

DEFENDING AND PROVISIONING THE CATAWBA NATION:
AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE MID-EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY
COMMUNITIES AT NATION FORD

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ABSTRACT

MARY ELIZABETH FITTS: *Defending and Provisioning the Catawba Nation:
An Archaeology of the Mid-Eighteenth-Century Communities at Nation Ford*
(Under the Direction of C. Margaret Scarry)

In the mid-eighteenth century, several Catawba communities were situated near Nation Ford, where the main trading path that traversed the southern Appalachian Piedmont crossed the Catawba River. Men from these communities had adopted a militaristic strategy of serving as auxiliaries for the English colonies. The alliance between the Catawba Nation and South Carolina, in particular, precipitated a set of processes that transformed the conditions of daily life near Nation Ford. Two of these processes were settlement aggregation and the incorporation of native refugee communities. In this dissertation I consider whether the political process of centralization through which refugees were incorporated into the Catawba Nation was accompanied by parallel changes in economic organization, particularly with regard to foodways. I also examine the impacts of settlement aggregation on the formulation of community identities and the farming and foraging practices of Catawba women. In addressing these topics, I consult primary documents to assess the character of the alliance between the English colonies and the Catawba Nation, and to trace the development of the Catawba's role as auxiliaries. I also examine archaeological materials from the mid-eighteenth-century Catawba settlements of Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town to assess the activities of Catawba women, particularly with regard to making pottery, farming, and collecting wild foods.

I find that the incorporation of refugee groups was not accompanied by uniform changes in Nation Ford communities of practice. On the one hand, variation in pottery attributes suggests this particular craft was taught and undertaken in household or matrilineal groups. However, women appear to have been processing less maize at Charraw Town relative to Nassaw, a pattern that may indicate the development of collaborative networks that cross-cut Catawba settlements. It also appears that a more anthropogenic environment had developed near Nation Ford as a result of settlement aggregation. This circumstance likely contributed to a food security crisis between 1755 and 1759, when enemy raids, European settler encroachment, and a regional drought all interfered with Catawba subsistence practices. Ultimately, this study highlights the double-edged nature of strategies available to American Indian groups seeking to maintain political autonomy in early colonial period contexts.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Catawba Indian Nation is a federally recognized tribe located south of present-day Charlotte, North Carolina. Smaller and less well-known than other Southeastern Indian groups, the Catawba nonetheless played an important role in the geopolitical landscape of the early colonial Southeast, and continue to live within their pre-colonial homeland despite a series of divestments. The persistence of the Nation as a corporate entity has been attributed in part to the Catawba's willingness to "cross the cultural divide" between themselves and European colonists during the eighteenth century (Merrell 1989:281). While this may have been the case, such an approach was not always successful for American Indian polities. Many who brokered relationships with European colonists, particularly during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, fell victim to the capriciousness of their new allies. In the pages that follow, I seek to further clarify the conditions of Catawba persistence through an examination of the intertwined strategies of militarism and settlement aggregation that the Nation undertook during first half of the eighteenth century. I do so not only by examining the documentary record, but also through analyses of materials from two mid-eighteenth century Catawba settlements that can be used to access characteristics of everyday life. In examining these materials, I seek to determine whether the political process of centralization through which communities were incorporated into the Catawba Nation was accompanied by parallel economic changes, particularly with regard to foodways. In other words, were political alliances and settlement aggregation accompanied by

community building, and how did this process unfold? By emphasizing corporate strategies, this study provides a counterbalance to literature concerning colonial period American Indian groups that focuses primarily on trade and the adoption of Enlightenment-period individualism.

Settlement aggregation in the lower Catawba valley began during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as the Catawba incorporated refugees from other American Indian groups who were destabilized and displaced by European colonial undertakings along the Atlantic coast. At the same time, the Catawba adopted a militaristic strategy of serving as auxiliaries for the Carolina colonies. One aspect of this militaristic strategy was settlement aggregation, which provided security and reduced the amount of time necessary to mobilize warriors for military operations. In this study I seek to characterize how the associated processes of militarization, refugee incorporation, and settlement aggregation impacted Catawba community organization and subsistence during the mid-eighteenth century. In addition to colonial documents, I examine pottery and macrobotanical remains from the archaeological sites of Nassaw-Weyapee (38Yk434) and Charraw Town (38Yk17), which were excavated by the Research Laboratories of Archaeology at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, between 2007 and 2011. Nassaw and Weyapee were adjoining settlements inhabited by groups affiliated with seventeenth-century inhabitants of the lower Catawba valley, while Charraw Town was home to refugees that arrived among the Catawba in the 1730s. Both of these settlements were occupied during the mid-eighteenth century, making it possible to interpret patterned artifact distributions in terms of variation in contemporaneous communities of practice. Since women likely produced many of the archaeological materials I examine, this study also provides a window into the organization of women's activities, a realm that often escaped documentation.

Catawba settlement aggregation, while partly a consequence of their militaristic orientation, resulted in spatial proximity that may have increased interaction between settlements, enabling the development and maintenance of an inclusive corporate identity. While this proximity was thus an important aspect of the process of Catawba ethnogenesis, I will argue that it also made the Nation vulnerable to a food security crisis between 1755 and 1759. During this period Iroquois and Shawnee raids, settler encroachment, a regional drought, and the Seven Years War all interfered with the ability of Catawba households to feed their families. This situation can be understood as an instance of structural violence (*sensu* Galtung 1969, Farmer 2004), as most of these conditions were brought about by colonial policies that informed the decision-making processes of people living far beyond the administrative centers of Charles Town and Williamsburgh. In addition to examining the organization of Catawba communities, therefore, I also evaluate Catawba foodways with regard to expectations concerning household mitigation of food insecurity.

In sum, this study addresses the following questions: How did Catawba settlement aggregation, refugee incorporation, and political coalescence affect the scale of interaction networks and communities of practice in the lower Catawba River valley? What strategies did people employ in response to the food security crisis of the 1750s? And ultimately, what was daily life like for Catawba families during the mid-eighteenth century and how did the activities of Catawba men and women contribute to the persistence of the Nation?

People of the River

The first Europeans to enter the Catawba River valley were associated with Spanish military expeditions. Juan de la Bandera, notary for Juan Pardo's 1567 march from Santa Elena –

located on the coast of present South Carolina—up the Catawba River to the base of the Appalachian Mountains, recorded the names of the indigenous leaders they encountered along the way. One of these was “Yssa,” or *i-suwq* in Catawban orthography, meaning “river” (Rudes 2004:405). Over a century later, English speakers recorded the corporate name “Nassaw.” In addition to containing an English rendering of the Catawban word for river, “Nassaw” begins with a preposition abbreviated from *nieya / nieye*, meaning “people” or “Indians” (Mooney 1894:69). These “people of the river” were part of what was quickly becoming a diverse polity centered at the Catawba River crossing of the Great Trading Path that Virginia traders used to reach the Cherokee.

Stephen Davis and Brett Riggs (2004) have divided late seventeenth through early nineteenth century Catawba history into five periods based on significant political and economic trends. During the English Contact period (ca. 1675–1715), traders from Virginia and Carolina began to travel to the lower Catawba valley, exchanging goods imported from Europe for deerskins. It was also during this period that South Carolina merchants subsidized an inter-colonial trade in Indian slaves that destabilized the region. The following Coalescent period (1716–1759) is bracketed by the Yamasee War, a conflict that encouraged Carolina colonists to better regulate the Indian trade, and a high-mortality small pox epidemic that led to an evacuation of Catawba towns. The spatial aggregation of Catawba settlements increased during the Coalescent period, until most were situated within an area of about three square miles. When Catawba families returned after the epidemic of 1759, they established new settlements slightly downriver from those inhabited during the first half of the eighteenth century. During the Late Colonial period (1760-1775), Catawba women began to produce pottery in European forms for the colonial marketplace. The Nation broke its alliance with the British and sided with the

Americans at the outset of the Revolutionary period (1776–1781), serving with South Carolina troops during the war. In the ensuing Federal period (1781–1820) Catawba households subsisted on a mixed economy of farming, making and selling pottery, and collecting rent payments from the settlers that leased land from their reservation. By 1820 most Catawba families had left the east side of the river—where the majority had lived throughout the eighteenth century—in favor of the western side, where the present reservation is located.

The Catawba continued to reside in this area throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, they were dispossessed of most of their corporate holdings in 1840, after a sustained effort by South Carolina to extinguish the Nation's title (Merrell 1989:249-250). The earliest diplomatic agreement the Catawba made with regard to landholding and residence occurred during the administration of South Carolina Governor John Glen, sometime between 1743 and 1755. Glen promised the Catawba that no land grants would be issued within 30 miles of their towns, effectively reserving them a circular area 60 miles in diameter (Brown 1966:204). After the small pox epidemic of 1759, and perhaps more importantly the Anglo-Cherokee War, Superintendent of Indian Affairs John Stuart brokered a 1763 treaty with the Catawba at Augusta, Georgia, in which they accepted a 15 square-mile reservation encompassing portions of present Lancaster, York, and Chester counties (Brown 1966:240-241, 250-251). It is this area that South Carolina obtained in the 1840 Treaty of Nation Ford, with a promise of acquiring land for the Catawba near the Cherokee in North Carolina and providing funds for resettlement. However, only a 630-acre parcel within the existing reservation was held in trust for the Catawba by South Carolina, and the treaty itself was never ratified by the United States senate, rendering it illegal under the federal Nonintercourse Act (Rudes et al. 2004:312). Catawba representatives mounted legal protests to the Treaty of Nation Ford beginning in 1885. In 1943, the Catawba

became “federal wards” under the Indian Reorganization Act and obtained an additional 3,434 acres from South Carolina (U.S. Senate 1994:4). Despite federal “termination” of the tribe in 1959, the Catawba continued to seek compensation for the 1840 treaty. The matter was resolved in 1993, when the Nation agreed to a \$50 million settlement and repeal of the termination act in exchange for relinquishing their rights to further legal action against South Carolina. Today, the Catawba Indian Nation operates departments that oversee a variety of programs dedicated to education, social services, public works, and economic development.

Historians and anthropologists have tended to overlook the relatively small Catawba Nation, with the result that we know much more about the history of neighboring Indian nations such as the Muskogee (Creek) and Cherokee. However, a handful of scholars have produced important works on Catawba history and folklore. In the late nineteenth century, museum-funded researchers began to visit Catawba families to collect linguistic data as well as examples of the trade pottery for which the Catawba were well-known. In 1881, Albert Gatschet (1900) of the Bureau of American Ethnology visited the Catawba and subsequently published a “sketch” of the Catawba language. Gatschet’s colleague Edward Palmer collected Catawba pottery for the National Museum, which would later be named the Smithsonian Institution, in 1884 (Blumer 2004:74). In 1908, Mark Raymond Harrington, under the employ of George Gustav Heye, visited the Catawba Nation and recorded a pottery-making demonstration (Harrington 1908). A larger body of work was produced by Frank Gouldsmith Speck, an anthropologist at the University of Pennsylvania who studied Catawba language, folklore, and economic practices during a series of visits between 1913 and 1944 (Merrell 1983, Speck 1934, 1939, 1944, 1946).

The first systematic description of records relevant to colonial-period Catawba history was undertaken by James Mooney in his seminal work entitled “The Siouan Tribes of the East”

(1894), published in the *Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology*. However, a book-length account of Catawba history intended for a general audience was not available prior to 1966, when Douglas Summers Brown published “The Catawba Indians, the People of the River.” Works on Catawba history influenced by the ethnohistoric turn in American Indian historiography were subsequently undertaken by Charles Hudson (1970) and James Merrell (1989). With Merrell’s work, Catawba history finally reached a broad audience. However, little systematic work was done to examine and report on historic-period Catawba archaeological sites prior to 2001, when R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr. and Brett H. Riggs began the Catawba Project at the University of North Carolina’s Research Laboratories of Archaeology (Davis and Riggs 2004). Since that time, excavations have been conducted at seven Catawba sites occupied during the second half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As the research design of the Catawba Project involves working backwards through time from well-documented Catawba settlements to earlier contexts, works completed to date have dealt primarily with Federal Period Catawba communities (Davis et al. 2015, Plane 2011, Shebalin 2011). While the ceramics of mid-eighteenth century Catawba communities have been compared to those from earlier and later contexts (Riggs 2010), this is the first study to engage the breadth of materials recovered from the mid-eighteenth century sites of Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town.

Charles Hudson’s (1970) examination of Catawba history is unique in that it combined historical research with ethnography. Hudson sought to characterize how Catawba history was narrated by Catawba people themselves, as well as by the non-Indian population living around the reservation. He determined that non-Indians tended to view the modern Catawba as “a remnant” who had “declined from an aboriginal condition of greatness and power” (Hudson 1970:112). This belief was used to explain why modern Catawba are different from “stereotyped

Indians.” The Catawba with whom Hudson spoke, on the other hand, tended to portray their history as one of progress, which had been accomplished partly with the assistance of Mormon missionaries (Hudson 1970:114). The contrast between these two points of view speaks to a wide-spread double standard with regard to how settler colonial populations evaluate and narrate their own histories relative to those of the persistent indigenous communities that have survived centuries of displacement and structural violence in their midst (Silliman 2005, 2009). Simply put, modern Euro-Americans are not expected to speak, talk, dress, and eat like colonial period settlers, yet such unreasonable comparisons are routinely made for American Indians. While narratives of change and continuity have often pre-occupied historical archaeologists’ accounts of historic-era American Indian groups, scholars have recently started to broaden their narratives in an effort to “counter the tropes of dependency, assimilation, and cultural extinction” that have dominated discussions of indigenous histories (Panich 2013:109). These approaches use the term “persistence” to characterize the maintenance of indigenous identities distinct from those of settler populations. While the word “persistence” itself connotes a rather austere perspective regarding one’s relation to history, indigenous-settler dynamics do require careful consideration when constructing narratives of the past. Given these considerations, in the following study I highlight how mid-eighteenth century Catawba communities negotiated threats to their livelihoods posed by European colonization. While this approach runs the risk of characterizing Catawba people as reactionary rather than as agents of their own history, I believe that it is a more serious error to underestimate the degree to which colonization increasingly impinged upon the range of viable options from which American Indian groups could choose their ways and means.

Orientation and Definitions

This study provides a narrative account of Catawba history through the mid-eighteenth century, but it is also an anthropological analysis of interactions among people, other organisms, and elements of the physical landscape. To this end, I pragmatically engage a set of theoretical perspectives and concepts throughout the work. While I explicitly call attention to these ideas at strategic locations in the text, several themes that inform my thinking overall are worth mentioning here. First, I am influenced by the process theory of Alfred North Whitehead (1978), who emphasizes the interconnectedness and continuous transformation of all entities in the world. This is a perspective that looks at human society and sees not an assemblage of individuals, but a network of interacting people, plants, animals, and even geologic materials. Second, and rooted in this first perspective, I privilege non-dichotomous thinking over comparisons that assume the mutual exclusion of two entities. Claude Lévi-Strauss (1980) famously observed that people tend to order their worlds in complimentary pairs of concepts, but these oppositions of duality do not automatically entail mutual exclusion. Finally, I tend to conceive of people as rational actors, but with priorities and objectives that are embedded in culturally-specific systems of value (Graeber 2001).

The words “nation” and “community” occur frequently throughout this work. I use the former in the sense that it was defined by European authors at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the latter with reference to theories of practice. The meaning of the word “nation” underwent a transformation in the eighteenth century, as Enlightenment scholars worked to conceptually separate nature from culture, creating the modern concept of “race” in the process (Hudson 1996:248-249). During the colonization of the New World European authors used the concepts of savagery and civilization to contrast the societies they encountered with their own,

but still used the word “nation” to refer to these polities. In this study, I adopt the early eighteenth century meaning of this word as it was likely understood by the entrepreneur John Lawson (1967[1709]:49-50), who visited “the powerful Nation of *Esaws*” during his travels through the lower Catawba River valley in 1701. The dictionary definition of “nation” at that time describes the term as “a Collective word, signifying a Numerous People inhabiting a certain extent of Land, enclosed within certain Limits, and under the same Government” (Phillips 1700). In this usage, “nation” is a generic term relating to entities with governments and jurisdictions, rather than any specific form of political organization, although early eighteenth-century writers presumably were thinking in terms of offices of hereditary leadership and bodies of representatives, both of which they encountered in the Americas.

“Community” is another collective word I use in this study. My application of this term is informed specifically by literature in the disciplines of anthropological archaeology and education. Both reference the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1977), who wrote about the means by which people develop similar patterns of behavior and understandings of the world by living and working together, using and creating similar artifacts, and experiencing and constructing specific built environments. The “communities of practice” (Wegner 1998) formed in the process may or may not be recognized as salient entities by the parties involved; when they are, effort is often exerted to differentiate members from nonmembers. From this perspective, a community is not “a pre-existing and natural social entity,” but rather one that is “ever-emergent” and requires interaction between members (Canuto and Jaeger 2000:2, 5-6). Specifying the meaning of the word community in this manner privileges social interaction—mutual engagement in joint enterprises, resulting in a “shared repertoire” (Wegner 1998:73)—rather than simple geographic proximity. However, both spatial and temporal scale are relevant to the study of communities.

Canuto and Jaeger (2000:10) argue that to study communities archaeologists must sample a “micro-region,” which they define as “an area larger than an individual site but smaller than a settlement region.” Working at this “mid-level scale” allows for careful analysis of household variation to identify patterns of heterogeneity and homogeneity in the practices of people living in nearby settlements. Fine chronological control is also necessary, so that it is possible to know whether any observed discontinuities represent disjunctures in potential social networks or change through time. In cases where similarities in practice are observed over long periods, it may be more precise to speak in terms of “constellations of practice” (Wenger 1998:127), configurations that are larger than communities of practice but linked through shared history, institutional membership, or having overlapping styles and discourses. In this study I use the word community in both the narrow and more expansive senses, differentiating between them as necessary.

Examining how refugees were incorporated into Catawba society requires not only working a definition of community, but also engagement with more specific models concerning how people tend to interact when they relocate or are explicitly working to build corporate entities. Coalescence and ethnogenesis are two concepts I engage to this end. Coalescence refers to a process of sociopolitical reorganization in which formerly distinct groups establish new polities (Ethridge and Hudson 2002, Kowalewski 2006). Given the need to secure cooperation among previously separate groups, people involved in creating coalescent polities often promote ceremonies and ideologies that emphasize community integration (Kowalewski 2006:98). This corporate emphasis, in which group unity is foregrounded and individual status competition downplayed (Blanton et al. 1996), may lead to the organization of supra-household task groups, often based on gendered divisions of labor (Kowalewski 2006:117). Ultimately, coalescence can

foster ethnogenesis—the development of novel “ideologies of shared ancestry, territory, language, history, and/or tradition” (Voss 2008a:407)— by creating situations in which people from different backgrounds live and work together, experiencing similar material conditions and practicing community rituals. To assess coalescence and community boundary maintenance in the lower Catawba valley, I examine the remains of productive activities that were likely undertaken by Catawba women. This provides an opportunity to investigate expectations regarding the role of matrilocality in the process of coalescence. In general, the activities of Southeastern Indian men have been described as strengthening intercommunity cooperation, while those of women have been characterized as leading to cultural persistence (Galloway 1995:320). Catawba men from different towns, for example, interacted during military undertakings and also served as the primary representatives of Catawba towns in matters of diplomacy. However, if matrilineages maintained rights to agricultural fields and worked in associated task groups (Waselkov 1997:180), there may have been less interaction between women from different towns than is suggested by models of coalescence. In this study I attempt to shed light on this issue through the analysis of variation in ceramic production and plant use to assess the scale or scales at which Catawba women organized their labor.

