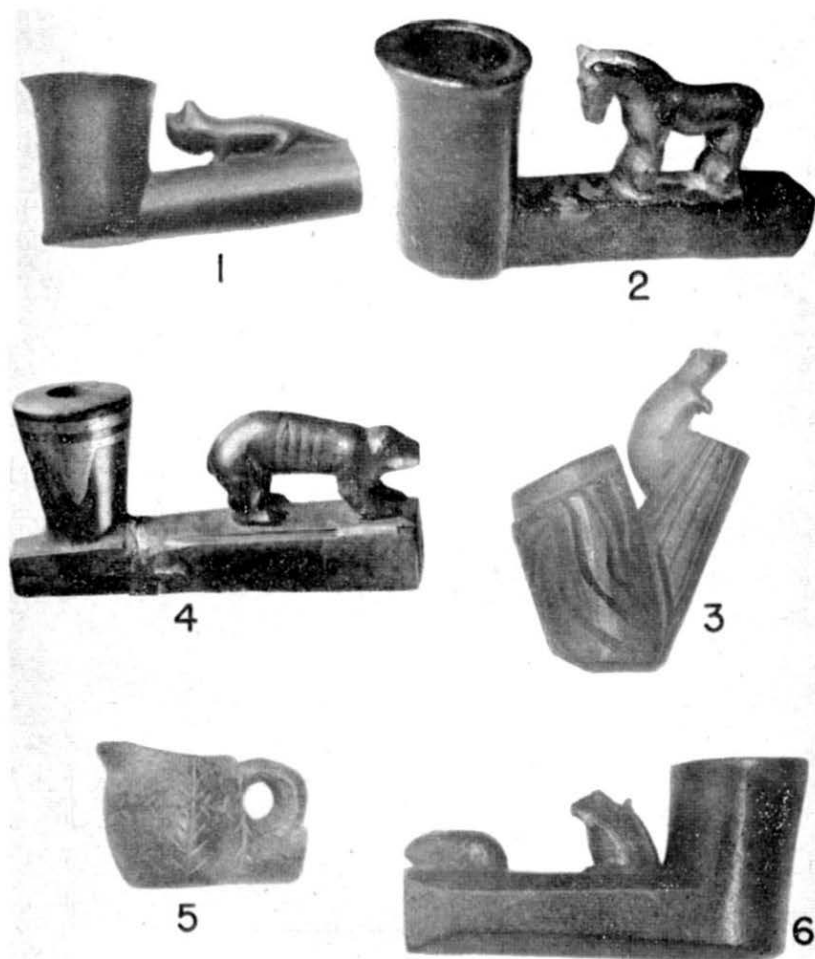
Cherokee pipes in the University Museum, Philadelphia. Photographs through the courtesy of the University Museum.

Plate III



A Cherokee pipestem and pipes in the United States National Museum, collected from Qualla reservation by James Mooney. Photographs through the courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution.

Plate IV



Cherokee pipes and a Plains Calumet (fig. 4) of the suggested prototype.

delphia, and is cataloged as having been acquired by Dickson in 1880, from the Chamberlain Mound, Mississippi, (Plate II, fig. 7, Cat. No. 14157.)

Two specimens in the Heye Foundation are copies of pot forms (Cat. Nos. 204395 and 202078.) The latter, Plate IV, fig. 5, represent a pitcher. Both specimens show the tree design sometimes found on Catawba pottery pipes; both are more worn and abraded, but less polished, than any other Qualla pipes I have examined. They represent an extreme departure from type which I am unable to explain.

In search for specimens of nineteenth century Cherokee origin, I have assumed that specimens originally cataloged as Qualla Reservation or modern Cherokee, North Carolina, were made at Qualla. Consistency of pattern of such pipes in unrelated collections, and their presence in such well-documented collections as Mooney's, Palmer's, and the Valentines', would demonstrate beyond any doubt that these were made at Qualla at that time. I have made no intensive search for specimens, but the large sample I have casually come across, including many seen in private collections before I began to take notes on them, would indicate that they were made in large quantities. I have made further assumption that identical pipes which purport to be something else are of recent Qualla origin. In some cases, I have probably carried this too far, but I am impressed by the manner in which Indian relics acquire fraudulent labels, and this has certainly happened to a number of honest ethnological Cherokee pipes which passed through the relic trade. I would suggest that any alleged archaeological pipe closely resembling any of the illustrated specimen is suspect.

Cherokee pipe-making traditions may be carried back in time through both archaeological and historical data. Clear information on early historic Cherokee pipes is derived from collections from a site on the farm of Moses Owl, Birdtown, Qualla Reservation. The river bottom here yields material attributable to two archaeological components, one a pre-pottery complex closely related to the Eva Focus of Eastern Tennessee, with large stemmed quartz projectile points and fragments of steatite vessels. The other is apparently an early eighteenth century Cherokee

town site, with a concentration of tiny triangular arrowpoints, decadent sand tempered Lamar-like pottery with coarse, carelessly applied, carved paddle impressions, iron fragments, and glass trade beads.¹¹ No pottery pipe fragments have been found here (except for pieces of European pipes), but stone pipe-sherds are frequent. Fragments available are too small to permit positive statement, but indicate the presence of stone elbow pipes of the type apparently associated with the historic components at Nacoochie and Peachtree.¹² Plate II, fig. 9, is an almost whole archaeological pipe of this type from the Macauley collection in the University Museum (Cat. No. 2507); a human face effigy is drilled into the heel of this pipe. The Owl site is particularly important because it links ethnological Cherokee pottery with that of the major protohistoric occupation of the Qualla area and demonstrates that the known Cherokee inhabitants of the eighteenth century were the cultural descendents of the late prehistoric Lamar-like complex.

Six prehistoric Lamar-like sites, four of them with pyramidal mounds represent the latest pre-contact culture of the Qualla area, and like Nacoochie, Franklin, and some components at Peachtree, are undoubtedly Cherokee. The pipe fragments examined from these sites indicate that prehistoric Cherokee pipes were usually not stone, but pottery, and that the predominant pipe forms are the same types as those found at Nacoochie, Peachtree, and Etowah.¹³ No stone pipes of the recent Cherokee ethnological type are known from any of these sites. Instead, the grid-surfaced pottery pipe, the coffee-bean type, the conical bowl with outflaring sides, and round-based bowl with straight sides, all with short stem portion, always very finely made and often painted red, are typical of prehistoric Cherokee sites but have not been found on the historic Owl site. The pipes from Nacoochie and Peachtree include both stone and pottery pipes, and provide some other types which may cast some light on the origin of more re-

11. Collection in the Ceramic Repository, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Cat. Nos. 9205, 9210, 9195, 9258.

12. Heye, Hodge, and Pepper, 1918, pp. 78-80, Pl. 50; Setzler and Jennings, 1941, Pl. 19, 21.

13. Based on collections from these sites in the collections of the Heye Foundation, the United States National Museum, the Ceramic Repository of the University of Michigan, and the Robert S. Peabody Foundation for Archaeology. West, 1934, Vol. 2, Pl. 221, shows a good series of pipes of the same general style.

cent patterns. The Cherokee occupation of the Peachtree site probably continued until 1750 or even 1775, but the major pottery and pipe types at Peachtree are certainly not associated with the bulk of the European goods, and some of them represent early ceramic horizons. The best series of Cherokee clay pipes which I have examined is the collection from Nacoochie in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.¹⁴

Ethnological Cherokee pipes most closely resemble recent Plains pipes of catlinite, steatite, and shale. The bowl shape, stem form, and isolated effigies have their closest parallels in Plains and Prairie area calumets. An exceptional Plains specimen from the George Catlin collection in the University Museum, Philadelphia, (Cat. No. 38377, Plate IV, fig. 4) is here illustrated to show these features.¹⁵ This pipe shows the same type of animal effigy as frequently found on older Plains calumets, but this particular example is closer to Cherokee types than most. The ribs of the bear are indicated by lead inlay. The stem has been broken from the bowl, but the two pieces have been solidly joined by a lead inlay sleeve poured on by some Indian owner.