My focus on corporate thinking and behavior stands in contrast to studies of Southeastern Indian groups that have examined the role of the deerskin trade in the transformation of attitudes towards property and the associated development of factions within Indian societies (Braund 1993, Riggs 1999, Saunt 1999). These emergent distinctions in “value orientation” are epitomized by the contrast between the Cherokee Harmony Ethic and the Western Protestant Ethic (Riggs 1999:23). The latter, among other things, emphasizes individualistic economic strategies, while the former places great value on generosity and collectivism. It has been argued

that the children of unions between Indian women and European traders, many of whom became traders themselves, were instrumental in the dissemination of individualistic attitudes regarding the accumulation of property and the practice of inheritance based on patrilineal descent (Braund 1993:147, Saunt 1999:42, 170-171). Among the Creeks and Cherokee, some of these individuals lobbied for the adoption of legal codes that established protections for private property that were unprecedented in Southeastern societies (Rifkin 2005, Saunt 1999:97). My examination of corporate strategies among the Catawba might at first seem to be out of step with regard to these narratives of ideological transformation. However, documentary evidence for these changes suggest they did not take place until after 1760, when this new generation of traders came of age (Braund 1993:79, Saunt 1999:42). Further, these changes were by no means uniform or uncontested, and had a significant gendered component. Thus by focusing on corporate strategies employed by the Catawba during the first half of the eighteenth century, and on the activities of women as well as men, this project compliments, rather than counters, these narratives of ideological transformation and factional development.

The Path Ahead

This study has two main parts. In the first part, which includes Chapters 2 through 4, I use primary and secondary sources, along with findings from other archaeological projects, to provide contextual information necessary for evaluating the significance of materials from Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town. In the second part, which includes Chapters 5 through 7, I present and interpret data from these archaeological sites. Since the sources of information I use in each part differ, there are marked distinctions between these sections. Documentary sources are full of named individuals, along with their thoughts and expressed intents, while artifacts are

most often anonymous. These materials are the products of—among other things—people’s actions, and in many cases actions that were repeated day in and day out. In a general sense, then, the first part of this study introduces the networks of people who were interacting in the lower Catawba River valley ca. 1670 to 1759, while the second section focuses on the tangible aspects of these networks that accumulated in two Catawba towns.

In Chapters 2 and 3, I provide accounts of the entities whose interactions produced the social landscape that constitutes my field of interest: Carolina and Catawba. Understanding the development of Carolina is significant for this project for two reasons. First, colonial policies, and the evasion thereof, had far-reaching effects for indigenous communities. This is nowhere more apparent than in the conduct of the Indian slave trade. Second, colonial documents cannot be critically interpreted without understanding the political context in which they were produced. This is particularly true in the case of Carolina, which was initially funded and settled by Barbadian plantation owners experienced both in colonial extraction and political manipulation. Conflict between these extraction-minded colonists and those who came to North America seeking religious and political freedoms also had unfortunate consequences for the indigenous communities who became involved.

Chapter 3 provides a survey of Catawba history using both archaeological information and colonial documents. I first characterize the political dynamics of the piedmont region prior to Spanish marches through the interior. At this time the Catawba River valley existed as the northernmost extent of community participation in Mississippian ideology and political culture. However, people living in the middle and lower Catawba valley were interacting with their neighbors to the north, and these economic and diplomatic channels may have been exploited when conditions deteriorated throughout the region. I next track references to the “Yssa” or

“Esaw” community encountered by Spanish and English visitors to the lower Catawba valley. This political entity served as the host population for refugees from the piedmont of present Virginia and North Carolina, who moved to the lower Catawba valley during the first half of the eighteenth century. Of particular note in this regard are the Charraw, a Piedmont Siouan group from the Dan River who fled south to the fall line of the Pee Dee. Suddenly within the purview of South Carolina’s interest, the Charraw became a target of colonial anxiety. When South Carolina began to establish outlying townships, the Charraw sold most of their land on the Pee Dee and established a new settlement in the lower Catawba valley.

Having considered the development, constituencies, and diplomatic relationships of Carolina and Catawba independently, in Chapter 4 I examine how the interaction of these two entities influenced Catawba militarism. I begin with a close reading of trader James Adair’s (2005[1775]) account of the Catawba. While some of Adair’s description can be attributed to his own political and economic concerns, his characterization of the Nation as diverse and warlike appear to be well-founded. I next trace the development of Catawba warriors’ role as auxiliaries for the English colonies, and examine how this strategy affected Catawba settlement strategies. While this strategy ultimately contributed to the persistence of the Nation in the lower Catawba River valley, by the mid-eighteenth century it had also led to a precarious state of affairs with regard to Catawba food security. As militarism also led to the incorporation of refugees into Catawba communities, I next examine how this may have occurred and use the concepts of coalescence and ethnogenesis to frame the questions I seek to address through the examination of archaeological data.

In Chapter 5 we find ourselves on the ground in the lower Catawba valley. During this tour I call attention to elements of the landscape that were important for people living in mid-

eighteenth century Catawba settlements. I next review the lines of evidence that suggest two specific archaeological sites—38Yk434 and 38Yk17—are the remains of settlements known as Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town in the mid eighteenth century, and provide an account of the archaeological work that has been done at these two locations. Through a spatial analysis of materials including potsherds, glass beads, and burnt plant and animal remains, I examine variation in depositional patterning and use this variation to define the contexts that will be used in the following analyses.

My goal in Chapter 6 is to assess similarities and differences in Catawba ceramic production as well as in the distribution of items of adornment in order to assess the character of social boundary maintenance within the mid-eighteenth century Catawba Nation. Employing a notion of cultivated variation within genres sustained by interacting communities, I highlight attributes of Catawba ceramics that indicate Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town residents were producing pottery in household work groups, but that some choices potters made were informed by widely-held understandings about how these pots should look and function. I next assess variation in the color distribution of glass beads from Nassaw and Charraw Town, and identify a small but statistically significant difference that may be the result of subtle variations in the execution of embroidery work. Finally, differences in the quantity of brass processing debris suggests that Charraw Town residents spent more time constructing items such as tinkling cones and arrow points from trade kettles. This activity, which provides further evidence of community-centered craft production, also may be related to intercommunity exchange.

In Chapter 7 I examine mid-eighteenth century Catawba subsistence practices. Since I am interested in understanding how women—who were the primary producers of the plant food staples that sustained Southeastern Indian communities—dealt with the stresses that threatened

food security, my analysis is centered on the examination of archaeobotanical materials. Two general strategies, diversification and intensification, are common responses to food insecurity. As Southeastern Indians were forager-farmers in the seventeenth century, it has been suggested that they may have relied more on foraging to secure immediate returns as stresses associated with settler colonialism increased. In assessing data from the lower Catawba valley, it appears that maize replaced acorns as a source of starch in people's diets, and that once this change occurred maize intensification was preferred over acorn collection during periods of stress. However, it does appear that Charraw Town residents, in particular, incorporated more foraged fruits into their diets on a regular basis during the mid-eighteenth century. Further, the subsistence data suggest Charraw Town women were processing less food at home. The implications of this pattern are uncertain, but it is possible they were incorporated into existing agricultural work groups upon arrival in the Nation.

The patterns I identify in assemblages from Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town suggest there may have been variation within the mid eighteenth-century Catawba Nation with regard to how women organized their labor, and that the scale of organization varied depending on activity type. Pottery production, which later became a cottage industry, was undertaken within settlements or even households. Food processing activities, on the other hand, appear to have differed such that women from the refugee Charraw Town settlement were processing less maize at home, possibly indicating they undertook some of this labor at another location, such as a neighboring town. At Nassaw-Weyapee, the presence of borrow pits filled with unusual quantities of food remains suggests households may have hosted community work events to accomplish undertakings such as house repair and construction. With regard to the food security crisis, it appears that Nassaw-Weyapee residents intensified agricultural production, while

Charraw Town women collected more fruits in the highly anthropogenic landscape near Nation Ford. Despite these efforts, Catawba households may have experienced nutritional deficiency during the late 1750s. The 1759 smallpox epidemic had an unusually high mortality rate that could have been the result of compromised immune function caused by nutritional deficiency. This outcome highlights both the severity of the food crisis and the persistence of the survivors, who after evacuating their towns gradually returned to the lower Catawba valley to build new settlements and resume the business of the Nation.

Ultimately, this study documents the origins, rationale, and lasting effects of the Catawba strategy of serving as auxiliaries for the English colonies during the first half of the eighteenth century. I also examine the process by which refugees who moved to the lower Catawba valley developed multivalent identities that were informed by memories of the past and the pragmatism of the present. While the incorporation of refugees into existing polities was a common phenomenon across the Southeast, the practice of settlement aggregation in the lower Catawba River valley may have affected the character of this process. In particular, the proximity of Catawba towns may not only have provided safety and facilitated the mobilization of warriors, but also enabled the creation of inter-settlement communities of practice through which newcomers such as the Charraw became invested in the future of the Nation as a corporate enterprise. In order to examine this process, however, it is first necessary to take a step back and trace the networks of people, things, and ideas that made Catawba militarism a viable strategy in the first place.

CHAPTER 2

CAROLINA

Interpreting the material remains of mid-eighteenth century communities requires an understanding of the contexts which informed the habits and decisions of Catawba men, women, and children. To this end, I present narratives that examine the history of the collective entities “Carolina” and “Catawba” from their inception to the middle of the eighteenth century, when the activities with which we are concerned took place. It is necessary to consider both of these entities not only because the people affiliated with them lived at the same time in the same geographic region, but because they existed—and continue to exist—in a state of mutual constitution. They compose what Alfred North Whitehead (1978:194) terms a “nexus,” an emergent entity formed through a “complex of mutual prehensions.” Of course, Catawba and Carolina were themselves part of larger networks of people, ideas, and things which also need to be taken into account to understand their characteristics. The grand narrative that arises from this investigation involves the imposition of an extractive colonial regime in the central Atlantic coast of North America (Wolf 1982). However, the details of how this situation was produced reveal the episodic, faltering, and conflicted impulses that were part of this process, as well as the resiliency of American Indian communities faced with wrenching decisions and novel opportunities.

The discussion of collective entities is a challenging undertaking because it creates a situation in which pragmatic modes of expression can slip into reification. To help keep in mind

that “Catawba” and “Carolina” are abstractions formed from the ideas and actions of many different people, I adopt a systematic approach to their investigation inspired by the ontology of Alfred North Whitehead. Writing in the 1920s, Whitehead (1978:3) endeavored to develop a “speculative philosophy” to “frame a coherent, logical, necessary system of general ideas in terms of which every element of our experience can be interpreted.” Given this objective, Whitehead utilizes a very generic vocabulary in which terms such as “actual entity” can be used to refer to atoms, chairs, people—“the final real things of which the world is made up” (Whitehead 1978:18). Importantly, however, actual entities are the ephemeral products of constant interactions among entities, such that “*how* an actual entity *becomes* constitutes *what* that actual entity *is*” (Whitehead 1978:23). From this process perspective, even the self is “an enduring object formed by the inheritance from presiding occasion to presiding occasion” (Whitehead 1978:109). Among humans, however, the concept of enduring substances has “entrenched itself in language,” and through this means contributes to the formation of self-sustaining societies with members that are alike because their environment is provided by the society itself (Whitehead 1978:79, 89). In an effort to evade reification through an emphasis on process, I consider “Catawba” and “Carolina” from three main perspectives. I first consider their genealogies, as the entities and situations that contributed to their origins can help explain later patterns of development. To emphasize their collective and divisible character, I next consider the various sub-communities of which they were composed during the first half of the eighteenth century. Finally, I survey how “Catawba” and “Carolina” interacted with other entities in the colonial Southeast.

At first glance, “Carolina” and “Catawba” may be neatly classified with reference to the dichotomy between colonizer and colonized. While not ignoring this obvious contrast, I believe

it is also productive to examine each of these entities as coalescent polities that have undergone a process of ethnogenesis. While the term *ethnogenesis* has been applied to colonizing populations elsewhere (Voss 2005, 2008), the term *coalescent polity* typically has been applied only to American Indian societies of the colonial period (Kowalewski 2006). However, many of the criteria used to characterize these entities are also relevant to the eighteenth century Carolina colony. Formed as strategic responses to “times of severe pressure and threat,” coalescent polities are often the products of population movements to new areas during times of demographic stress (Kowalewski 2006:96). In this new context, existing ethnic or political identities may persist alongside the development of new forms of identity (Barth 1969, Diaz-Andreu 2005). Coalescent polities incorporate people of different languages and backgrounds, adopt new political institutions, and give renewed emphasis to “integrative institutions” (Kowalewski 2006:95). As the following account will show, all of these processes can be traced in the strategies and actions of both the eighteenth century Catawba Nation and the Carolina colony.

The following narratives utilize colonial archives and secondary sources to investigate Carolina and colonial period Catawba history, while for information about pre-colonial Catawba history I turn to archaeological data. Both forms of information have strengths and weaknesses. In assessing colonial archives, it is important to keep in mind they are “themselves cultural artifacts, built on institutional structures that erased certain kinds of knowledge, secreted some, and valorized others” (Cooper and Stoler 1997:17). This approach differs from some genres of secondary colonial history, such as “policy historiography” (Guha 1988:70), which take archives to be transparent and share the same orientation to the colonized as the officials who produced them. Archives themselves contain multiple layers of analysis and assumptions, colored by the

political, religious, and other interests of their authors (Galloway 2006:37). Archaeological data are also concretions of practice and interpretation, but do provide access to activities that took place in past contexts. The anonymous character of most archaeological data, however, requires the conceptualization of groups based on behavior rather than self-ascription or contemporaneous external designation. Thus we are forced to think in terms of “communities of practice” and “constellations of practice” (Bourdieu 1977, Wegner 1998) up through the moments where it becomes possible to attribute the names of collective entities recorded in archives to the remains of actual settlements extant in the modern landscape. Despite these epistemological differences, the following narratives seek to present both “Carolina” and “Catawba” as coalescent political entities that were formed in a colonial context during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This strategy is intended, ultimately, to treat American Indian and colonial settler populations with the same degree of anthropological scrutiny. In doing so I seek to dissect, rather than fetishize, the vast human tragedy that arose from this colonial encounter.

The name *Carolina* generally evokes an English settler colony on the southeastern shores of North America. The word itself, when considered as a linguistic artifact, provides a window into the entangled European histories that formed the conditions of possibility under which men, women, and children crossed the Atlantic Ocean seeking the pine-covered shores between *la Florida* and Virginia. *Carolina* is the feminine analog of *Charles*, derived from *Carolus*, the Latinized version of *carl*—an Old German word meaning “free man” (Hanks and Hodges 1992:38, Withycombe 1973:59). Charles was a common name among seventh- and eighth-century Frankish leaders, most notably *Carolus Magnus*, or Charlemagne. The name was not common in England until the end of the sixteenth century, when Mary Queen of Scots, who had

grown up in France, named her son *Charles James*. Although he reigned as *James*, his son and grandson took the English throne in the seventeenth century as Charles I and Charles II, respectively. While Charles II may be considered the “namesake sovereign” of the Carolina colony chartered in 1663 (Edelson 2013:28), the application of this name to the area north of Spanish-occupied Florida was not without precedent. His father had designated the area between 31 and 36 degrees north latitude “Carolana” in a 1629 charter, almost seventy years after Gaspard de Coligny and Jean Ribault founded a short-lived settlement named “Charlesfort” on present Parris Island, South Carolina in 1562 (Cumming 1998:7, DePratter and South 1990). Coligny and Ribault’s Charles, however, was the son of Catherine de’ Medici, regent Queen Mother of France’s King Charles IX and a sponsor of their expedition (Hoffman 1973:170).

Carolina therefore contains within itself a micro-history of French influence in English politics, as well as referent to no less a historical figure than Charlemagne, father of the Holy Roman Empire. Queen Mary’s appropriation of the name *Charles*, with its reference to the divine right of kings, was surely fitting for the Stuart monarchy during a period when this right was increasingly questioned. Such an emphasis takes on added significance when considered in light of English attempts to establish a “New World” presence in the shadow of Spanish Empire. Spain operated its American colonies, after all, under the authority of Pope Alexander VI’s 1493 papal bulls. In a series of three documents, Alexander settled disputes between Spain and Portugal, confirming Spain’s divinely-authorized title not only to the islands Columbus had discovered, but also to any other lands and waters west of the Azores (Gould 2007:770, Miller 2006:14-15). While adopting the logic that the spread of Christianity –if not specifically Roman Catholicism—justified the extension of European sovereignty, England and France spent the sixteenth century refusing to accept the expansive territorial claims of Spain and Portugal. The

composition and location of the Carolina colony were shaped not only by this sixteenth-century international dispute, but also by idiosyncrasies of cartographic history and philosophical debates that arose during the English civil war. Each of these contexts is examined below, followed by a summary of the colonization efforts undertaken in the region. The composition of the Carolina colony and its interactions with contemporaneous groups are next considered in order to understand the aspirations, strategies, and undertakings of its members during the first half of the eighteenth century.

Sixteenth-Century Imperialism and Seventeenth-Century Revolution

Conflicting interpretations of international law during the sixteenth century pitted Spain and Portugal, themselves competitors, against other European sovereigns with imperial ambitions. Both countries asserted that discovery, or the presence of imperial agents in parts of the world not yet visited by Europeans, when combined with rituals of symbolic possession such as marking trees or engraving stones, was sufficient grounds to establish legal rights to non-Christian lands (Miller 2006:15). Other nations, particularly England, France, and Holland, ultimately came to argue that “discovery” alone did not confer ownership—a country could gain sovereignty over such lands only through possession by occupation. At first, England and France sponsored missions to explore the eastern coast of North America by asserting, despite Spain’s protestations, that they were seeking “unknown” lands. For example, in the patent given to John Cabot by the Henry VII in 1496, the Italian explorer was instructed to seek out lands “whiche before this time have been unknowen to all Christians” (Jones 1850:74). France sponsored Verrazzano’s 1524 voyage along the coast of North America and Jacques Cartier’s surveys of the Saint Lawrence beginning in 1534 with similar justifications. By the mid-sixteenth century,

occupancy became the new standard for ownership. In 1553, Elizabeth I wrote to a Spanish minister that discovery alone “cannot confer property,” and France quickly followed suit. Spanish commissioners working on a treaty with France complained in a 1559 letter that the French would only consent to “keep away from lands actually possessed” by Spanish sovereigns (Davenport 1917:220, Miller 2006:19). Elizabeth, her earlier position expounded by writers such as Richard Hakluyt, continued to issue patents for voyages to North America, including one in 1584 to Walter Raleigh granting him liberty to discover “barbarous lands Countries and territories not actually possessed of any Christian Prince, nor inhabited by Christian people”(Mancall 2007:159, Tilby 1916:52). This emphasis on occupation upped the ante with regard to the quantity and kinds of resources necessary for successful imperialism. In addition to greater investment in terms of material resources, colonization required the establishment of a new type of person. Unlike merchants and explorers who left their homelands with the expectation of return, Europeans had to be convinced to actually remove from their homes and *live* elsewhere. Creating propaganda to enlist potential colonists became an art form pursued by writers like Hakluyt and his seventeenth-century counterparts.