Certain pipes at both Nacoochie and Peachtree actually appear to be calumets, and others are local modifications which could be in the ancestry of recent Cherokee forms. The most noteworthy is a catlinite disk-pipe of Oneota type from Nacoochie associated with trade beads, and surely is a trade piece from the Plains.¹⁶ Others are known from other sites in adjacent areas.¹⁷ Also of calumet form is a pipe with a prowed lip bowl, long stem of rectangular cross-section, and a long, thin leaf-shaped prow with multiple perforations extending forward from the heel. One of these pipes comes from Peachtree,¹⁸ one from "gold diggings", near Marble, Cherokee Co., North Carolina,¹⁹ and two in the Sloane Collection in the British Museum were apparently obtained from Cherokee Indians shortly before 1725.²⁰ An apparent catlinite prowed calumet from Hiwassee Island, Tennessee, is

14. Heye, Hodge, and Pepper, 1918, pp. 73-77; Pl. 44,45,46,47,48.

15. Previously illustrated, Catlin, 1848, Vol. 1, Pl. 64.

16. Heye, Hodge, and Pepper, 1918, pp. 77, 39-40; Pl. 49b, 14a.

17. Thruston, 1897, p. 199, fig. 99; p. 201, fig. 101; Setzler and Jennings, 1941, p. 86; Owen, 1910, p. 24.

18. Setzler and Jennings, 1941, Pl. 21, fig. 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

19. West, 1934, Vol. 2, Pl. 136, fig. 5.

20. Bushnell, 1906, p. 679, Pl. 36.

ascribed to the Hiwassee Island Focus, a surprisingly early context for a Plains pipe in the Southeast.²¹ Other stone pipes from the Peachtree and Nacoochie sites seems to belong to a historic tradition and time period.²² At this point, we should examine Adair's early description of Cherokee pipes, so frequently quoted and rarely analyzed. Adair's description is apparently a composite, but is extremely suggestive if interpreted in terms of actual specimens.

They make beautiful stone pipes; and the Cheerake the best of any of the Indians: for their mountainous country contains many different sorts and colors of soils proper for such uses. They easily form them with their tomahawks, and afterwards finish them in any desired form with their knives; the pipes being of a very soft quality until they are smoked with, and used to the fire when they become quite hard. They are often a full span long, and the bowls are about half as large again as those of our English pipes. The fore part of each commonly runs out with a sharp peak, two or three fingers broad and a quarter of an inch thick — on both sides of the bowl, lengthwise, they cut several pictures with a great deal of skill and labor; such as a buffalo and a panther on the opposite sides of the bowl; a rabbit and a fox; and, very often, a man and a woman *puris naturalibus*. Their sculpture cannot much be recommended for its modesty. The savages work so slow, that one of their artists is two months at a pipe with his knife, before he finishes it: Indeed, as before observed, they are great enemies to profuse sweating, and are never in a hurry about a good thing. The stems are commonly made of soft wood about two feet long, and an inch thick, cut into 4 squares, each scooped till they join very near the hollow of the stem; the beaus always hollow the squares, except a little at each corner to hold them together, to which they fasten a parcel of bell-buttons, different sorts of fine feathers, and several small battered pieces of copper kettles hammered, round deer-skin thongs, and superlative ornament. They so accurately carve, or paint hieroglyphic characters on the stem, that the war actions, and the tribe of the owner, with a great many circumstances of things, are fully delineated.²³

The discription of prowed pipes like those in the Sloane collection is clear, and the characterization of effigy pipes with figures in the round separate from the bowl must refer to some-

21. Lewis and Kneberg, 1946, Pl. 70.c.

22. Setzler and Jennings, 1941, Pl. 19, rows 9, 10, 11; p. 68, trait 86; Heye, Hodge, and Pepper, 1918, pp. 40-41, 78, Pl. 49.

23. Adair, 1775, p. 422.

thing very like our recent Cherokee pipes. Particularly important is the description of the stem: the elaborate carved stems, apparently composite, with perforations and pendant feathers, bells, and ornaments, suggests Plains Indian specimens as much as do the stone bowls which are extant. The excavation of Cherokee sites of Adair's period would probably produce pipes even more like his descriptions. Although we have no effigy specimens which are known to be of Adair's time, it is possible that some of the pipes which I have described as modern Cherokee forms may go back as far as 1750. On the basis of the Sloane specimens and Adair's descriptions, the general tradition to which our modern specimens belong must have started sometime before 1725, and later than the first strong contact between Cherokee and Europeans.