Spain and Portugal may have argued their territorial rights arose from discovery, but in practice recognized the utility of establishing colonies for missionary, financial, and defensive purposes. Most of this effort was initially directed towards central and South America, where the trade winds deposited westward-traveling southern Europeans. This equatorial focus and coincident lack of Spanish interest in the northern continent provided the opportunity for France to investigate the eastern coast of North America. Its geography was poorly understood due in part to the inability of sixteenth-century Europeans to accurately measure longitude. This difficulty meant that most maps printed before 1570 displayed the coast of North America “as

extending in an exaggerated east-west direction” (McGrath 2002:68). After Verrazano mistook Pamlico Sound for an inlet of the Pacific Ocean and Cartier examined St. Lawrence Sound, Europeans began to imagine North America as split into two land masses—Spanish Florida and “Nova Franca”—joined only by a narrow isthmus, behind which lay the fabled Northwest passage to India (Cumming 1998:5). As both Coligny and Ribault were experienced navigators and geographers, their travels to the northern portion of *la Florida* in the early 1560s appear focused on clarifying the extent of Florida and locating Verrazano’s sea (McGrath 2002). Their attempts to establish outposts in the process spurred Spain to defensive interest in northern Florida. While the French settlements failed of their own accord, the Spanish were now convinced of the necessity of establishing a colonial presence in the area, which they did at the site of Ribault’s failed Charlesfort on Parris Island in 1566. Named Santa Elena (Figure 2.1), this settlement was well on its way to becoming a successful farming community twenty years later when Sir Francis Drake’s flotilla attacked Spanish holdings in the Caribbean as well as the fort at St. Augustine, Florida. While a navigation error and unfavorable winds prevented Drake from taking Santa Elena, the colony nevertheless became a casualty of his raids. In 1587 Governor Menéndez Márquez appeared at Santa Elena with an order by Maestre de Campo Juan de Tejada to evacuate the colony and centralize Spanish power at St. Augustine (Lyon 1984:14-15). Thus ultimately force, rather than diplomatic arguments regarding the proper criteria for imperial legitimacy, cleared the way for Carolina. And why Carolina came to be located on the central coast of North America can be traced in part to the agency of ocean currents, the limits of sixteenth-century navigation technology, and Verrazano’s mirage.

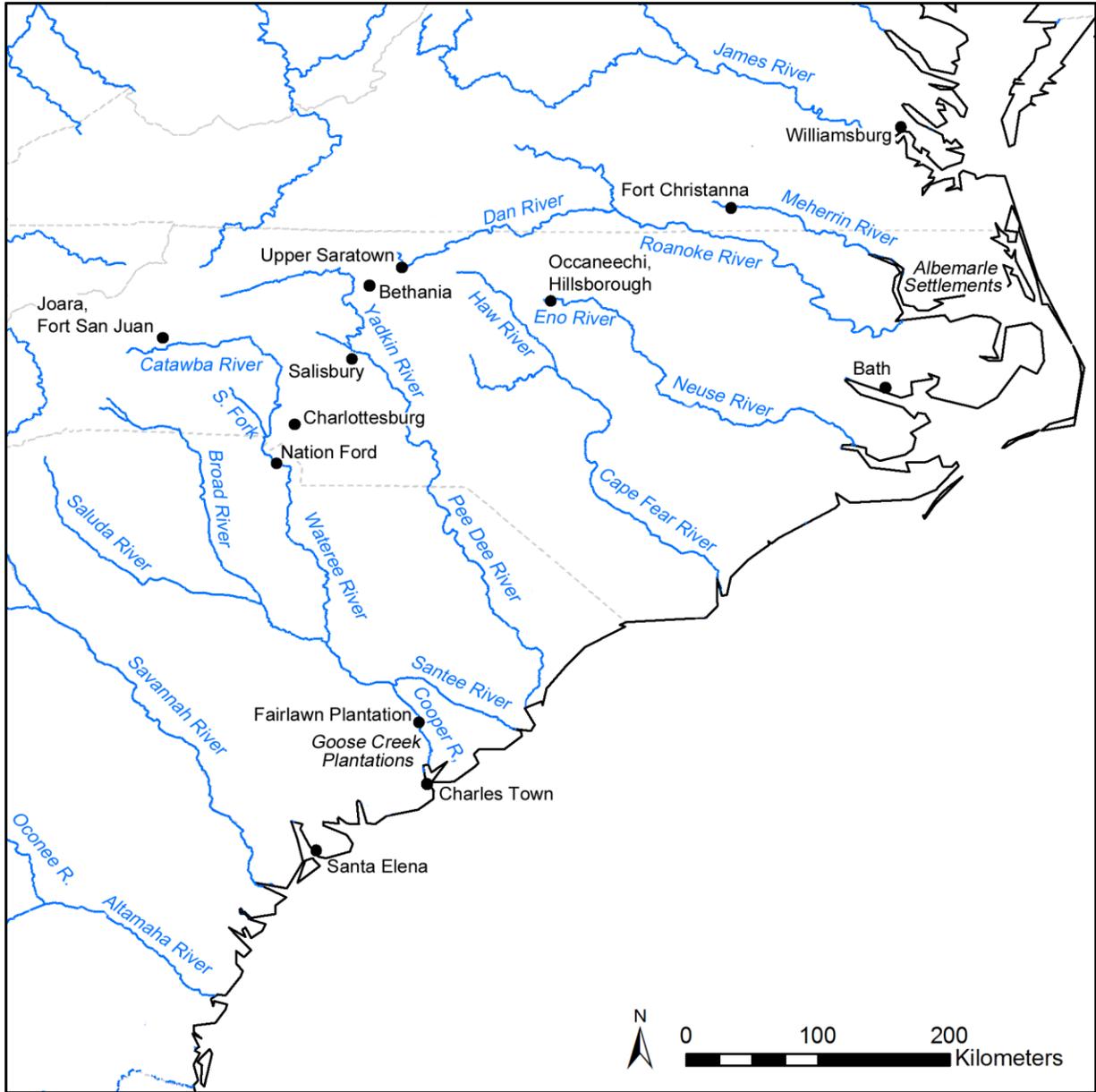


Figure 2.1. Map of waterways, American Indian sites, and European colonial settlements mentioned in the text.

The political economy that characterized the colony, on the other hand, arose from a tumultuous period of civil war and revolution in seventeenth-century England. Between 1642 and 1660, Charles I was beheaded and Oliver Cromwell ruled the new Commonwealth until his death, soon after which Charles II was restored to the throne. The period of the Commonwealth was symbolically erased by parliament, which retroactively declared Charles II lawful monarch since the execution of his father in 1649. What could not be as easily papered over were the contrasting political philosophies debated during the interregnum. At least three distinctive perspectives regarding authority and government, personal interest and the common good, and economic organization were articulated during this period. The perspective considered most radical at the time arose from the ranks of Cromwell's New Model Army. After a string of defeats early in the war, Cromwell reorganized his army in 1644 under the principle of a "career open to the talents," allowing soldiers to be promoted to the officer corps based on ability (McIlvenna 2009:8). As such positions were traditionally granted only to members of the aristocracy, the success of the New Model Army validated the idea of promotion by merit, and this concept proved infectious. Applying the same idea to government, a vocal group within the army that came to be known as the Levellers demanded that parliamentary seats be distributed by "free choice and Election of the People," that enclosed common lands be re-opened "for benefit of the poore," and that laws prescribing imprisonment for debt be reformed (McIlvenna 2009:8-9). While Cromwell was able to defeat the Leveller movement, its ideas lived on, particularly in Christian sects such as the Ranters and Quakers that emerged during the early 1650s. Persecuted not only in England but in the American colonies, Quakers found a home in Carolina due to wording in the 1663 charter that reflected Charles II's relatively moderate views on religion and his eagerness to have the region settled (McIlvenna 2009:20-25). However, as Carolina's

officials and settlers disagreed among themselves on this topic, it remained a point of contention into the eighteenth century.

Another other philosophical divide that emerged during England's civil wars focused on the relationship between the economy and government. On one side were apologists of classical republicanism, such as James Harrington, who idealized agrarian commonwealths like ancient Sparta (Pincus 1998:712). As virtuous citizen armies defended such polities, there was no need for the acquisition of movable wealth, which would only serve to corrupt the populace. Such a perspective, which maintained that the only proper basis of power lay in landed wealth, was hostile to the newly emerging English mercantile culture. Those who championed merchants and commercialism pointed to contemporary Holland as a model of success (Pincus 1998:720). Rather than seeing property as natural and finite, defenders of liberalism argued that property was created by human labor. Government protections of property and trade would therefore lead to a prosperous nation, in which both civic virtue and the pursuit of individual interests would promote the common good. The elite Englishmen who fashioned the blueprint for Carolina's government drew from both of these perspectives. They envisioned Carolina organized into a set of landed estates ruled by a nouveau-nobility, but also expected the colony would generate wealth through agricultural exports (Roper 2004:35). The designs of Carolina's architects were not precisely actualized in practice. While the colony did generate agricultural exports, the interests of planters and merchants occasionally proved difficult to reconcile, resulting in political quagmire (Sirmans 1966: 102).

Certain aspects of the entity Carolina can thus be seen to have roots in international imperialism and struggles for authority that took place at least two centuries prior to its existence as an English colony. It was established as a fortified colony, for such outposts had proved to be

the most successful means of extending European dominion into non-Christian lands, given the competition that existed between sixteenth-century nation-states. Its location on the south-central coast of North America followed a chain of events in which French explorations spurred Spanish settlement of Santa Elena, which in turn was abandoned due to English raids. Finally, the English civil war resulted in a body of thought regarding power, authority, and economy that informed the choices of Carolina's architects and settlers alike. Yet just as important as these preconditions were the people that traveled to North America and transformed the referent of Carolina from an imagined territory to a corporate body.

Settling

Carolina began as a speculative venture, and as such first existed as a set of abstract plans devised by members of the English gentry and recorded in letters and official permits. These plans influenced the timing and spatial distribution of settlements between the lines of latitude used to delimit the colony. Two charters for extensive delegated authority over the lands that would be used to settle Carolina were issued by English kings during the eighteenth century, each time as reward for services rendered to the throne. The first was issued in 1629 by Charles I to Sir Robert Heath. Heath was Charles' attorney general and had played an active role in the dissolution of the Virginia Company's charter, a process initiated by King James, who had become "concerned that his whims were not regarded by [Virginia] officials as commands" (Powell 1974:3). Heath had also worked, unsuccessfully, to transform the tobacco trade into a royal monopoly. The second charter, supplanting Heath's, was issued by Charles II in 1663 to a group of eight "Lords Proprietors," all of whom had either supported his father during the civil war or been instrumental in restoring Charles to the throne. The territory addressed in the charter,

as amended in 1665, extended from the populated portion of Virginia at 36 degrees, 30 minutes north latitude to St. Augustine, at 29 degrees north latitude, thereby encompassing all of present North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia (Sirmans 1966:5). Following sixteenth-century precedent for the extra-territorial assertion of European sovereignty, Charles II recognized the proprietors were “excited with a laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith, and the enlargement of our empire and dominions,” and therefore granted them wide governmental powers to recruit migrants and grant them lands, create laws, levy taxes, and build fortifications (Roper 2004:17).

Initial conditions often exert considerable influence over the development of an entity, and such is the case for Carolina. While the composition of the settler population changed over time, individuals who established themselves early on were able to wield considerable influence over the affairs of the developing communities, resulting in two different regimes—one located in the Albemarle region of present North Carolina, and the other along Goose Creek near Charles Town. Settlement in the northern portion of Carolina was strongly influenced by its proximity to Virginia. Backed by some of the same investors who had supported Sir Walter Raleigh’s unsuccessful colony at Roanoke, the Virginia Company of London succeeded in establishing Jamestown on Chesapeake Bay in 1607. As the original Virginia charter extended to the border between present North and South Carolina, officials considered it prudent to reconnoiter this land to the south. Beginning in 1620, scouts traveled to the area and returned with encouraging news: the Chowan River region could boast tall pine trees, a biannual grain crop, copper mines, and friendly Indians (Powell 1974:3). No sooner had this interest developed than crown control of Virginia was re-established, and jurisdiction over the southern lands passed to Heath in the 1629 charter of Carolana. After two attempts to settle French Huguenots in Carolana failed in 1630

and 1633, Sir Heath appears to have lost interest in his colonial venture and conveyed his title to Henry Frederick Howard, Lord Maltravers, who was similarly unsuccessful in establishing a colony despite a concerted propaganda campaign during the late 1640s. Meanwhile, Virginians were becoming increasingly interested in the area around the Great Dismal Swamp. The first European recorded as settling in the Albemarle-Chowan region was the Virginia fur trader Nathaniel Batts, who purchased land from the Yeopim Indians in 1660 after trading with them for several years (McIlvenna 2009:21). Witness to Batt's land purchase was George Durant, who had immigrated to Virginia from England in the 1650s. Durant, who would become a local leader, acquired land nearby the following year. While this area was technically in Virginia at the time, when the Carolina charter was re-issued in 1663 its northern border was drawn to include the nascent Albemarle community (Sirmans 1966:5). Thus after generations of failed schemes to settle Carolina, its earliest settlers were acquired through colonial redistricting.

Other Virginians soon followed Batts and Durant. These individuals "came because of the swamp, not despite it" (McIlvenna 2009:14), intentionally choosing to live scattered throughout an area that had neither good harbor nor town, but was protected from Spanish and other international threats by the shifting sands of the outer banks. The absence of a fortified town in the northern portion of Carolina prior to the eighteenth century allowed Albemarle residents to remain free of official oversight and suggests they generally did not feel threatened by local Indian communities. This lifestyle particularly appealed to servants and slaves disillusioned with life on Virginia plantations. Virginia's tobacco boom occurred during the period of the English civil war, and the immigration of young, male indentured servants peaked during this period. Dissatisfaction with their new situation inspired servant uprisings in Gloucester and York in the early 1660s, at least one led by veterans of Cromwell's army

(McIlvenna 2009:19-20). A 1660 Virginia law that stiffened the penalty for English servants who fled together with slaves suggests such escapes to Carolina posed a serious problem for planters. Albemarle also served as a haven for Quakers, who were persecuted by Virginia's Governor Berkeley in the early 1660s. When the Quaker missionary William Edmondson mucked his way south through the Great Dismal Swamp in 1672, he discovered a Quaker couple already living in the area (McIlvenna 2009:41). Thus the formative community of northern Carolina consisted of individuals who were not on good terms with Virginia and sought relative freedom in the swamps of Albemarle. This well-known state of affairs was summed up by Berkeley's successor and royalist Thomas Culpeper in 1681, who observed "Carolina (I meane the North part of it) always was and is the sinke of America, the Refuge of our Renagadoes" (McIlvenna 2009:67).

Interest for establishing an English colony in the southern portion of Carolina came from a company called "Barbadian Adventurers." In a cost-sharing arrangement with the English lords who had received proprietorship of Carolina from Charles II, the Adventurers agreed to organize and fortify a settlement on the Cape Fear River. Soon after this agreement was made in 1665, however, the Second Anglo-Dutch War along with plague and the Great Fire of London rendered the proprietors unresponsive to the new colony, which was abandoned two years later (Roper 2004:18-19). The Barbadians were persistent, however, and with the aid of proprietor Lord Anthony Ashley Cooper established a new colony at the fork of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers in 1670. Unlike the early Albemarle settlers, most Barbadians were royalists—Barbados had declared independence from Cromwell's Protectorate in 1652 (Roberts and Beamish 2013:51). Right from the start, the settlement was laid out as a port town called Charles Towne, poised to fulfil the mercantile economic plan of its architects. Initially, settlers from Barbados constituted about half of the arrivals. In 1671, for example, 110 Barbadians and 96 settlers from New York

moved to the area (Sirmans 1966:22). While the number of Barbadian immigrants dwindled through time, these early arrivals were able to assert considerable influence on the politics and economy of southern Carolina. One of the early governors of Carolina, Sir John Yeamans, was a Barbadian. Perhaps more significantly, under terms negotiated with the proprietors, Barbadians obtained the right to choose the sites of their plantations, as well as have their slaves count towards the amount of land they would be granted under the headrights system (Roberts and Beamish 2013:59). Headrights, which were also used to attract settlers to Virginia, were designed to facilitate extractive plantation agriculture by linking land grant size to the number of dependents an applicant transported to America. These planters quickly acquired allies, often recent arrivals from England who recognized Barbadian colonial acumen. Such individuals became members of the “Barbados party” without ever having lived on the island (Roper 2004:45). In a 1682 map showing the location of Carolina plantations, roughly 75% are labeled with surnames of men who either migrated from Barbados, owned plantations in Carolina but lived in Barbados, or had married into these families (Roberts and Beamish 2013:64). Since several prominent Barbadian plantations were located on a tributary of the Cooper River called Goose Creek, the most notorious component of this group came to be called Goose Creek Men.

Carolina thus came into being as two distinct loci of settler activity composed of individuals with differing backgrounds and contrasting interests. Just as it became apparent these communities would outlive earlier, failed attempts at English colonization in the area, the activities of the Albemarle settlers and Goose Creek men began to pose difficulties for Carolina’s proprietors, who had their own expectations for what the settlers should be doing within the territory under their purview. In Albemarle, this situation arose in part because the proprietors initially followed a policy of appeasement, approving settler initiatives that were not consistent

with the development of a hierarchical plantation export economy. For example, after being petitioned by representatives from Albemarle, the proprietors issued the Great Deed of Grant in May 1668, which both reduced the rent settlers were expected to pay and eliminated the ownership of servants as a condition of landholding (McIlvenna 2009:33). They also approved the first four laws passed by the Albemarle assembly: one that established protection for debtors, a second that legalized civil marriages, a third that criminalized speculation designed to take advantage of the settlers' remote location to drive up commodity prices by monopoly, and a fourth that prevented the formation of large plantations by limiting the maximum land one man could hold to 660 acres (McIlvenna 2009:34-35). Thus when proprietor Anthony Ashley Cooper and John Locke enshrined a hierarchical plantation export system as fundamental to Carolina's operation in the papers they drafted the following year, the Albemarle settlers already had secured legal means to avoid just such a system.

The settlers in southern Carolina, while founding plantations according to the system proscribed by the proprietors, were simultaneously diversifying their exports by establishing a trade in Indian slaves with colonists in New England and the Caribbean (Gallay 2002:299-305). The Goose Creek contingent, in particular, pursued this activity with such success that the proprietors felt compelled to prohibit this commerce in 1677 as a threat to frontier peace (Roper 2004:55). The Goose Creek men, operating much like a cartel, both ignored this prohibition and used political intrigue to frustrate their competitors. For example, when Scots colonists at the new settlement of Stuart's Town sought to enter the Carolina Indian trade in 1684, Goose Creek leaders encouraged their Yamasee Indian allies to plunder Spanish Churches in north Florida and then informed the Spanish that these attacks had been devised by the Scots (Roper 2004:92). Spanish reprisals in 1686 put an end to Stuart's Town. From the perspective of the Goose Creek

men, instigating violence not only rid them of competitors but provided justification for retaliatory raiding. Raiding provided income in the form of Indian slaves and also de-populated the landscape, making it easier for planters to seize lands vacated by fleeing Indians (Jennings 2013:123). While this strategy may have benefited the formation of the colonial plantation export economy planned for Carolina, it did so at the expense of the proprietors' plans for an orderly hierarchical government and control of the Indian trade (Gallay 2002:57, Roper 2004:8).

The most common strategy employed by the proprietors to solve Carolina's problems as a colony that "returned neither profits nor obedience" (Sirmans 1966:35) was to send new delegate leaders and settlers from Europe to alter the demography of the colony. This strategy succeeded in establishing new factions that opposed the regimes of Albemarle and Goose Creek. When Albemarle settlers refused to yield to the administration of Thomas Miller, an Irish apothecary who established himself first as customs collector and then as governor, the proprietors ultimately replaced him with Seth Sothell, who had recently joined their ranks (McIlvenna 2009:62, 73). Between 1682 and 1689, Sothell was successful in establishing a community of settlers with planter ambitions by moving the seat of governance in northern Carolina to the Chowan precinct, where he rewarded his allies with large land grants. Meanwhile, proprietors Craven and Archdale undertook a promotional campaign to lure religious dissenters in London, Dublin, and Holland to move to southern Carolina (Sirmans 1966:36-37). This appeal resulted in the recruitment of approximately five hundred English Presbyterians and Baptists between 1682 and 1685, and some five hundred French Huguenots by the end of the century. Lacking a vested interest in the Indian slave trade pursued by the Goose Creek men, these new immigrants were more inclined to support proprietary initiatives to alter the Indian trade. These divisions in Carolina became particularly fierce after 1704, when a law was passed

in England requiring political officeholders to take an oath of loyalty to Queen Anne. This means of excluding dissenters from political office, as many refused to swear oaths for religious reasons, quickly spread to the colonial setting where Anglican planters in both Albemarle and Charles Towne managed to temporarily disenfranchise their opponents. The House of Lords, citing the toleration clause of the original Carolina charter, repealed these acts two years later (McIlvenna 2009:111, Roper 2004:130). Ultimately, however, armed conflict proved to be the final test that reduced the influence of Albemarle dissenters and Goose Creek Indian slave traders alike.

The repeal of the establishment act in England did not prevent colonial officials from passing new laws to the same effect. North Carolina was granted a new degree of political autonomy by the proprietors in 1691 through the appointment of its own deputy governor. When this official sided with Anglican planters and allowed the assembly to be purged of Quaker representatives using an oath requirement in 1710, dissenters protested again. This time, the planter-led assembly passed an Anti-Sedition Act and jailed leaders of the opposing faction, Thomas Cary and John Porter (McIlvenna 2009:140). The escape of these men led to an armed stand-off between the opposing factions, and finally a dissenter attack on June 30, 1711. However, the threat of the British Navy, sent by Virginia, and news of an alliance between the planters and recent German settlers led to a dissenter retreat. In July, John Porter appealed to the Tuscarora for assistance, noting that unlike the established Albemarle community, the growing planter population supported by deputy Governor Hyde was interested in acquiring Indian lands to the west (McIlvenna 2009:144-145). While deliberations took place among Tuscarora towns, however, Cary was arrested and sent to England for trial. Only when the surveyor John Lawson arrived in Tuscarora territory in September did they decide to heed Porter's warning, and

attacked settlers in Bath and southern Chowan Counties. The older Albemarle community was spared, and their settlers proved reluctant to fight the Indians—they were not, after all, participants in the Indian slave trade, nor did they seek large plantation holdings to the west—suggesting that the dissenters at the very least chose to remain neutral while the plantations of their adversaries were destroyed (McIlvenna 2009:150). With the defeat of the Tuscarora by South Carolina forces and the movement of former South Carolinians into the Cape Fear region, the influence of the Albemarle settlers diminished and North Carolina finally began to resemble the hierarchical plantation export colony envisioned by the proprietors.

The Goose Creek men, on the other hand, were victims of their own success. The appetite for Indian slaves in South Carolina was so well-known by the end of the seventeenth century that deputy governor Hyde of North Carolina thought it reasonable to advertise the number of potential captives as means of securing assistance from Charles Town during the Tuscarora War. Similarly, the planter-led North Carolina council hoped to “extirpate” the Tuscarora in accordance with “the laudable custom of South Carolina” (McIlvenna 2009:152-154). Through political maneuverings such as supporting establishment, the Goose Creek contingent managed to suppress attempts to regulate the Indian trade, leading even some Anglicans to join the dissenter party (Sirmans 1966:78-79). Finally, in 1716, long-time Goose Creek allies the Yamasee turned against the colony, and smaller groups followed suit. While residents of Charles Town blamed trader abuses for this perceived Indian conspiracy, a variety of circumstances including price fluctuations and debt, violence against Indian women, and the Indian slave trade were all contributing factors to Yamasee distress (Ramsey 2008:32-33). It is also possible that the Yamasee, located between Charles Town and Port Royal on lands coveted by planters, recognized they would soon find themselves in a position similar to that of the Tuscarora (Gallay

2002:330-331). The ensuing conflict—now called the Yamasee War—provided sufficient political impetus for South Carolinians to pass a law establishing public monopoly over the Indian trade. Although disallowed by the proprietors in 1718, this legislation, along with election reform, curtailed the influence of the Goose Creek men.

Expansion

The close of the seventeenth century saw Carolina achieve apparent stability where earlier ventures had failed. Accordingly, the Crown came to view the colony less as a risky venture, its liability most appropriately delegated to others, and more as an asset to be closely managed. While the “neglect and maladministration” of the proprietors has been cited as a proximal cause of Carolina’s political transformation from a proprietary colony to a royal one (Sirmans 1966:128), this elimination of middle management followed a course that already had been undertaken for proprietary ventures such as Virginia, New York, and the Bahamas. In Carolina this movement towards centralization of power under the Crown was occasioned by a contest of wills between the proprietors and settler political representatives. After the Yamasee War, South Carolina settlers began to pass legislation to address problems they themselves—particularly the Goose Creek men—had created (Roper 2004:155). In addition to the Indian Trade Act, laws were passed to deal with public debt generated by South Carolina’s involvement in raids against Indian nations and the Spanish. When the proprietors vetoed many of these laws in 1718, as some were detrimental to the interests of their influential mercantile allies in London, colonists mounted a rebellion in protest (Scheerer 2013:287, Sirmans 1966:122-123). In 1719 the South Carolina commons house declared itself “a Convention, delegated by the People, to prevent the utter Ruin of this Government” and petitioned to become a royal colony (Sirmans

1966:127). As the House of Lords had recommended this action to the Queen Ann as early as 1705, it did not take long for the British government to comply with the settlers' request despite the fact that doing so "was to countenance rebellion" (Sirmans 1966:129). The Board of Trade, in fact, used the Carolina "crisis" to resume all remaining proprietary charters in English America (Moore 2013:264). The transaction was finalized in 1729, when the Crown agreed to pay 2,500 pounds for each proprietorship along with a lump sum of 5,000 pounds to cover land rents not paid by the settlers (Sirmans 1966:160).

This transfer of ownership ultimately meant little, however, for the day-to-day operations of the plantation economy that had developed in Carolina during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. This system arose from the varied and often conflicting interests of planters, slaves, and merchants. Farming for profit took hold in South Carolina by the end of the seventeenth century, while a subsistence economy prevailed in the Albemarle region through 1710. John Lawson, who worked to promote settlement in North Carolina, noted that some men in the Albemarle region made "great Improvements in their Way; but I dare hardly give 'em that Character in general" (McIlvenna 2009:90-91). The Anglican Reverend John Urmston was more explicit in complaining that his neighbors expected him "to work hard with Axe and Hoe & spade" as he "learnt to live independent of others" (McIlvenna 2009:138). In this subsistence economy dressed pork, wheat, maize, whale oil, and deerskins served as currency. While the plantation economy in North Carolina did not develop substantially until after the Tuscarora War, South Carolina planters were experimenting with rice as early as the 1690s, and by 1699 were able to export 330 tons (Sirmans 1966:56). While some rice was grown in North Carolina, navel stores, along with maize and wheat, became more important exports (Lefler and Powell 1973:156-158). In 1720 the South Carolina assembly made rice legal tender, and during the

following decade the colony experienced an economic boom after Parliament allowed direct rice shipments to Spain and Portugal (Sirmans 1966:167, 227). Unlike their counterparts in Virginia, who often managed large contiguous land holdings, South Carolina low-country planters operated multiple smaller plantations, employing overseers to supervise them.

This plantation system, and the wealth it generated, was possible only with the labor of hundreds of thousands of African slaves. While the original proprietors of Carolina imagined a hierarchical plantation economy peopled by voluntary European settlers of all social classes, in practice only coerced labor could produce profits commensurate with planter ambitions. South Carolinians purchased a total of approximately 100 African slaves a year through the first decade of the eighteenth century. This number increased quickly after 1711, when it was estimated the South Carolina population included 4,100 African slaves; by 1715, this number had jumped to about 10,000 (Sirmans 1966:107). In 1710, North Carolina planters held a total of about 1,000 African slaves. This number rose after the Tuscarora War, when planters obtained control of the assembly and slave-holding South Carolinians such as James Moore moved north into the Cape Fear region (McIlvenna 2009:159). Prior to 1710, most of the slaves taken to Carolina came from the Bight of Biafra, the Gold Coast, the Bight of Benin, and West Central Africa by way of other colonies such as Barbados and Jamaica (O'Malley 2013:238-240). When slave ships began to sail directly to Charles Town from Africa after 1710, they carried predominately Senegambian captives. This variation in cultural background led to the development of a pluralistic slave community in the Carolina lowcountry between 1711 and 1725 (O'Malley 2013:244). Faced with a regime that proscribed violence as a means to ensure their participation, slaves developed numerous forms of resistance. While some methods, such as work slow-downs, could be performed with relatively low risk, others involved more drastic measures. Between 1732 and

1801, no less than 1,863 runaway slave notices were printed in South Carolina newspapers (Meaders 1975:288). These escapees often sought relative safety in Spanish Florida. Such was the objective of participants in the famed Stono Rebellion, one of three South Carolina slave revolts that took place in the fall of 1739 (Sirmans 1966:204).

The success of the Carolina plantation economy was also based on the transportation of rice and other plantation products to markets throughout the American colonies and Europe. This task was monopolized by merchants in Charles Town until the 1711 establishment of Beaufort to the south at Port Royal. Other major ports developed north of Charles Town, including another Beaufort (1722) (this one in North Carolina), Georgetown (1729), and Brunswick (1731). Although merchants, who owned minimal land and dealt primarily in movable property, were viewed as untrustworthy from the perspective of classical republicanism (Pincus 1998:712), their integral role in the colonial export economy resulted in increasing political influence during the first half of the eighteenth century. This influence developed in South Carolina prior to the expansion of the rice plantation economy. By 1690, Charles Town merchants were shipping furs and naval stores to England and meat, lumber, and Indian slaves to the Caribbean in exchange for rum and sugar (Sirmans 1966:23). Collusion with both legitimate privateers and outlaw sea raiders was common, as pirates needed provisions that port towns provided and could pay well in scarce hard currency. The South Carolina assembly, in fact, voted to overvalue specie in 1685 in order to attract pirates to Charles Town (Moore 2013:265, 299). Meanwhile, farmers in northern Carolina established trading relationships with merchants from New England, who had smaller boats capable of navigating the shallow waters of Albemarle Sound and were eager to secure duty-free tobacco (McIlvenna 2009:48). While piracy became less common after the Crown acquired Carolina, the influence of merchants continued to increase. After ten years of political

conflict with planters, they managed to shift the tax burden for the importation slaves from the importing merchants to the slave-owning planters in 1740, and resisted the expansion of local paper currency until safeguards against deflation were implemented (Sirmans 1966:206-207).

While rice was an important export, the interests of Carolina merchants remained varied.

Between 1735 and 1736 Charles Town merchant Joseph Wragg imported 6,230 gallons of rum from Antigua and Barbados, 341 slaves from Africa, and paid 296 currency pounds in taxes. In addition to rice he exported 6,095 deerskins to Bristol and London (Sirmans 1966:228).

Rice and naval stores, two primary staples of Carolina's plantation export economy, were most profitably extracted from the lowlands of the Atlantic coast. Thus ecology, coupled with transport costs, kept settlers—with the exception of Indian traders—from venturing westward. However, protection of these enterprises became a primary concern after the Yamasee War, and the defensive strategy that was ultimately implemented expanded the geographic extent of South Carolina by establishing a buffer of new immigrant communities between low-land plantations and American Indian territories. In 1720, the South Carolina assembly sent John Barnwell, commander of the first expedition against the Tuscarora, to London where he presented a plan for defense. Barnwell proposed that the Crown build and garrison a ring of forts from the mouth of the Altamaha River northwest to the Tennessee River in Cherokee country, and then help sponsor the settlement of nearby townships (Sirmans 1966:135). While the Privy Council found the plan too expensive in 1720, once the Crown was in outright possession of Carolina it happily agreed to an identical proposal submitted by Governor Robert Johnson in 1730. Johnson's "township schem" called for the establishment of ten new western settlements to be peopled by poor Protestant refugees from Europe (Sirmans 1966:161-162). By 1735, Swiss, German, Irish, and Welsh settlers inhabited six of these new planned communities. The western settlements,

such as Purrysburg, Saxe Gotha, New Windsor, and Amelia were in militarily strategic locations, protected by garrisons. Changes to tax law incentivizing the registration of land claims also encouraged existing settlers to acquire additional lands. The resulting “land boom” lasted until 1741 (Sirmans 1966:217). While westward settlement slowed in the south, the 1740s began a period of expansion in North Carolina.

Settlers in northern Carolina did not have the same defensive concerns as South Carolinians, since most of their claimed territory was comfortably wedged between two other English colonies and had been cleared of many of its American Indian inhabitants by slaving, disease, and community relocation. Movement into the colony was limited in the 1730s, but included a contingent of Welsh settlers from Delaware and Pennsylvania along with a steady stream of Highland Scots (Lefler and Powell 1973:89-90). Both of these groups populated the interior Cape Fear region. Settler expansion into the North Carolina piedmont was instigated by Lord Granville, the only proprietor who refused to sell his share of Carolina to the Crown. Beginning in 1740, he hired agents to run a land office, and settled on a plan that would not require buyers to have servants or slaves as a precondition for land ownership. When the land office opened in 1748, Granville’s generous terms quickly attracted settlers from northern colonies such as Pennsylvania and Maryland (Ramsey 1964). Only after settlers arrived and informal communities developed were formal townships established. Most of these early towns were located on the Great Trading Path that linked Virginia plantations with the Cherokee, such as Charlottesville, settled in 1750, Salisbury (1755), and Hillsborough (1754) (Dobbs 2007:61-63). One notable exception to this pattern was the 1753 Moravian purchase of the Wachovia tract, on which they founded the towns Bethania, Bethabara, and Salem. These towns were built

at the southern end of the Great Wagon Road that linked North Carolina to the Shenandoah Valley and the Moravian town of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania (Dobbs 2007:61, Clewell 1902:13).

Carolina of the mid-eighteenth century thus consisted of a diverse array of European settlers and African slaves, four generations thick along the coast and newly settled in the interior piedmont. The difference between the Albemarle and Goose Creek regimes led to the development of distinct political centers that had come to be recognized as two distinct colonies, North Carolina and South Carolina. Although both were ruled by the British Crown, variation in policies developed by colonial assemblies ensured that conditions varied from colony to colony. For example, in 1746 the North Carolina assembly established a circuit court system, with sessions being held in Edenton, Halifax, and Wilmington (Raper 1904:154-155). Although this arrangement required more expense to implement than a centralized court system, it reduced the distance settlers had to travel. The South Carolina assembly refused to develop such a system, and required that all courts be held in Charles Town. In addition, the assembly refused proposals for the local election of road commissioners and increased taxing powers for parish vestries. This insistence on centralization limited the development of local government in South Carolina, but profited influential merchants and lawyers in Charles Towne (Sirmans 1966:251-252). This centralization of political power was mirrored in the concentration of economic resources. By the early 1740s, individual South Carolinians had amassed some of the largest private fortunes in the English colonies, and low-country settlers “gloried in the highest per capita income in America” (Sirmans 1966:226). Slaves, of course, were only included in this calculation as chattel wealth. Yet per capita measures mask the variation that accompanied the development of economic classes in South Carolina. In 1751, Governor James Glen reported that there were about five thousand settlers that had “plenty of the good things of Life,” another five thousand that had

“some of the Conveniencys of Life,” ten thousand “who had the Necessarys of Life,” and five to six thousand who had “a bare subsistence” (Sirmans 1966:228). Thus while echoes of the democratic leanings of the Albemarle community and ruthless enterprise of the Goose Creek men resonated decades later within different corners of mid-eighteenth century Carolina, a diversity of livelihoods and interests operated on the ground.

Interactions

The people of Carolina, despite their internal distinctions, at times acted collectively with regard to other groups. Or more precisely, individuals who achieved political legitimacy in Carolina enacted policies regarding interactions with other polities, which were implemented in various ways by members of the populace. During the colonial period, these groups external to Carolina fell into three major categories. First and foremost, there were other European nations and their corresponding settler populations. Spain and France were of particular concern to Carolinians since they each fostered their own colonial empire in North America. When England, Spain, and France were at war—which was frequently the case during the eighteenth century—their colonies could instigate conflict and become theatres of war. Also of concern to Carolina were the actions of other English colonies. While ostensibly allied under the Crown, all interactions between the colonies were not necessarily cooperative. Disputes over territorial borders and trade relationships with Indian nations were common. Finally, the settlers of Carolina interacted with American Indian communities. Securing strategic alliances with these groups became not only an important element of colonial commerce, but also of military strategy during periods of conflict, with settlers operating under the authority of other European nations.

England sought to maintain peace with Spain after the 1670 treaty of Madrid, which specified that only slaves could be directly traded between Spanish and English colonists in the Caribbean, with all other trade routed directly through European ports. As this was economically disadvantageous for the colonies themselves, black markets developed, most notoriously out of Jamaica (Nettels 1931). A similar disregard for official policy was exhibited by the activities of the South Carolinians, particularly the Goose Creek men. While they undoubtedly encouraged illicit trade, they also recognized the utility of having an international adversary, as hostilities with Spanish St. Augustine could be used to justify slave raiding (Gallay 2002: 135). Having provoked the Spanish to attack Stuart's Town, the Goose Creek men were poised to launch retaliatory raids into Florida in 1686 when Governor James Colleton arrived and managed to prevent this illegal action only with the aid of martial law (Roper 2004:96, Sirmans 1966:45). While Colleton did obtain compensation for ten slaves taken by Spanish troops through negotiations with Florida's governor, this was not the outcome desired by the Goose Creek men, who managed to remove him from office in 1690. While the proprietors instructed Colleton's successor to continue negotiations with St. Augustine, they also suggested that Carolinians had no real recourse for slaves taken during Spanish raids, as this action could be seen as retaliation for Florida Indians taken in Yamasee raids and sold to the Goose Creek men (Roper 2004:113). When England did declare war against Spain in 1702 at the beginning of the war of Spanish Succession, enterprising South Carolinians lost no time in seizing the opportunity. In October of the same year they sent troops to St. Augustine, and from 1704 to 1706 sponsored raids against the Apalachee Province of northwest Florida, crushing Spain's mission system, seizing some of its American Indian allies, and giving others cause to flee into French Louisiana for protection

(Gallay 2002:144-149, Sirmans 1966:85). Who would ultimately pay for these ventures, and how, became an issue that would plague South Carolina for decades.