Cherokee stone pipes of forms apparently derived from Plains calumets continued in use until the present century (according to Will West Long of Big Cove, Qualla Reservation) in one rite which is probably a modified calumet ritual. Only the merest outline is here presented, but a monograph by Speck contains exhaustive studies of this and related ceremonies.²⁴ In the booger dance ritual, the appearance of masked men representing antagonistic aliens is followed by their introduction (with skatological and European national names) to the assembled group by an "interpreter." They ask in turn for a fight, for women, and for a dance (actually they ask for the friendship dance), the third request being granted. They may then ask for either the eagle dance or the bear dance, but usually want the bear dance. Their request is followed by a rite called smoking the singers and rewarding the eagle killer, in which a pipe, traditionally of the form here described, is smoked and passed around, but not offered to the Boogers. Then the person who has killed an eagle in the proper ritual fashion to provide feathers for the eagle dance is rewarded with certain specified presents. The dance requested by the Boogers follows. The eagle dance, performed with sourwood wands decorated with five fanned bald eagle feathers (called *anida-lido'n'udokdi'*, "they are victorious wands"; plural, *anida-lido'nc sudokdi'*) which are equivalent to

24. Speck, N. D.

the calumet stem, is a somber calumet dance.²⁵ Inferentially, a request for the eagle dance would indicate the Boogers' desire for conciliation with the people, and is rarely made. The Boogers represent the spirits of aliens and of diseases introduced by them. The implications of a request for the bear dance, which is filled with obscene horseplay by the Boogers, are not clear. This whole sequence may be interpreted in terms of calumet ritual patterns. Curiously enough, almost half of the Cherokee pipes examined have bear effigies, indicating some further linkage with the bear dance.

James Mooney made some observation of the booger dance, but always referred to the whole sequence as the eagle dance, whereas Speck and later students use the name eagle dance only for the dance with eagle wands which may be a part of the sequence. Mooney's fullest description of the rite indicates that he has not observed the sequence.

133009-10 Masks (agu'tulu'): worn by certain performers in the Feather or Eagle dance, the wearers personating strangers from another tribe. The men put them on in the early evening, and the women wear them toward the close of the dance in the morning. They represent the human face and are well carved from buckeye wood, trimmed with rabbit fur and squirrel tails for hair and beard, and painted with red and black ink procured from the whites.

135180 Feather wands: used in the Eagle or Feather dance, which is equivalent to the Pipe dance of the prairie tribes and the old Calumet dance of the Algonquin tribes. The wands are still called pipes by the prairie tribes and are undoubtedly evolved from an original calumet trimmed with feathers. Six wands are borne in the dance by as many men, each one of whom carries a rattle in his right hand and a wand in his left, the wand being waved about in time with the dance songs. Each wand is made of a single straight stick about two and a half feet long, ornamented with eagle feathers, which are fixed in the center like a fan or are set at right angles to the stick. In the latter case seven feathers are used, emblematic of the seven gentes of the tribe. The Eagle dance is performed only in winter and there is a great deal of ceremony in connection with the killing of the eagle and the care of the feathers, which are "fed"

25. Dr. William Fenton, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, tells me that one of the eagle dance songs which he heard from Will West Long, of the Big Cove community, is almost identical with one of the Seneca eagle dance songs. Fenton's comparative study of the eagle dance, not yet completed, should throw light on the history of the calumet rite and its paths of diffusion through the Eastern Woodlands.

or rubbed with blood for some days before the dance. Since the war the dance is practically extinct. As eagles are now difficult to procure in the mountains, the feathers and buckskin used in this case were procured from the National Museum.²⁶

Mooney identified the eagle dance wand with the calumet stem. These are some additional scraps of evidence. The dance wands are made of sourwood as were the pipestems collected by Mooney. Will West Long and other informants also tell me that, in the highly ritualized hunting of the eagle, its body, immediately after death, was beaten with a sourwood switch, and left untouched for four days while the hunter was subject to the same taboos as a warrior who had killed an enemy. The eagle's body was beaten to drive off spirits which would cause disease (the spirit of the eagle?). Sourwood is one of the great Cherokee herb medicines, and is apparently considered an extremely powerful spirit agent.

Of considerable interest in this connection is the painting of a Cherokee, *Teh-ke-neh-kee*, the Black Coat, made by George Catlin near Fort Gibson in 1836, here published for the first time as Plate I.²⁷ This chief was one of the "Old Settlers," the conservatives who moved west of their own will to avoid the Whites, prior to the forcible removal of 1838. He holds in his hands a calumet of typical Plains form, with a feather decorated stem of plains type which closely resembles modern Cherokee eagle dance wands. This portrait is almost the only early lifelike representation of a Cherokee, and the costume is apparently typical of that period. Of special interest is the arrow thrust through his hair, for the Cherokee language lacks a name for the quiver and some informants claim that it was not used. Possibly, as were true in some other areas, arrows were frequently carried in this fashion.