Prior to 1710, North Carolina possessed few merchants or planters with the necessary capital to participate in international contests over the Indian trade (Crane 2004:157). However, North Carolinians did suffer from Spanish privateers operating along the coast, and felt sufficiently aggrieved to send four companies to Jamaica as part of the War of Jenkins Ear in 1741 (Harkness 1950:64). With the Indian slave trade ended, South Carolina was content to sit on the sidelines for this conflict with Spain, its participation limited to funding Oglethorpe's efforts to defend the newly-founded colony of Georgia (Sirmans 1966:212). When France allied itself with Spain and declared war on England in 1743, a twenty-year period of intensified diplomacy and intrigue ensued during which French and English colonial agents strove to establish and maintain military alliances with American Indian nations. While most of the American Indians allied with Spain had been living in Spanish Florida, groups like the Creek and Cherokee lived between the English Atlantic coastal settlements and French Louisiana, and could easily threaten either colonial regime. Up to the end of King George's War in 1748, South Carolina played an active role in negotiations with southeastern Indians due in large part to the enthusiasm of Governor James Glen. Although Glen was not particularly successful with the Cherokee and Creeks, he did manage to temporarily take advantage of the Choctaw disaffection with the French (Sirmans 1966:268). The Carolina colonies did not participate in any hostilities during King George's War, but they could not avoid entanglement in the subsequent French and Indian War. Initially, both North and South Carolina were slow to contribute to the conflict in part because they perceived no direct threat to their own settlements (Maass 2002:53, Sirmans 1966:296-297). Parliament's 1757 offer of £50,000 sterling to reimburse the southern colonies

for wartime expenses bolstered participation. When Brigadier-General John Forbes was ordered to collect resources from the southern colonies the same year, he noted that “nothing is expected from the Carolinas”; yet North Carolina ultimately sent three provincial companies to serve with his campaign against Fort Duquesne (Maass 2002:57). The cession of New France to England at the close of the war again transformed colonial interactions, reducing external imperial threat to the Carolinas and altering settlement patterns of the middle Atlantic colonies.

Interactions among the English colonies themselves were markedly pragmatic. When there was active cooperation between the governments of Carolina and their neighbors, it was usually to beneficial ends beyond their mutual allegiance to the Crown. For example, when Virginians sent a detachment of their own frontier militia along with the Royal Marines to defend Edward Hyde’s North Carolina government during Cary’s Rebellion in 1711, it was to eliminate the possibility that Virginia “servants and negroes and other persons of desperate fortunes” might run south in the hopes of finding amnesty among the rebels (McIlvenna 2009:141-143). Similarly, when Hyde sent an appeal to South Carolina asking for help in avenging the Tuscarora attacks later that year, officials who had made their money in the Indian slave trade “knew an opportunity when they heard one”—they could obtain both the good will of Hyde’s North Carolina planter-led government as well as Indian slaves in one fell swoop (La Vere 2013:99). Of course, activities Carolina governments considered advantageous shifted with changing circumstances. As matters of defense became of paramount concern to South Carolinians after the Yamasee War, they were happy to provide assistance to the new colony of Georgia in 1733, loaning tools and slaves and sending gifts of horses, cattle, and money (Sirmans 1966:169-170). For South Carolinians, the Georgia settlers would serve a similar function as the

frontier refugee settlements they were establishing as part of the township program by buffering low-country plantations from Spanish and American Indian threats.

Disputes and intrigue among the southern English colonies, however, were as common as incidents of assistance. This was particularly true regarding issues of territorial jurisdiction and trade with American Indian nations. The fact that Carolina's northern boundary was extended in 1665 to include the Albemarle settlements meant it encompassed a strip of land approximately thirty miles wide that had previously been under the jurisdiction of Virginia, resulting in a border dispute that lasted until 1896 (Boyd 1967:xxix-xxxvi). The segmentation of Carolina into two distinct colonies also led to a border dispute. By 1754, only a hundred-mile stretch of the border near the coast had been surveyed. At this time increasing settlement created a need for jurisdictional clarification in the piedmont, but South Carolina Governor Glen refused to negotiate the line in part because he feared North Carolina might place the Catawba Indians in North Carolina, jeopardizing the diplomatic relationship with "his" Indians (Sirmans 1966:300, Skaggs 1941). Only in 1771 was this situation resolved, with the Catawba lands being attributed to South Carolina's domain. Disputes between colonies over the actions of Indian traders were also common. Virginia traders, who had longer-standing relationships with Southeastern Indians than Carolinians, were not above trying to use this influence to limit their competition. In 1704, a group of Tuscarora Indians reported to Governor Robert Daniel that three Virginia traders were encouraging them to attack inhabitants of North Carolina. When the Virginia Council decided to let the traders go without punishment "relations between the North Carolina and Virginia governments could not have been frostier" (McIlvenna 2009:117). South Carolina, on the other hand, tried to impose regulations on Virginia traders operating within its claimed territory, instructing its Indian Agent in 1711 to seize the goods of Virginia traders who refused to obtain a

South Carolina license (McDowell 1955:14). Of course, when Georgia adopted a similar policy in 1734, South Carolina traders objected vehemently and Governor Thomas Broughton threatened to cut off South Carolina's financial assistance to the new colony (Sirmans 1966:189). This dispute escalated for four years, with Broughton ultimately appealing to the Board of Trade in London.

The terms under which Carolina interacted with American Indian groups were even more conflicted than those that guided inter-colonial relations. While the ultimate justification for English settlement in North America might have been to spread Christianity, Carolinians never undertook this directive in a systematic way comparable to the Spanish, who operated an extensive mission system. Liberal mercantilism, particularly for South Carolinians, was the ideological perspective that guided their interactions with Indian groups. These contrasting approaches to empire—Spain's mission system supported by agrarian labor mobilized through indigenous political hierarchies, versus the English egalitarian trade in deerskins and Indian slaves—differentially altered the potential dynamics of American Indian polities. The result was political stability for Spain's Indian allies, and increasing volatility for groups that interacted with Carolina and Virginia (Worth 2002). This instability ultimately fostered the development of confederated coalescent societies (Ethrige 2009:38). While such disruptions may not have been planned by Carolina traders, up to the Yamasee War they did cultivate a pattern of convincing Carolina's government to arm Indian groups who agreed to attack their enemies. One of the first groups to be enlisted to this end was the Savannah, who helped the Goose Creek men enslave the Westo in 1682 (Browne 2009, Sirmans 1966:33-34). Similarly, of the 525 men South Carolina enlisted to fight against the Tuscarora in 1711, all but thirty English settlers were Yamasee, Esaw, and various other Indians living in the Pee Dee River drainage (Barnwell 1908:30-31).

Albemarle settlers did not pursue such a policy, maintaining peace with local Indian groups for almost forty years. One colonial policy that fostered this situation was the curtailment of settler expansion into lands claimed by local Indian groups. In 1694, for example, the North Carolina assembly passed an act limiting the extent of westward settlement to within four miles of the Chowan Indian towns (McIlvenna 2009:120). Hostilities began to develop only when new settlers moved to the south side of Albemarle Sound and reneged on agreements made with resident native communities, complaining the Indians were “Demanding unreasonable prices for their Land which we are neither willing or able to give them” (McIlvenna 2009:118).

The tendency for Carolinians to act unilaterally with regard to Indian policy ended in the 1740s, when conflict with Spain and France highlighted the vulnerability of the English colonies. While colonial governments continued to encourage American Indians to fight as “ethnic soldiers” (*sensu* Ferguson and Whitehead 2000), it was now against enemies chosen according to their imperial allegiance. Thus it became the prerogative of Carolina’s representatives to promote peace as well as war among Indian nations. In 1741, Lieutenant Governor George Clarke of New York wrote to South Carolina and Georgia proposing the establishment of a coordinated inter-colonial policy that would unite all pro-English Indians in a “Covenant Chain” of alliance (Sirmans 1966:216). South Carolina Governor Bull put this policy into action by brokering a peace treaty among the Cherokee, Catawba, and Iroquois in 1742. A similar policy was pursued with earnestness by Governor Glen, who helped re-establish the faltering Catawba-Iroquois peace in 1751, and worked to end the Creek-Cherokee War in 1752 (Sirmans 1966:288). The Crown’s desire to effect consistent Indian policies culminated in the appointment of Edmund Atkin as the first superintendent of Indian affairs for the southern colonies in 1756. Not all South Carolinians, however, were convinced of the utility of diplomatic efforts to secure the “Covenant

Chain.” Governor Robert Johnson argued that encouraging peace among Indian nations was misguided because “Being at War with one another prevents their uniting against us,” while members of the Commons House complained of the high cost of Indian diplomacy and argued that Indian groups were likely to fight amongst themselves regardless of English attempts to broker peace (Merrell 1987:125, Sirmans 1966:272, 291). This persistence of attitudes that viewed American Indians as exploitable enemies, rather than potential allies, led to the escalation of conflict between South Carolina and the Cherokee in 1758, with the resulting war lasting three years.

The story of Carolina from its inception to the mid-eighteenth century provides a case study in the foundation of a settler colony. In addition to providing a better understanding of Carolina’s geographic extent, composition, and interactions at mid-century, this history also highlights characteristics of settler colonialism in general, particularly the significance of initial conditions for subsequent colonial development. International competition for trade among European nations and their identification of lands inhabited by non-Christian “others” provided the ideological and economic impetus for the creation of a new kind of person. These settlers would leave Europe with the intent of establishing residence in another part of the world, and those that arrived in Carolina did so in part because of prevailing winds, the initiatives of French explorers, and the raids of Sir Francis Drake. These new arrivals brought with them ideologies shaped by debates that arose during the English civil war, and these attitudes guided their actions once ensconced on the Atlantic coast of North America between 36 degrees, 30 minutes and 29 degrees north latitude. They established two markedly different Carolinas—one composed of defectors from Virginia, the other of ruthless Caribbean opportunists—and the regimes they

established had lasting consequences on all elements of colonial existence as well as the American Indian communities with whom they interacted. By the middle of the eighteenth century, a subset of South Carolinians had become wealthy through the sale of American Indian captives and the coerced agricultural labor of slaves imported from Africa, while North Carolinians had established more modest operations.

The development of Carolina overall can be divided into two phases, which may apply to the growth of settler colonies in general. As a venture sponsored by a group of English noblemen called proprietors, Carolina first existed as a set of outposts whose survival was considered to be in jeopardy. South Carolina, in particular, was forced to adopt a defensive stance due to the Goose Creek men's instigation of hostilities with American Indian polities and the Spanish colony of Florida. Only after approximately three generations did it become clear that Carolina was both established and profitable. At this point the Crown sought to centralize control over the colonies and encourage the expansion of settlement westward. This geographic growth brought even more diversity to a settler plantation export economy that operated through the coordinated and conflicting interests of planters, slaves, and merchants. This second wave of colonists buffered the low-country core settlements. A shift from defense to Crown-supported expansionist policies culminated in the French and Indian War, which rid the Southeast of imperial threats. But during the 1750s, this was not a forgone state of affairs, and efforts to unite England's American Indian allies and secure warriors for battle were of paramount importance to the Crown. One nation that figured prominently in these negotiations, despite its relatively small population, was the Catawba Indian Nation.

CHAPTER 3

CATAWBA

The first known transcription of the name *Catawba* was made by Juan de la Bandera, notary of Juan Pardo's 1567 expedition from Santa Elena to the base of the Appalachian Mountains in present North Carolina. Pardo was instructed to seek out the mines of San Martín in central Mexico, and it was Bandera's duty to produce a record that documented the expedition's compliance with proper procedures concerning interactions with American Indians. Pardo was directed "to make all friendship" with local leaders along the way, while Bandera was instructed to "remind the said captain, [that] he treat with the chiefs as to whether they would like to be Christians" (Hudson 1990:256). Bandera accordingly describes a series of interactions between Pardo and American Indian leaders, most of which revolved around the supply of Pardo's troops. The name of one leader that met with Pardo on three occasions Bandera spelled "Catapa Orata" and "Cataba Orata," *orata* being the Spanish designation for "a village headman" (Hudson 1990:60,260,264). In one instance two "Catapes Orata" appeared, suggesting that the community delegated authority to more than one individual (Hudson 1990:277). Pardo's expedition did not pass through the village of the Catapa leaders, but it was likely located near the settlements of their traveling companions, who were leaders from villages in the middle and lower Catawba River valley. While no translation of the name exists from a native Catawba speaker, Rudes (2004:385) proposes that in standard twentieth century Catawban orthography it can be transcribed *katápuwa?*, meaning "his, her, its, your (pl.), their fork (in the river)." The

referenced hydrological feature is likely the confluence of the South Fork and Catawba rivers, located approximately 10 miles northwest of the heart of the eighteenth century Catawba Nation and 20 miles northwest from the modern Catawba reservation. Of the thirteen other Catawban derivations Rudes (2004) proposes for names recorded by Bandera, only one other name references a waterbody—that of Yssa Orata, who according to Juan Pardo was “a great chief” presiding over at least two towns in the lower Catawba valley, possibly also on the South Fork (Hudson 1990:62,283,311; Moore 2002:21). Yssa—*i-suwq* in Catawban orthography—in fact provides the most straightforward of all Catawban derivations, simply meaning “river” (Rudes 2004:405). The names Catapa and Yssa were later transcribed by English settlers as Catawba and Esaw.

The name Catawba thus refers to a specific location in the southern Appalachian Piedmont, serving as a powerful mnemonic for one of the most significant features of Catawba history—the fact that the community so-designated remained near this fork in the river throughout the colonial expansion of Carolina, and continues to reside in the area today. The following discussion examines the persistence of Catawba as a collective entity through an examination of ideological and demographic trends that preceded European colonization, followed by an examination the Nation’s constituents and diplomatic relations during the first half of the eighteenth century. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, leaders in southeastern North America appropriated religious imagery to political ends. The piedmont of present North Carolina served as the northern frontier of this practice, becoming a borderland region where groups drew from competing modes of livelihood. At the time of Juan Pardo’s incursion, residents of the Catawba River valley were organized into a set of centralized polities that resembled their neighbors to the south. People living in the lower Catawba River valley

participated in this political network, but were located at the margins of these competing polities. With the establishment of Charles Town and the Indian slave trade, this area served as a refuge where people established settlements along the trading paths that criss-crossed the lower Catawba River valley and developed political relationships that enabled them to act as a unified military force. After the Yamasee War, the lower Catawba became a haven for relocating communities, most notably the Charraw. Since I will later argue that the archaeological sites 38Yk434 and 38Yk17 are the remains of the mid-eighteenth century Catawba settlements of Nassaw and Charraw Town, I focus on what is known about these two entities in particular, and close by examining the network alliances and enmities that reciprocally informed Catawba diplomacy.

South Appalachian Mississippian Frontiers

Beginning around A.D. 1200, residents of the Catawba River valley began to participate in an extensive network of ideologies and practices that spread from the city of Cahokia near present St. Louis, Illinois, across southeastern and mid-western North America. While these societies did not produce written archives, analyses of the artifacts they produced and the oral traditions of their descendants indicate these “Mississippian” period peoples may have had similar understandings with regard to the nature of visible and invisible agencies, and shared a suite of meta-narratives that explained the cosmos. Since the 1960s, archaeologists who specialize in the study of Mississippian ideology through the analysis of symbols and ethnology have referred to this ontology and set of narratives as the “Southeastern Ceremonial Complex” (Lankford 2011:6). It should be noted that attempts to characterize Mississippian period ideology in this manner have no doubt resulted in the homogenization of a diversity of beliefs into a synthetic whole (Pauketat 2013:16), so the themes discussed here should be understood as genres

within which there were likely many variants. Through comparative analysis of oral histories and artifacts, Reilly (2004:126) identifies three recurring themes: the “Morning Star cycle,” which involves the activities of deities associated with the day and night skies, the “Earth and fertility” cycle, which addresses matters of origins, and the “Path of Souls” cycle, which addresses matters of death. These narratives are interwoven with a cosmic model that consists of a tripartite world in which the Upper, Middle, and Beneath Worlds are connected through a central axis that takes the form of a center pole or tree (Reilly 2004:127). Humans and animals inhabit the Middle World, while a solar deity, along with lords of wind and lightning in the form of birds of prey, are at home in the day sky of the Upper World. The Beneath World is an underwater realm associated with the night sky; it is occupied by a reptilian panther, or *paisa*, a deity also manifest as a winged and horned serpent (Reilly 2004:128). A key feature of the Mississippian cosmos is the concept of portals, which allow supernatural beings and human souls to travel between worlds. Such motion is indicated in Mississippian art by the presence of locative symbols that designate cosmological context, and ogee symbols, which represent the portals themselves (Reilly 2004:130). In the middle world, such portals are often located in rivers and caves. Frank Speck (1939:32), an anthropologist who talked with Catawba elders in the early twentieth century, recorded the presence of once such place in the lower Catawba River where there once lived “a monster snake believed to be about twenty feet in length and one foot in diameter of body.”

Perpetual connectivity between the Middle World and supernatural realms engendered a complementary focus on the use of human agency to maintain separation and order. This aspect of Mississippian ontology appears to have motivated certain Southeastern Indian practices that surprised eighteenth-century European observers. Most frequently cited in this regard is the

comment of a Saponi Indian guide who instructed Virginia Council member William Byrd II and the surveyors involved in marking the Virginia-Carolina boundary “with a face full of concern, that if we continued to boil venison and turkey together, we should for the future kill nothing, because the spirit that presided over the woods would drive all the game out of our sight” (Byrd 2001[1841]:47). This proscription for cooking turkey and venison separately, also observed by Speck’s Catawba sources, may reflect a desire to keep inhabitants of the Middle and Upper Worlds separate (Merrell 1983:250). Other situations required practices designed to make sure individuals remained free from outside influences. This was particularly true for warriors preparing for battle, who were expected to fast and abstain from sexual activity (Adair 2005[1775]:193-196). The failure of a raid suggested some participants had abandoned their state of purity. Illness, like failure in battle, required special treatment for purification. Thus members of the Catawba Nation who had contracted small pox during a 1759 epidemic were seen “throwing themselves into the river as soon as they found themselves ill” (*Boston Evening Post* Jan 14, 1760; Merrell 1983:250). While some ritual prescriptions were widely known, elders possessed exceptional knowledge and experience. Contrary to the custom of late seventeenth century Englishmen, among Catawba River valley inhabitants “whensoever an Aged Man is speaking, none ever interrupts him” (Lawson 1967[1709]:43). Other kinds of religious authority have been inferred from investigations of Mississippian iconography and the depositional context of inscribed items. Such studies have concluded that in certain cases sacred symbols and narratives were appropriated by Mississippian political leaders, as was the case in Europe. In the thirteenth century, leaders of a polity centered near present Etowah, Georgia, produced or contracted artists to create carved shell gorgets that depicted anthropomorphized “Birdman” figures. This focus on individual figures rather than universalizing imagery that was

common before and after this episode suggests these leaders were emphasizing elements of Mississippian ideology “suited to chartering the elevated-status positions of individuals or corporate groups” (King 2011:289). Regional differences in iconographic imagery further suggest the development of competitive relationships between the leaders of these corporate groups, each drawing their power from different aspects of the Mississippian cosmos (King and Reilly 2011).

The communities living near the fork of the Catawba River in the sixteenth century, while sharing certain beliefs about the cosmos and proper human conduct with their more populous Muskogean and Cherokee neighbors to the south and west, nevertheless emerged as a distinct corporate entity. Understanding how this occurred requires a multi-regional perspective on Mississippian prehistory. David Moore (2002:187), with Robin Beck, have referred to the upper Catawba River valley as the northernmost extent of a Mississippian “frontier,” where an upland valley ecotone and trail system “provided a favorable setting in which local leaders could pursue a variety of group-building strategies” beginning in the fourteenth century. While the term “frontier” may evoke power relations not evidently applicable in this case, characteristics of Catawba language and the archaeology of Catawba River valley settlements occupied ca. A.D. 1000-1650 do suggest that centuries of *in situ* culture contact between southeastern Mississippian polities and piedmont Siouan communities of the central Atlantic led to the development of a zone of hybridity in the upper and middle Catawba and Pee Dee River valleys. Further, while centralized political leadership became more common after the fourteenth century in this region, such transformations were not uniform across the “Mississippian frontier.” Characterizing this variation provides a better understanding of how inhabitants of the lower Catawba River valley

avoided political dissolution and were able to successfully incorporate disparate refugee communities in the early eighteenth century.