Two other rituals apparently derived from a calumet rite are preserved in other contexts. The eagle dance, performed on other occasions, and used to greet strangers, is said to have been

26. Mooney, N.D.a., p. 18-19. The seven feather dance wand made for Mooney by John Ax are unlike all other available specimens, all of which are of the fanned five feather type. Mooney, 1900, pp. 281-283, 293, 492-493, 453, gives more information on eagle killing and usage.

27. Donaldson, 1886, p. 207. Catlin Collection No. 286, U. S. National Museum Cat. No. 386, 286, U. S. National Museum negative number 31,551E.

identical with the eagle dance of the booger dance sequences.²⁸ The scalp dance was a variant of the eagle dance, which is said to have been used as the formal reception for scalps carried into the town. Both of these rites involved only the eagle wands, not the pipes, but the pipe portion of the related rite had been performed at an earlier booger dance for the eagle feathers used.

Sometime within the early contact period, Cherokee pipes were apparently subject to a complete revolution. Prehistoric Cherokee pipes of clay pertain to a highly conventionalized and stylized tradition. We know nothing about the contexts in which they were used, but their abundance, as fragments, in pyramidal mounds on Cherokee and on presumably Creek sites is suggestive of ritual association. Later forms are in stone, are totally unrelated to earlier clay forms, and show resemblances to Plains Indian specimens. Actual Plains pipes are also present on historic Cherokee and other Southeastern sites. At least some of these stone pipes were used in a pipe ritual which suggests the calumet ritual of the Plains, and the Southeastern adoption of this rite may be correlated with the introduction of these pipe designs. In the modern Cherokee eagle dance, the pipe is no longer used, but the eagle wand seems to represent the pipestem, which is the most important piece of paraphernalia in calumet rituals. The eagle dance would appear on other grounds to have its origin in a Plains calumet ritual, and its appearance among the Cherokee may coincide with major changes in pipe form and usage during the early historic period.

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28. Descriptions of the Cherokee eagle dance, even more similar to the calumet rite, are found in the following early sources: Timberlake, 1762, pp. 39, 64, 78; Adair, 1775, pp. 252-53; Bartram, 1793, p. 349.

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During the summer Guy B. Johnson, of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of North Carolina, continued field work at Pembroke among the Indians of Robeson County, N. C. This study of the history, culture, and inter-group relations of the Indian community was begun by Mr. and Mrs. Johnson some years ago, but was interrupted by the war and by four years' residence in Atlanta. It was resumed during the summer of 1948 and concluded during the summer of this year. Mr. and Mrs. Johnson have collaborated in the field work, and they will be co-authors of a book about the Indians of Robeson County. Their older son, Benton, who is working for a doctorate at Harvard, has also assisted in the work.

NOTES OF GENERAL INTEREST

ANTHROPOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE

In September, 1934, the Division of Anthropology was instituted under the Department of History at the University of Tennessee, and so remained until 1946, when it became the Department of Anthropology. Its staff at present consists of Professor T. M. N. Lewis, head, and Professor Madeline Kneberg.

No major is offered. A minor includes eighteen hours in the courses indicated below, and at least nine hours of advanced courses in related fields.

The following courses are offered:

- Early Man (Human Paleontology)
- Human Heredity and Races
- Prehistoric Cultures
- The American Indian
- Ethnology (Culture, Origins and Variability)

A semi-popular book on Tennessee Archaeology is in preparation, prompted by the needs of public schools and amateur archaeologists of the state. Also in preparation is a report on the Candy Creek and Mouse Creek Cultures of the Hiwassee River and surrounding region.

The Department has recently acquired the large Barnes collection which was displayed in a Gatlinburg museum during the 1930's. Its chief archaeological value lies in its numerous "Southern Cult" and European trade objects. Among the latter are many engraved silver ornaments and hundreds of strings of Venetian beads, some of them of 15th-century manufacture.

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ANTHROPOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

Although a course in General Anthropology had been offered at the University of Florida for several years, an expanded program was begun in July, 1948, with the bringing to the University of a full-time anthropologist. At the same time the Department of Sociology was broadened to a Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

During the academic year 1948-49, courses in General Anthropology, Peoples and Cultures of Latin America, and Principles of Archaeology were offered. Enrollment was gratifying. In the first semester of the 1949 summer session a Summer Field School offered training through excavations conducted near Gainesville in two early ceramic and preceramic sites.