The Catawba language itself can be considered evidence of a long-standing zone of hybridity in the southern Appalachian Piedmont. Two aspects of Catawba—its morphological relationship to other American Indian languages, as well as the location of Catawba-speaking communities in the sixteenth century—speak to this issue. Unlike Cherokee, which is an Iroquoian language, and the various Muskogean languages of the interior Southeast, Catawba is a branch—albeit distant—of the widespread Siouan language family spoken from the Ohio River valley to the middle Roanoke River valley in Virginia (Booker et al. 1992:410, Goddard 2005:7-8). James Mooney (1894) referred to all Siouan-speaking peoples east of the Appalachian Mountains as “Siouan Tribes of the East.” While Mooney (1894:69) did acknowledge a categorical distinction between Catawba and the languages spoken by Virginia groups, the goal of his work was to emphasize the commonality of these groups relative to their Iroquois, Algonquin, and Muskogee neighbors. Nevertheless, Virginia Siouan languages are much more closely related to those spoken on the upper Missouri River than they are to Catawba (Goddard 2005:16). This divide between Virginian Siouan languages and Catawba suggests there was limited interaction between these groups for an extended period of time, possibly on the order of several thousand years (Campbell 1997:142). However, this divergence may have been accelerated by interactions between Catawba speakers and Southeastern groups. The presence of Muskogean loan words in Catawba, which refer to everyday things such as “mother,” “house,” and “rain,” suggest the presence of “intimate” contact between the two groups of speakers, such as intermarriage, or the persistence of a bilingual community over “a prolonged period of time” (Rudes 2004:381). While Rudes (2004:382) notes it is also possible these words may have

entered Catawba in the eighteenth century from Yamasee immigrants, this seems unlikely for the reasons just mentioned. What can be attributed to the eighteenth century, however, are the two dialects of Catawba named Esaw and Saraw. Goddard (2005:20) notes that discrepancies between these two variants of the language are such that it “would be easier to accept if Catawba proper (Esaw) and Saraw were formerly more distinct, as separate languages, than they appear to be as dialects of modern Catawba.” This condition is likely the result of Virginia Siouan speakers joining the Catawba Nation after 1720, as will be discussed in more detail below.

The Catawba language thus appears to be the product of interaction, broadly speaking, between Siouan speakers and Southeastern groups. In order to determine where Catawba speakers resided prior to European settlement, linguists have examined the American Indian names collected during Spanish expeditions. Combining etymologies of these names with the proposed routes of travel has resulted in the development of maps that depict the extent of language families across the Southeast (e.g. Goddard 2005:3). While such studies are complicated by the spelling of Indian languages in Spanish orthography, as well as the often convoluted process of naming itself, they remain the only available source of information about language distribution in the sixteenth century (Goddard 2005:5). In one influential study, Booker, Hudson and Rankin (1992) proposed that a linguistic boundary between Catawba and Muskogean speakers existed in the Atlantic piedmont roughly coincident with the modern boundary between North and South Carolina. Names that are Catawban, like Catapa and Yssa, were placed from the fork of the Catawba River westward, while names attributed to places along the Wateree River, which runs southward connecting the Catawba to the Santee River, were inferred to be of Muskogean origin. More conservative approaches to the derivation of etymologies retain the distribution of Catawba language proposed by Booker et al. (1992) but do

not accept Muskogean origins for the Wateree River place names, preferring to leave most of the southern Atlantic piedmont unaffiliated with regard to linguistic attribution (Rudes 2004, Goddard 2005). It has been suggested that at least some of this area was inhabited by Catawba speakers, since John Lawson encountered the Woccon—who spoke a dialect closely related to Catawba—along Contentnea Creek in the coastal plain of North Carolina (Goddard 2005:9). The two Woccon villages Lawson encountered were surrounded by larger populations of Iroquoian and Algonquian-speakers, suggesting the Woccon may have moved into the area, although the timing of this move is uncertain (Carter 1985:175). While the southern and eastern limits of sixteenth century Catawba-speaking communities may remain uncertain, it is clear that they inhabited the Catawba River valley at that time.

Archaeological data provide additional lines of evidence that can be used to understand the sorts of identities and polities that existed in the southern Appalachian Piedmont. Two major categories of archaeological data are most frequently examined in this regard: trends in ceramic production, which provide spatial data about the distribution of craftspeople with shared educational backgrounds, and indicators of political organization, which include settlement hierarchy, public architecture, and evidence of ascribed status roles. While pottery may seem an unlikely source of information about identities and polities, the plasticity of clay during production and its durability when fired make pottery sherds one of the most useful types of artifacts for tracking change through time. While constant change “is so much a part of day-to-day engagement in practice that it largely goes unnoticed” (Wenger 1998:94), pottery vessels, produced in a sequence, used, and then often broken and discarded, preserve this continuum of change. Tracking similarities and differences in ceramic production techniques across the landscape thus provides a map of “constellations of practices,” an aggregate of interrelated

“communities of practice,” or emergent social groups that arise out of collective engagement in a joint enterprise (Wenger 1998:84, 126-128). As communities of practice “can form without being named or otherwise reified, most people do not think about their lives in these terms” (Wenger 1998:126), and therefore the correlation of these constellations with political and linguistic communities cannot be assumed. Further, specialized production and trade could result in geographic distributions that overlap communities otherwise differentiated by political affiliation and language. For the southern Appalachian Piedmont during the Mississippian period, however, such specialization appears to have been limited, with most of the communities of practice that produced pottery being constituted at the household or village level. Since it is likely that pottery used every day fell into the realm of *doxa*, or the “self-evident and undisputed” aspects of the social world (Bourdieu 1977:164), and that making pottery was a skill learned in the home or village, ceramic production during this period can be viewed as “the doxic products of members of kinship groups” (Fitts 2006:42). In cases where such groups adopted new practices in response to interaction with other communities, or founded new settlements, the discernable constellation of practices should appear to expand over time.

Evidence for such expansion during the late Mississippian period is evidenced by the distribution of ceramic production practices referred to as “Lamar” after an eponymous archaeological site located near present Macon, Georgia (Hally 1994:144-146). The region in which Lamar pottery was produced extends from the south Atlantic coastal plain westward across the Appalachian mountains to the Coosa River. Beginning in the fourteenth century, Lamar communities began to produce two distinctive forms of pottery. The first consists of jars with walls that were thinned using a carved wooden paddle and anvil. The paddles, themselves products of craft production, were carved with labyrinthine designs; when applied to the surface

of a pot, they left negative impressions, producing “complicated stamped” pottery (Hally 1994:145). Lamar potters also made bowls with smoothed surfaces, and while the clay was still pliable used rigid stylus tools to incise designs composed of multiple curvilinear and parallel lines along the opening of the bowl. Both of these types of pottery, Lamar complicated stamped and incised, were produced in the Catawba and neighboring Pee Dee River valleys in the fifteenth century (Moore 2002). To the northeast, however, methods of ceramic production differed. In the Dan, Haw, and Eno River drainages potters used paddles wrapped with net, fabric, cord, or sinew. Beginning in the fifteenth century, they also used paddles carved with straight lines and check patterns (Ward and Davis 1999:115). This divide in ceramic practice between Lamar potters and those living in the northern piedmont correlates with the apparent linguistic divide between Catawba speakers and other “eastern Siouan” groups.

Variation among communities of Lamar potters, on the other hand, suggests the presence of possible discontinuities in kinship interactions across the broad geographic area they inhabited. In the Catawba River valley, Moore’s (2002) examination of over 300 Lamar assemblages revealed considerable homogeneity of pottery attributes. However, subtle differences were evident between upper Catawba River assemblages, on the one hand, and middle Catawba River assemblages on the other. “Burke” pottery of the upper Catawba River was made of clay to which potters added crushed soapstone, while in the middle Catawba River valley potters used sand and fine crushed quartz as tempering agents to produce “Cowans Ford” vessels (Moore 2002:73). Another difference between these regions is that middle Catawba Valley assemblages contain evidence of interaction with groups to the northeast, based on the presence of net impressed, maize cob impressed, and brushed vessel fragments in Cowans Ford assemblages (Moore 2002:99,140). In contrast, there is little evidence of contact between Burke

pottery and members of northeastern polities. While Moore's study is based on surface collections, this regional pattern would seem to suggest that villages along the Catawba River were participating in different exchange networks. However, the overall similarity of the Lamar pottery made by people living in the upper and middle sections of the Catawba River is evident in contrast to the vessels produced by other Lamar potters living to the south, in the portion of the Catawba drainage now known as the Wateree River, and to the east in the Pee Dee River drainage. The complicated stamped jars produced by both Burke and Cowans Ford potters were made with carved paddles that primarily feature concentric circles and spirals (Moore 2002:150, Riggs 2010:33). In this they differ from "Caraway" pottery made by people living in the Pee Dee drainage to east, who used paddles carved with a variety of designs (Coe 1995:164-5).

Meanwhile, "Daniels" potters to the south on the Wateree River made bowls with diverse curvilinear incised designs (DePratter and Judge 1990, Stuart 1970:84), while Cowans Ford potters preferred a single pattern of nested half-circles or "festoons" (Riggs 2010:33). Further, Caraway and Daniels potters tended to decorate the rims of their jars in a distinctive manner that was not widely practiced by Catawba River valley potting communities (Moore 2002:168).

While little information is available about the extent of Lamar settlement in the lower Catawba valley during the sixteenth century, data from seventeenth and eighteenth century sites is consistent with a Cowans Ford, rather than Daniels attribution (Fitts 2006:44, Riggs 2010:35). If we can understand constellations of Lamar ceramic practice primarily as evidence of kinship networks, then it appears that prior to European contact, middle and lower Catawba River valley potters had close ties to communities upriver while maintaining limited communication with Siouan-speaking groups to the northeast.

Production of Lamar pottery defines Catawba River valley potters as “Mississippian” in one sense; however, to many archaeologists of southeastern North America, the term Mississippian refers not only to a time period and style of pottery, but also a system of political economy. In portions of the South Appalachian Mississippian province—the area inhabited by Lamar potters—an agricultural economy supported the development of large villages and temple mound construction (Ferguson 1971). The term “chiefdom” is often used to describe the multi-community polities that were organized at this time (Anderson 1994, Welch and Butler 2006). Based on the ability of Spanish expeditions to obtain maize by communicating with Mississippian leaders, it is argued that these chiefdoms possessed a political economy based on surplus and tribute (Anderson 1994:77-78, Beck 2013:13). Mississippian iconography and Spanish accounts also have been used to suggest that matrilineal elite lineages ruled these polities through the appropriation of sacred power (Anderson 1994:79-84). While it is clear that leaders existed in Mississippian societies, they did not operate on an authoritarian basis. The creation of ritual landscapes through mound construction may often have been an “inclusive and integrative” process rooted in Mississippian ideology (Shilling 2010:318), and sixteenth century accounts suggest consensus-building played an important role in elite decision making (Anderson 1994:75-76). Generally speaking, South Appalachian Mississippian polities were “centering” institutions that constructed places of increased population and cosmological gravity relative to surrounding villages and hamlets. The distribution of these central places varied across the Southeast, coincident in part with the presence of major rivers along which they are frequently located (Anderson 1994:94). Consideration of the distribution of mound centers suggests that Mississippian polities ranged between 18 and 40 km (11 and 25 miles) in spatial

extent (Hally 1994:167), while direct interaction between polities probably dropped off beyond 125 km (78 miles), or four to five day's travel (Livingood 2010:150-152).

The occupational histories of Mississippian mound centers and associated villages were influenced by inter-polity competition, which could result in crises of leadership and consensus (Anderson 1994:103). Such reorientations occurred in the southern Appalachian Piedmont during the fifteenth century, when population density significantly decreased at major Mississippian centers located on the Savannah and Pee Dee River drainages (Anderson 1994:327, Boudreaux 2007:111-112). Coincident with the decline of these polities was an increase in settlement along the Catawba River, possibly associated with community relocation (Beck 2013:56, but see Anderson 1994:328-329). When Spanish expeditions passed northward through the piedmont in the sixteenth century, the Savannah River valley was deserted (Hudson 1990:9-10). However, Hernando De Soto encountered a polity on the Wateree River called "Cofitachequi," a name that probably came from people living in the Oconee River drainage to the southwest (Goddard 2005:6). Some have argued that Cofitachequi held sway over the entire Catawba River drainage (Baker 1974, Booker et al. 1992). That some level of cooperation existed between lower Catawba valley residents and the center of Cofitachequi is suggested by the fact that the Yssa and Catapa Oratas were said to have assisted in the construction of a house built to hold maize for Juan Pardo's troops which was located at Canos, the center of Cofitachequi (Hudson 1990:260). However, Hally's (1994) and Livingood's (2010) research concerning the spatial extent of Mississippian political influence suggests Cofitachequi leaders only presided over Wateree River communities, for the lower Catawba valley is located over 100 km (62 miles) away from Mulberry Mounds, the presumed center of the polity. This political boundary would be coincident with the discontinuity in practice, and possibly kinship, between

Cowans Ford potters of the middle and lower Catawba, and those that produced Daniels pottery in Wateree valley settlements. Further, Juan Pardo encountered two leaders east of Appalachian Mountains that he considered worthy of the superlative title “Mico,” or “great lord.” These were Mico Joara, who lived in the upper Catawba River valley at a location now known as the Berry Site (Beck et al. 2006), and Mico Guatari (Hudson 1990:62). It has been suggested that the political center administrated by Mico Guatari was seated along the middle Yadkin near present Salisbury, North Carolina (Hudson 1990:26), but the portion of the river that passes through this area was flooded by a dam built in 1917, making it difficult to investigate this proposition. Joara and Guatari, whatever its location, constituted the northernmost extent of Mississippian civilization in the Atlantic piedmont at the end of the sixteenth century.

People living northeast of the Catawba valley did not embrace overt “centering” tactics that divided the landscape into centers and peripheries. For the first half of the Late Woodland Period (A.D. 800–1600), inhabitants of the Dan and Haw River drainages lived in scattered hamlet-like settlements. However, the introduction of maize to the region appears to have been associated with an increase in village size and the establishment of corporate claims to farmland (Ward and Davis 1999:99). Beginning in the sixteenth century people living in the Dan and Haw River drainages developed a set of practices that emphasized community solidarity. Residents of settlements attributed to the “Hillsboro Phase” of the Haw River, who may have moved southward from the Roanoke River drainage, began to sponsor feasts that involved the use of shallow basins for cooking large amounts of food at once (Ward and Davis 1993:410). Over time they seem to have integrated with the pre-existing population, as suggested by the diversity of Hillsboro pottery communities after A.D. 1500 (Ward and Davis 1993:413). In addition to participating in communal feasting events, people living along the Haw River during the

Hillsboro Phase began to use smoking pipes, another activity that may have been associated with the maintenance of community solidarity. To the west, some groups living in the Dan River drainage between A.D. 1200 and 1450 established dispersed linear settlements along riverbanks, while others began to arrange their homes in oval patterns around central plazas (Eastman 1999:221-223). These nucleated settlements may indicate a developing emphasis on corporate identity, the adoption of defensive posturing, or both. However, there is no evidence of settlement hierarchy in the region (Eastman 1999:27), suggesting a lack of centralized political organization. While information about the subsequent “Early Saratown Phase” is limited, it appears that people began to build larger houses in the sixteenth century (Eastman 1999:223), which may indicate a change in conventions regarding family size or use of space.

Early Saratown and Hillsboro Phase communities appear to have remained linguistically and politically distinct from Mississippian polities to the south and west, but they were not isolated from these groups. This is indicated by the presence of very small amounts of complicated-stamped pottery in both Early Saratown and Hillsboro assemblages after A.D. 1450, as well as by the presence of shell ornaments carved with Mississippian serpent imagery in Early Saratown burials (Ward and Davis 1993:413,421; Eastman 1999:292-296). The distribution of similar ornaments suggests there may have been a salt and copper-trading network that connected Mississippian polities located near present Saltville, Virginia, with communities on the Dan and upper Yadkin Rivers (Eastman 1999:295, Meyers 2002:188). The presence of three complicated stamped jars with filfot scroll designs in the Hairston Site ceramic assemblage suggests Early Saratown communities were also interacting with South Appalachian Mississippian communities living to the south in the Yadkin drainage (Eastman 1999:100).

In sum, ethnohistoric narratives and archaeological data suggest the Mississippian frontier extending from the foothills of the Appalachian Mountains to the Pee Dee River drainage was characterized by a set of continuities and discontinuities. That the region had long been a zone of hybridity is suggested by the Catawba language itself, which is distantly related to Siouan languages but also contains Muskogean loan words (Goddard 2005:16, Rudes 2004:381). The first evidence of a distinctly Mississippian community living in the area dates to the eleventh century, based on the presence of early Mississippian “Etowah series” pottery at the Belmont Neck site located on the Wateree River near present Camden, South Carolina (Cable et. al 1999). In the twelfth century, another Mississippian center was established to the northeast in the Pee Dee River drainage (Boudreaux 2007:107). At this time Mississippian settlement in the Catawba-Wateree valley does not appear to have extended much beyond the southernmost portion of the Catawba River; it was not until the fifteenth century that a Mississippian polity was founded in the upper Catawba valley. Thus the incorporation of this region into the Mississippian world was an asynchronous development rather than the expansion of a uniform horizon (Riggs and Davis 2014:5-49,53). By the sixteenth century, however, the Catawba River valley was inhabited by a network of communities that shared the same language—based on the place names of Cofitachequi (Rudes 2004)—and were part of the same kinship network, if we can take the distribution of Burke and Cowans Ford pottery to be the product of constellations of household craft production. However, political organization across the region was not uniform. While the presence of a hierarchical settlement system, sites with platform and burial mounds, and elite burials containing exotic items suggest a chiefdom existed in the upper Catawba and upper Yadkin valleys (Moore 2002:189), such evidence—particularly for platform mound construction—is generally lacking for the middle and lower Catawba valley. That hierarchical

organization did exist among lower Catawba settlements is indicated by the observation that Yssa Orata presided over at least two towns in the lower Catawba valley (Hudson 1990:62,283,311), as well as by the presence of high-status objects such as a “spatulate” ceremonial axe in children’s graves near the proposed location of the Yssa towns (Hudson 1990:25, Keel 1990:15). In addition, at least two mounds are located on an island near present Landsford, in the lower Catawba valley (Davie 1892). Little is known about this site, but its location near the southernmost end of the Catawba section of the Catawba-Wateree valley suggests it was most likely produced by people who were affiliated with Wateree Valley Mississippian groups. Variation in the extent of centralization across the Catawba Mississippian frontier attests to the innovative character of this zone of hybridity, wherein practices and rationalities that may have been taken for granted elsewhere in the Southeast were open to interpretation. It appears that for the most part, middle and lower Catawba groups recognized an elite leadership class but did not feel compelled to undertake intensive community works projects.

Coincident with political variation across the Catawba valley were differences in interaction between these Mississippian groups and the Siouan-speaking communities of the Dan and Haw River drainages. Upper Catawba River polities appear to have been part of an exchange network in which commodities such as salt, copper, and shell were exchanged along trading routes in the Appalachian foothills, but they had little contact with Dan River communities (Beck 1997; Moore 2002:99,187-8). Middle and lower Catawba communities, on the other hand, appear to have had consistent political or economic relationships with northern Siouan communities, possibly solidified through strategic marriage alliances. This proposition is based on the presence of net and corncob impressed pottery in Cowans Ford assemblages, and

complicated stamped pottery in Saratowan and Hillsboro assemblages (Moore 2002:157-158; Ward and Davis 1993:421). These alliances ultimately would prove to be a critical safety net for piedmont communities forced to respond to the unprecedented violence and disease European settlers brought to the Atlantic coast in the seventeenth century.

Things Fall Apart

Chiuva Achebe's 1958 historical novel *Things Fall Apart* is a gripping masterpiece that examines the transformations wrought by colonialism in Nigeria from the perspective of African villagers. Achebe describes a world in which the effects of colonization are felt not only in the areas where Europeans establish settlements and missions, also but radiate outward to effect the daily lives of people living far from colonial centers. This was surely also the case for American Indian societies of eastern North America during the seventeenth century. While Europeans did not regularly travel into the central piedmont until the final decades of the 1600s, this does not mean interior communities were unaffected by their presence. And as Achebe further suggests, we should not expect members of indigenous communities to adopt uniform responses to colonialism; factionalism and disagreement likely were present alongside consensus. However, if there was one event during which central piedmont Indian communities appear to have spoken with one voice, it was the expulsion of Juan Pardo's forces in 1568. Pardo sustained his troops during his two marches from Santa Elena to the Appalachian foothills by conscripting food and labor from the towns he visited. When Bandera traveled with Pardo in 1568, most of the towns they visited in the Wateree-Catawba valley contained new wooden "houses" filled with maize, which Pardo had instructed the oratas to build during his previous expedition. While the Spanish viewed the construction of these houses as their rightful tribute, it is also possible these

communities recognized an opportunity to assert their autonomy relative to each other (Beck 2013:82-83; Hudson 1990:260-265). Since Pardo's job was not only to secure the obedience of piedmont communities, but also to secure the gold and silver mines the Spanish expected to find in the Appalachian Mountains, he constructed and garrisoned five forts (Hudson 1990:158-159,278). Three of these forts were located at the political centers of Joara, Guatari, and Canos/Cofitachequi. Only two months after Juan Pardo returned to Santa Elena on March 2, 1568, word reached the coastal settlement that the forts "had been attacked and overrun" (Hudson 1990:175-176). Residents of Santa Elena blamed Pardo's demands for food and soldiers' abuses for the attacks, from which only one named soldier is known to have escaped. Excavations at Fort San Juan, located at Joara, have revealed the remains of five burned structures, which constitute a "chilling testament" to the sudden end of Pardo's forts (Beck 2013:73-74). Clearly, the piedmont Indians who Bandera wrote were so eager to provide food and labor to Pardo had come to the conclusion, in decisive fashion, that Spanish subjugation was not in their best interest.

No Europeans are known to have written about their experience in the central piedmont during the decades immediately following Spanish expulsion. However, archaeological settlement data indicate demographic changes occurred in the Mississippian frontier during the seventeenth century. Specifically, population density declined in the upper Catawba valley and increased in the lower Catawba valley (Moore 2002:48). Disease, the development of the deerskin trade, and increased captive taking have all been proposed as possible explanations for population decline in the upper Catawba. While densely populated Mississippian centers were surely at risk for the spread of epidemic disease, Kelton (2007:50) argues that Spanish expeditions were an improbable source of contagion partly because they were composed of adult

men who were unlikely to be carrying childhood diseases like smallpox. While Juan Pardo's expeditions did depart from Santa Elena, this settlement was populated only by soldiers until 1568, and its first reported epidemic—possibly typhus—occurred in 1571, several years after Pardo's expeditions and the Catawba valley rebellion (Lyon 1984:6). However, it is possible that undocumented communication persisted between Santa Elena and the Catawba valley until the abandonment of the Spanish settlement in 1587, particularly in light of the fact that the only soldier to escape the piedmont revolt, Juan Martín de Badajoz, was married to an Indian woman he may have met while on duty in the interior (Hudson 1990:176). Although disease cannot be ruled out, it is also possible that economic developments lured Joara residents from their homes. Since the upper valley communities were positioned to control trade in the Appalachian foothills, it is possible their descendants sought to pursue a similar strategy with regard to the nascent European trade (Moore 2002:48). In this case, depopulation of the upper valley and increased settlement in the lower Catawba valley could be viewed as related phenomena. The lower valley would have been an attractive location in this regard, as a major trading route that traversed the eastern edge of the piedmont crossed the Catawba River in this stretch of the drainage (Fitts 2006:20). Further, Burke craftspeople, deprived of local sources of soapstone to temper their clay, would probably have made pottery that would be hard to distinguish from that of local Cowans Ford potters. However, while community names that correspond to those in Spanish documents—such as Yssa and Catapa—are associated with this location in the eighteenth century, English-speakers visiting the lower Catawba valley did not record any names that can be construed as “Joara.” On the other hand, the name “Sara,” (also spelled “Saura” and “Sauro”) which Virginia traders used to refer to a Dan River community, has been equated with “Joara” (Rudes 2004:391-397). Despite this apparent indication of population movement, no

archaeological sites have been found in the Dan River drainage that can be attributed to a community of Burke potters; the presence of small amounts of complicated stamped pottery—accounting for around 1% of seventeenth-century Saratowan assemblages—is consistent with the limited contact between Catawba Mississippians and Siouan-speaking communities of the Dan River drainage that had been going on since the fifteenth century (Eastman 1999:146, 151, 307-308). It is also possible, as will be discussed in more detail below, that a second Sara or “Saula” community—this one corresponding to Pardo’s Joara—was encountered on the middle Catawba River in 1670 by the earnest German traveler John Lederer (1902[1762]:19). In sum, if upper Catawba valley residents moved downriver, they may have integrated into existing communities that had similar language and practices. If they moved northward to live near Dan River communities with whom they had little previous contact, they either significantly altered their pottery production practices, or remains of their settlements have not yet been found.

Another possible explanation for the depopulation of the upper Catawba valley has to do with the increased violence that accompanied colonialism in eastern North America.

Ethnohistorian Robbie Ethridge (2006, 2009) has combined the geopolitical notion of “shatter zones” with Ferguson and Whitehead’s (2000) concept of the “tribal zone” to characterize this context, wherein colonialism spurred the militarization of American Indian communities. The selective deployment of firearms by European slavers, such as the South Carolina Barbadians, contributed to the formation of groups Ethridge (2006:208–209) calls “militaristic raiding societies.” However, it was European settlement in the interior North Atlantic that led to the initial development of these groups. In the 1620s, the Dutch, English, and French, all competing to exploit the fur trade, chartered trading companies in New England that were staffed with colonists. These settlers brought their children, and “where children went, so did microbes”; the

first recorded epidemic of smallpox among the Mohawks was in 1633 (Richter 1992:58-59). One ritual practice among Northeastern Indian groups involved the execution of “mourning-wars,” raiding other communities for captives to replenish spiritual power lost through the death of family members, and this behavior escalated coincident with population loss due to disease. The Iroquois overran their traditional enemies in the 1650s, and began to seek captives further west and south as necessary (Richter 1992:32,62). Meanwhile, remnants of Iroquois foes who avoided capture, such as a group of Erie who became known as the Westos, were displaced from their homelands, armed, and well-trained in captive taking (Browne 2006:127-128). The Westos arrived in Virginia in 1656, and promptly defeated local settler forces led by Colonel Edward Hill on the James River. At the time, Virginia planters were looking for cheaper slaves, and Indian traders appear to have recognized the potential of engaging the Westo to this end. Starting in 1659, the Westo began to conduct raids in Spanish Florida, and by 1663 had established a settlement on the Savannah River between Virginia and the communities they terrorized (Worth 1995:17-18). The selection of Spanish missions for targets was presumably at the Virginians’ behest, as it neatly combined the benefits of harassing an English enemy and avoiding conflict with nearby Indian communities. The Virginians obtained so many Indian captives during the 1660s that they were compelled to draft legislation that officially define their legal status (Beck 2013:118). When Carolina settlers arrived ten years later, the Westo appear to have seen Charles Town as a new source of ammunition, and the Barbadians, for their part, recognized the lucrative potential of exporting American Indian captives to the Caribbean (Gallay 2002:56).

That the raiding behavior of the Westo was unusual by Southeastern standards is suggested by the fear with which they were regarded. Early Carolina settlers reported that neighboring Indians referred to the Westo as cannibals, thereby critiquing their humanity in the

strongest possible terms (Cheves 2010[1897]:166,200,238,334). As Southeastern Indians had their own traditions of warfare based on retribution (Hudson 1976:239), and were presumably eager to obtain firearms themselves, they were willing to help subdue the Westo. Representatives from Yssa and Cofitachequi offered assistance, but it was the Savannah whom Maurice Mathews employed to attack the Westo in his effort to avoid restrictions on the Indian trade imposed by the proprietors (Cheves 2010[1897]:201,428; Roper 2004:62-67). While the Westo War of 1680 removed one “militaristic raiding society” from the Southeast, it simultaneously opened the path for other ambitious communities to develop relationships with Carolina traders. As the Carolinians make no mention of Joara, Beck (2013:135) suggests that upper Catawba River communities were early casualties of Westo raids. The same fate may have befallen Guatari, although a group of “Wateree” survivors appear to have moved southward, settling on the Wateree River sometime between 1670 and 1701 (Beck 2013:165). Cofitachequi itself disappears from colonial records soon after sending their “Emperor” to Charles Town in 1670 (Mason 2005:171). It is possible that Westo raids on piedmont communities, despite Virginia’s preference for Florida captives, might explain the willingness of Yssa and Cofitachequi to ally with English settlers. However, the apparently early depopulation of the upper Catawba valley is surprising given the persistence of communities that lived closer to the ca. 1663 Westo settlement on the Savannah River, who presumably would have been easier targets. While it may not be possible to identify the precise events that led to the depopulation of the upper Catawba, through an examination of potential causes it is clear that the absence of colonial settlement in the seventeenth-century piedmont does not mean its inhabitants were immune from colonial activities elsewhere.

The destructive power of Westo warriors—trained from youth in the stealth and marksmanship necessary for hunting and captive taking, and now armed with European firearms (Browne 2006:128-130)—goes a long way to explaining why they were not summarily expelled from the piedmont in the same manner as the Spanish. In fact, Westo attacks on Spanish missions initially may have led Wateree-Catawba valley communities to first recognize them as allies. A comparison of Spanish and English interaction with piedmont groups, on the other hand, illuminates strategies which led to the expulsion of the Spanish but acceptance of the English. The Spanish practice of sending troops to occupy the piedmont was clearly not tolerated by Catawba-Wateree communities. Yet Virginia and Carolina, founded first and foremost as economic ventures, were not compelled to obtain vassalage from the indigenous populace. Further, through the use of native “middle-men,” English presence in the interior was limited to itinerant traders, who seem to have posed no apparent threat. These interactions took a pernicious turn around 1660, however, when Virginia traders began to accept Indian captives as payment. Early Carolina settlers turned this practice into an export economy, and a generation later the Indian slave trade had become wide-spread. While this practice was destructive in and of itself, soon “germs and captive raids worked synergistically” to produce what Kelton (2007:161) terms “the Great Southeastern Smallpox Epidemic.” Beginning in 1696, this disease spread southward from Virginia along transmission routes that included not only the movements of raiding parties, but also the return of captives escaped from Virginia plantations and traders with their American Indian wives and offspring (Kelton 2007:144-145). Reaching as far as French Louisiana and into the Great Plains, this wave of disease persisted through 1700 and caused wide-spread population loss, which has been recognized archaeologically by an increase in the density of burials and presence of distinct cemetery areas at late eighteenth century piedmont settlements (Ward and

Davis 1999:258-259). At the same time, the end of the Beaver Wars in the Northeast led the Iroquois to turn their attention to Virginia Indian communities (Merrell 1987:117). The English surveyor John Lawson, who traveled overland from Charles Town to Virginia in 1701, observed that groups living north of the Catawba drainage were fortified and banding together to form new communities (Lawson 1967[1709]:52-53,56). Such concerns for defense are archaeologically visible in the outlines of palisade walls surrounding late seventeenth-century Sara and Occaneechi settlements (Ward and Davis 1993:416,425). Given these stressful conditions, some northern piedmont communities chose relocation as their best available option for survival, heading southward to seek shelter among the Mississippian communities with whom they had long-standing, if limited, acquaintance.

Constituents of the Catawba Nation

The distress and dissolution of the seventeenth-century “shatter zone” was accompanied by a corresponding trend for American Indian survivors to build new, integrative polities. The Catawba Nation, seated in the lower Catawba valley near present Fort Mill, South Carolina, grew to become one of the most diverse of these organizations. This diversity is perhaps best illustrated by a trader’s observation that around 1743, the Catawba Nation “consisted of almost 400 warriors, of above twenty different dialects” (Adair 2005[1775]:246). Robin Beck (2013:195-196) refers to the integrative polities formed by eighteenth century Southeastern Indians as “chieftaincies” after Elsa Redmond (1998:3), who uses the term to refer to “centralized political leadership that operates from time to time among autonomous village societies.” Contra Redmond, Beck argues that such organizations, as implemented in the Southeast, had hereditary leadership positions that stemmed from practices conventional to

Mississippian chiefdoms. Unlike chiefdoms, however, the political economy of these new organizations was increasingly based on trade with Europeans, which was difficult for leaders to control. Thus when communities joined chieftaincies “they were not consolidated as tribute-paying subjects or subordinates of a more powerful neighbor” (Beck 2013:221). This relative decentralization allowed for the development of polities that were larger, contained more ethnic diversity, and were longer-lasting than Mississippian chiefdoms (Beck 2013:237). While the term “confederacy” has been more frequently used to describe these eighteenth century American Indian polities (Galloway 1994, Hudson 1970:29, Knight 1994), the persistence of elite lineages does distinguish Southeastern polities from the generic understandings of this term. Precisely how these new polities formed is another matter of speculation. Within the core of the Mississippian Southeast, it may be that existing kinship groups such as clans made it possible for refugees to find “relatives” when seeking to join a community. On a larger scale, the existence of ritual practices through which one leader and town could “adopt” another through the laying down of arms, confirmed in ritual through “an offering of symbolic weaponry,” suggest a route through which alliances between otherwise autonomous villages could be made (Knight 1994:389-390). While Catawba Mississippians and Siouan-speaking communities from the north-central piedmont may have had different kinship institutions, the most basic of kinship terms may have been sufficient to build a serviceable network of relationships. The fact that Cherokee and Catawba leaders used the word “brother” to refer to South Carolina Governor James Glen, for example, suggests this term could be used very expansively in diplomacy (McDowell 1992:8,14). It also appears that by the mid-eighteenth century, Catawba leaders actively sought English military commissions and used their titles official communications,

suggesting that this form of hierarchy may have served as an organizational “lingua franca” for this polity of diverse origins (McDowell 1992:14, Merrell 1989:150-151).

The eighteenth-century Catawba Nation was seated in the lower Catawba River valley partly due to matters of infrastructure, political history, and demography. The lower Catawba, after a long stretch of southerly flow, turns southeast for twelve miles before heading southward again. It is in this twelve-mile stretch that two main trading paths converged. One led southward to the fork of the Catawba-Wateree and Santee Rivers; the other, which crossed the Catawba at a place that came to be called “Nation Ford” (Merrell 1989:163, Mills 1825:76-77), was the main route Virginians used to “traffic with the Catawbas and other Southern Indians” in the early eighteenth century (Byrd 2001[1841]:85). The intersection of trails at Nation Ford was an important node on the communication network of the central Piedmont, and it became even more so as Indian economies increasingly incorporated European trade. At the same time, the lower Catawba valley possessed another advantage with respect to the development of an integrative polity in that it had not been the seat of an organization on the scale of Cofitachequi or Joara in the sixteenth century. This had at least two effects. First, it may have conferred a certain air of neutrality to the region, enabling communities with different historical trajectories to gather under the auspices of relative equality and autonomy. Second, the absence of a large population center would have made the area less likely to be a target for slave raiding activity in the seventeenth century. In other words, the lower Catawba valley may have been “a shelter in the broader cultural context of the Piedmont shatter zone” (Beck 2009:137). However, by the end of the seventeenth century the population density of the lower Catawba valley appears to have increased. In 1701 surveyor John Lawson (1967[1709]:46) set out to travel up the Wateree-Catawba trail knowing he would meet the “*Esaw Indians*, a very large Nation containing many

thousand People.” It is possible that this comment contains an element of exaggeration, as a map based on information probably collected no later than 1708 shows the “Cuttawbas” to be endowed with 120 men and the “Esaws” with 150 men (Moore 1988:17, 23-24), which together would total about a thousand people if warriors accounted for between 30 and 40% of the population (McReynolds 2004:45). Nevertheless, it is clear from Lawson’s account that the lower Catawba valley had become a destination for traders by end of the seventeenth century.

The Yssa and their Catapa neighbors were later joined by other piedmont communities, producing the polyglot polity observed by the trader James Adair in 1743 (2005[1775]:246). Some of these groups were part of the Mississippian interaction sphere observed by Juan Pardo; others had lived near the “dividing line” between Carolina and Virginia. One of the most well-documented and instructive cases of the identity politics that accompanied this intensive period of community integration involves the Yssa and Catapa “host” population themselves. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the name *Esaw*—Juan Pardo’s *Yssa*—was used to refer to a group of towns located on the lower Catawba River, which constituted “a very large Nation containing many thousand People” (Lawson 1967[1709]:46). When John Lawson reached the northern end of the Esaw Nation, having passed through many towns of the “Sugeree-Indians,” he “reach’d the *Kadapau* King’s House” (Lawson 1967[1709]:49-50). Lawson seems to have encountered only a single town of Kadapau—Juan Pardo’s *Catapa*—Indians. While there may have been more Kadapau settlements that Lawson did not visit, his account suggests that the term *Esaw* was used to refer to a large corporate entity, while the name Kadapau referred to a more discrete sociopolitical unit. Over the course of a generation this situation became reversed—*Kadapau* (Catawba) became the name of the inclusive polity, while a variant of *Esaw* would come to refer to a single community.

The earliest records of interaction between Carolina settlers and the communities of the lower Catawba do not mention the name Catawba at all. When the Westo threatened the nascent Charles Town settlement in 1673, a contingent of settlers were sent to secure the assistance of the “Esaugh Indians” because they were known to be “well acquainted with the Westos habitacons & have promised all the help they can afford” (Cheves 2010[1897]:428). The fact that the Carolinians sought help as far north as the lower Catawba, rather from communities downriver along the Wateree, may indicate that Westo attacks had already led to the dissolution of Cofitachequi (Beck 2013:140). In addition, Esaw familiarity with Westo settlements suggests there had been interaction between these communities over the past decade. Whether this information came from scouts, diplomatic delegations, or escaped captives is unknown. While it seems that Carolina did not take the Esaw up on their offer of assistance—a trade relationship was negotiated with the Westo instead—Maurice Matthews was employed to trade with the “Northern Indians” from Sir Peter Colleton’s new “Fair Lawn” plantation on the Cooper River in 1678 (Baker 1975:46, Fagg 1970:199-120). South Carolina’s Grand Council later defined the vague category of “Northern Indians” as “the Esawes waxhawes & congerees” when they appeared at the Earl of Shaftesbury’s plantation in 1692, possibly because high taxes on the Indian trade imposed by Virginia had reduced the number of traders visiting their settlements (Merrell 1987:55, Salley 1907, II:53). While the absence of the names Catapa and Sugaree from these late seventeenth century accounts may simply indicate these groups were unknown to the Carolinians at the time, it is also possible that they were part of the Esaw polity. This is the situation observed by John Lawson (1967[1709]:49-50) in 1701, as the day following his arrival in “the powerful Nation of *Esaws*” he recounts passing through Sugeree settlements and arriving in the primary Kadapau settlement at about three in the afternoon.