In addition to the academic offerings a research program, aided by a grant from The Viking Fund, Inc., has attacked certain neglected areas in the field of archaeology. This continuing program has included excavations in the Everglades, a surface survey of parts of Central Florida, and excavations at a British trading post of the early Seminole period.

Further courses were added in the academic year 1949-50, and offerings in the Latin American field were improved through the addition of a new staff member to the department, Dr. T. Lynn Smith, who is best known for his Brazilian sociological work. Plans for 1950-51 include more scheduled courses with the addition of another anthropologist and a continuation of the Summer Field School.

JOHN M. GOGGIN

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BOOKS WORTH READING

SIGHT-SEEING IN THE WILDERNESS

A NEW VOYAGE TO CAROLINA; CONTAINING THE EXACT DESCRIPTION AND NATURAL HISTORY OF THAT COUNTRY: ETC. By John Lawson. London: 1709. Reprinted, Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1937, as LAWSON'S HISTORY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

Prior to the publication of his *New Voyage to Carolina* in 1709 almost nothing is known of John Lawson. Where he was born and how he spent the greater part of his life are unknown. Lawson was a man of financial means and of intellectual ability. Well educated, he appears to have had a curious mind which found satisfaction only in extensive travel. On a journey to Rome, he encountered a fellow traveler versed in the adventurous possibilities of the New World. By December, Lawson had crossed the Atlantic to Charleston and was prepared to embark upon his travels through North Carolina. Upon the termination of his trip Lawson found the youthful vigor of the colony of enough interest to prolong his stay for eight years. In 1709 he returned to London perhaps to oversee the publication of his book. Here the Lords Proprietors requested his services to help Swiss-born DeGraffenreid effect a settlement of Palatines in the Proprietary colony. But the relationship was wholly unsuccessful, being marked by intermittent conflict between the two men until the death of Lawson in 1711.

John Lawson's *New Voyage* is essentially a diary, a day-by-day account of his thousand-mile trek through the Indian-populated wilderness of colonial Carolina. To complete his manuscript Lawson added factual studies of the physio-biological character of the colony and of the Indians who inhabited large portions of it. But it is the journal itself that grips the readers' imagination.

On December the 28th, 1700, I began my voyage [for North Carolina] from Charles-Town, being six men in Company, with three Indian-men and one woman, Wife to our Indian Guide. . . ."

The flooded marshland that fringes the coast from Charleston northward to the Santee River supplied a suitable though somewhat confusing medium of transportation. By day the group traveled under the guidance of the Indians; by night they rested, using for shelter the flea-ridden cabins of traders when possible, or sleeping on the naked earth. In the forest was an opulence of turkey and deer, of berries and nuts, and the waters abounded with fish.

At the mouth of the Santee, the company turned inland, following the river's course several days before deserting the waterway for travel afoot, principally along the trading paths which connected the more populous tribal centers.

Reception by the Indians was cordial. Lawson and his friends were welcomed by the Indian kings, fêted with all the restricted splendor of the native fare and offered for bedfellows the pretty young harlots of the king. In their honor the Waxaw women danced themselves into a lather, and the nobility of Adshusheer serenaded the group with night-long incantations attuned to the drum and rattles.

There was much to be observed among the tribesmen: marriage and burial ceremonies, political structures, the methods of the hunter, the way of the warrior, the manner of witchdoctor and of king. Lawson searched objectively into the new and the strange with little personal bias.

Lawson admired the Indians, and they accepted him for friend, extending to him the bounty of the land and restricting privileges and information only of the highest order. In view of this the explanation given for Lawson's death is open to critical question. In 1711 Lawson in the company of DeGraffenreid and two Negro servants set out to determine the extent to which the Neuse River was navigable. It was a time of great

agitation between the Indians and colonists, and the Indians under the leadership of the Tuscaroras were plotting war. Lawson, DeGraffenreid and the servants were captured, taken to King Hencock's village, tried and acquitted. At a critical moment Lawson (says DeGraffenreid) chose to quarrel with the king of the Coree Indians, who also was present. The irate king caused the group to be imprisoned and, except for DeGraffenreid who escaped, put to death.

Lawson's work furnishes one of the earliest and most reliable accounts of the North Carolina Indians.

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THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NORTH CAROLINA MEMBERSHIP

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