A pivotal moment for these lower Catawba valley villages arrived ten years later, however, in the fallout of factional quibbling among the northern Carolina settlers. When several Tuscarora towns decided to heed Cary's warning and attack settlements to the south and west of Albemarle, Charles Town sent Colonel John Barnwell to subdue them. Barnwell raised a force composed primarily of warriors from the surrounding region and organized them into three companies. One of these companies, led by "Essaw Capt. Jack," contained warriors from seven groups located in the Catawba-Wateree-Santee River drainage (Barnwell 1908:30-31). While the list of names Colonel John Barnwell attributed to Captain Jack's company included Catawbas, Waterees, Sugarees, and Waxhaws, there is no group of Esaws in the company, suggesting that Barnwell understood most of the 155 warriors in that group to belong to a larger inclusive corporate entity. According to a map likely drafted in 1708, "Esaws" were located between the Catawba and Waxhaw settlements (Moore 1988:17, 23-24), but this does not preclude the use of this term to refer to a larger political coalition. Several years after his Tuscarora expedition, however, Barnwell appears to have learned that the Esaw Nation was an anachronism. In 1715, he compiled Southeastern Indian census data that South Carolina Governor Johnson presented to the proprietors (Barnwell 1955:238-239). This census lists "Catapaws" as having seven towns containing approximately 1,670 men, women, and children, but makes no mention of Esaws. Thus at the outbreak of the Yamasee War, the Esaw were no longer a political entity, at least from the standpoint of South Carolina.

A view of local politics from the perspective of Catawba valley residents themselves is provided on a deerskin map presented to South Carolina Governor Nicholson in 1721 (Figure 3.1, Waselkov 1989:306). This remarkable document depicts not only communities of the lower Catawba valley, but also Charlestown, Virginia, and American Indian polities with which the

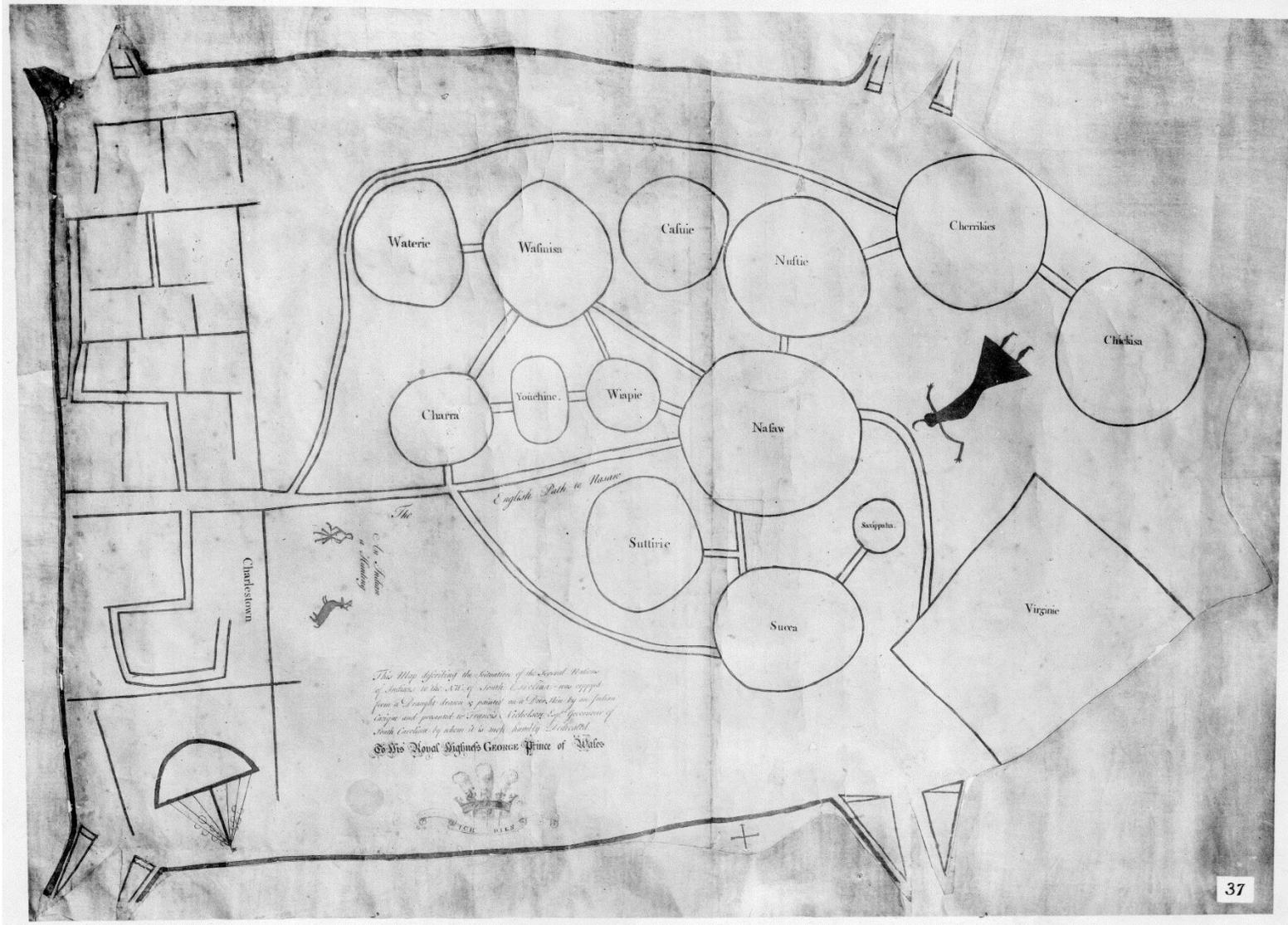


Figure 3.1. Copy of the Catawba deerskin map (Anonymous ca. 1721, Library of Congress photo, G3860 1724 .M2 1929).

Catawba were allied at the time, namely the Cherokee and Chickasaw. Groups not listed on Barnwell's census, such as the Waterees and Sugarees, are shown to persist. The absence of the name Catawba from this map, on the other hand, is a matter of considerable speculation (Beck 2013:253-260, Merrell 1989:92-95). While it is possible that the document's author intentionally left "Catawba" off the map, it may also have been the case that there was no corporate group by this name—at least equivalent in autonomy or scale to the other Piedmont entities depicted—to record. At the same time, the English understood the cluster of communities on the map to be part of an inclusive entity they called Catawba.

The center of the 1721 deerskin map is dominated by a community named "Nasaw." The central placement of Nasaw relative to the other entities depicted suggests that the document itself was created by a leader of this community (Waselkov 1989:302). "Nauvasa" was called "the first Town of the Catawbas" by Virginia traders traveling the Great Trading Path at the end of the seventeenth century, suggesting it was the first town they encountered upon arriving in the Nation, the principal Catawba settlement, or perhaps both (Byrd 2001[1841]:85). Beginning in the 1720s, this name was spelled "Nasaw" or "Nassaw" by Carolinians (Baker 1975:109). Like Yssa/Esaw, the root of "Nasaw" is the Catawba word for river, *i-suwq*. "Nasaw," however, contains the preposition *nie/nea*, abbreviated from *nieya or nieye*, a word meaning "people" or "Indians" in Catawban (Mooney 1894:69). Nasaw—meaning "people of the river"—is thus the "self-designation" of the Esaw (Goddard 2005:21). This form of the name Esaw is simultaneously an assertion of identity and a recognition of difference. In other words, it appears that the leader of Nasaw came from a context in which some people were "Indians of the River," but others were not (Fitts 2006:8). This shift in emphasis may have been associated with the influx of refugees in the lower Catawba valley, who were drawn to the "powerful Nation of

Esaws” for protection from livelihoods made precarious through increased raiding and outbreaks of disease.

The transformation of Yssa from an inclusive entity to an exclusive one and of Catapa from a town to a nation is thus documented, but the rationalities behind these changes remain obscure. I propose that during the seventeenth century, the name Yssa, which had referred to at least two towns at the time of Juan Pardo’s visit, became an umbrella term for the communities that had relocated downstream to live near the juncture of trails on the lower Catawba. In 1701, Lawson (1967[1709]:49) passed through the “Nation of Esaws.” On the northern margin of this densely populated area Lawson encountered a set of towns he attributed to the “Sugeree-Indians,” and noted that the Kadapau King had a house in the northernmost town he visited in this area (1967[1709]:49-50). It is clear that even by this time, this probable Kadapau settlement was the first community in the lower Catawba River valley reached by Virginia traders on the Great Trading Path, and had become an important resting place and waypoint destination. In fact, Mooney (1894:71) notes that at the time of Lawson’s journey, “the great trading path from Virginia to Georgia was commonly known as the Catawba path.” In order to resolve the ambiguity that developed from Virginia traders’ expansive use of the name Catawba, and perhaps also in response to the establishment of refugee settlements in the area, it appears that the “principal” Esaw community began to refer to itself as Nassaw (Byrd 2001[1841]:85). Whether or not this (re)naming was accompanied by population movement, specifically the aggregation of Catapa and Yssa descendants in a single community, this group would henceforth would be known as “Nasaw”—the People of the River.

The incorporation of other communities into the Catawba Nation is less well-documented, particularly in cases where they joined existing villages rather than establishing

new settlements in the lower Catawba valley. However, some groups joined the nation *en masse* and were recognizable as distinct communities in the mid-eighteenth century. While it might be expected that groups with histories and cultural backgrounds similar to those of the Yssa and Catapa communities would adopt the first strategy (Merrell 1989:25), this does not always appear to have been the case. For example, three groups with Mississippian ancestors—the Sugaree, Wateree, and Congaree—each entered the Catawba Nation in slightly different ways. The Sugaree were the only one of these three groups to persist in approximately the same location from the sixteenth through the mid-eighteenth century, and perhaps for this reason remained a distinct community within the Catawba Nation. During Juan Pardo’s second expedition, a “Suhere” leader was present at Gueça, located north of Cofitachequi on the upper Wateree River (Hudson 1990:33,76). Rudes (2004:401) suggests this name was later recorded by English speakers in both a long and a short form: Sugaree/Sugeree and Sucah/Succa. These variants appear to be “predicated and nonpredicated possessive forms of the word for ‘house, home’ (*suk*) [in Catawba]: *súkʔa-re* ‘it is our home’ and *súkʔa-ʔ* ‘our home’” (Rudes 2004:401). Rudes (2004:401) notes that “neither Spanish nor English orthography provides a means for writing the Catawba cluster *-kʔ-*,” which may account for the variation in velar stops ([k] and [g]) recorded by European spellers. In 1701, Lawson (1967[1709]:49) observed that the “Sugeree Indians” inhabited multiple towns on the northern end of the Esaw Nation; and although absent from Barnwell’s census, they were identified on the deerskin map as “Succa” (Waselkov 1989:306). If Rudes’ derivation is correct, it seems likely the Sugaree were Catawba speakers who may have shared other cultural practices with the Yssa and Catapa. They persisted as a distinct community into the 1750s, appearing on a 1756 map as “Sucah Town” (Merrell 1989:163). The Sugaree sometimes have been conflated with the Suteree/Sateree (Goddard

2005:46), a group that lived in the foothills of North Carolina during the seventeenth century and were known to Virginia traders as the “Sitteree” (Davis 2002:141). The Sitteree appear to have moved to lower Catawba valley in the early eighteenth century: John Barnwell mapped a settlement of “Sataree” living adjacent to “Catapaw” around the time of the Tuscarora War (Cumming 1958:Plate 48A), and a group of “Suttirie” are included on the 1721 deerskin map. Goddard (2005:27) finds the apparent vowel switch between Sitteree and Suteree/Sateree to be consistent with “dialectal variation between Saraw *i* and Esaw *a*” in the Catawba language, suggesting that “the Suteree spoke a language similar to what was later known as Saraw.” While the Sugaree persisted as a distinct community into the 1750s, no mention of the Suteree has been found that postdates the 1721 deerskin map.

The Wateree, on the other hand, may have been descendants of people affiliated with the Guatari polity visited by Juan Pardo (Hudson 1990:26). The name Wateree, possibly derived from a Catawba word for rapids (Rudes 2004:390-391), was applied by Lawson (1967[1709]:38) to a community living on the eponymous river. Despite omission from the 1715 census—possibly indicating they were counted as one of the seven Catawba towns—a “Waterie” community is included on the 1720s deerskin map (Merrell 1989:3). Further, the existence of a distinct Wateree settlement into the 1740s is suggested by Adair (2005[1775]:246), who lists Wateree among the “dialects” spoken within the Catawba Nation, noting that its speakers “make up a large town.” A settlement labeled “Wateree” is shown adjacent to Nasaw on a map of uncertain origins that has been attributed to the mid-eighteenth century (Merrell 1989:127, Michie 1989:19), but there is no town by this name on a 1756 map of Catawba towns (Merrell 1989:163). While information about the persistence of a distinct Wateree settlement may be ambiguous, the Congarees are an even more enigmatic entity. Encountered by Lawson near the

branch of the Wateree and Santee Rivers, the Congaree arrived in the lower Catawba valley as refugees during the Yamasee War (Merrell 1989:105). Adair notes that “Cangaree” was spoken in the 1740s Catawba Nation, but no Catawba community of this name appears in mid-eighteenth century documents. Thus if the Congaree did establish a separate town in the Catawba Nation, they did so under a new name; alternatively, they may have settled among existing communities.

Siouan-speaking communities of the northern piedmont who moved to join the lower Catawba settlements might be expected to have a more difficult time adjusting to their new surroundings than South Appalachian Mississippian groups, as they had to establish livelihoods in a new place among neighbors that spoke a different language and had different expectations regarding everything from community organization to making pottery. The fact that such groups experimented with other living situations before moving to the lower Catawba would seem to indicate hesitancy, if not reluctance, to find themselves in such a situation. And even after making the move southward, it was not unusual for northern piedmont groups to seek to return to their former homes after a certain length of time, suggesting that they viewed their time in the lower Catawba as a temporary state of affairs. The history of Saponi settlement in the lower Catawba valley illustrates this pattern. During the seventeenth century, this community lived on the Roanoke River, but as a result of Bacon’s Rebellion in 1676 and increased Iroquois raiding established a settlement on the Yadkin, where Lawson encountered them in 1701 (Davis 2002:151-153). The Saponi were incorporated with Tutelos, Occaneechees, and Stuckanox by a 1714 treaty with Virginia as part of Governor Spotswood’s comprehensive plan to control the Indian trade, strategically deploy native communities as defensive bulwarks for colonial settlements, and educate Indian children (Gamble 2013:82-83). By April of 1715, 300 members

of this combined polity had moved to Spotswood's Fort Christiana reservation and mission school on the Meherrin River (McIlwaine 1925, III:397). The following month Virginia received word of the Yamasee attacks in South Carolina, and support for Spotswood's project evaporated. The integrated Saponi communities continued to live on the Meherrin after the fort was abandoned. However, in 1727 these groups became embroiled in retaliatory raiding with Tuscarora communities who had remained in North Carolina (Baker 1975:85, Davis 2002:153). At this point, a contingent of Saponi moved to the lower Catawba. However, after a few short years they obtained permission from Virginia Governor Gooch to return to Virginia (Merrell 1989:116). While some Saponi families may have chosen to stay in the lower Catawba valley—a travelling preacher met a Saponi named Captain Hany while visiting the Charraw town in 1758 (Richardson 1758)—they did not persist as a distinct community in the Nation.

The history of relationship between the Charraw and the Catawba Nation is similar to that of the Saponi, but with one major difference: the Charraw ultimately did establish a persistent, distinctive community in the lower Catawba valley. However, for most of the first half of the eighteenth century this was not a foregone conclusion. Before this story can be told, however, it is necessary to clarify that the Charraw were a northern piedmont Siouan-speaking community known as the "Saraw" to Virginia and Carolina settlers prior to the Yamasee War. A direct association between the Saratown community on the Dan River and the eighteenth century Charraw, which was proposed by the ethnographer James Mooney (1894:60) and maintained by Catawba ethnohistorian James Merrell (1989:27), has since been called into question based on linguistic analysis of the names recorded by Bandera during his commission with Juan Pardo. The revisionist argument rests on two distinct assertions. The first, which also was made by Mooney (1894:58), is that since the name for the Catawba Mississippian town Xuala/Joara can

be equated with the name “Sara” (Rudes 2004:391-397), the Saratown communities on the Dan River must have been inhabited by relocated upper Catawba valley groups (Beck 2013:128). The second assertion is that since a “Chara Orata” appeared in Joara on November 24, 1567 (Hudson 1990:279), the eighteenth century Charraw must be descendants of this earlier group (Beck 2013:251, Goddard 2005:21, Rudes 2004:386).

These are reasonable proposals on the surface, but do not appear to be supported by the preponderance of available archival and archaeological evidence. While it is clear that many American Indian communities did move for a variety of reasons during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, no explanation has been provided for the proposed Joara relocation to the Dan River, which would have been *toward* the escalating violence associated with seventeenth-century Iroquois mourning wars. Further, unlike middle and lower Catawba valley Mississippians, upper valley communities like Joara had little previous interaction with this area (Moore 2002:99,187-8). The small amounts of complicated stamped pottery found at late seventeenth-century Dan River settlements, accounting for around 1% of Middle and Late Saratown assemblages (ca. 1607–1710) (Eastman 1999:146, 151), is not consistent with the movement of a community of Joara potters to the area. A more likely home for relocated Joara community members would be the middle Catawba River, where complicated stamped pottery accounts for over 55% of “Iredell” phase (ca. 1600-1725) assemblages (Moore 2002:145-146,182). Given the vagaries of John Lederer’s (1902[1762]:19) account of travelling through the Carolina piedmont in 1670, it is possible to argue that he encountered the Wateree (Guatari) on the Yadkin River, and the group he called Sara on the middle Catawba (Beck 2013:121). However, the well-educated Lederer is a problematic source for ethnohistoric information because he creatively integrated material from other publications into his account; most

famously, he claimed to drink from—and included on a map of his travels—a large mythical lake in the piedmont that is easily traceable to an error promulgated from the 1606 Mercator map (Cumming 1958:17, Hudson 1990:184). In addition, Abraham Wood’s 1674 account regarding the travails of Virginia traders James Needham and Gabriel Arthur suggests that the Sara were located on the Dan River—which Wood identifies as “Sarrah river”—at this time (Davis 1990:37). Wood’s account makes no reference to lower Catawba valley communities, suggesting that Needham and Arthur were not travelling the Great Trading Path, but a westerly route that branched from the main path near Eno Town, probably located on the Flat or Little rivers, and paralleled the Dan River to the upper Yadkin (Eastman 1999:43-44).

Evidence that the Dan River Sara were distinct from their Catawba Mississippian neighbors is not limited to their traditions of pottery making. Saratown communities constructed circular houses, while the Burke phase people of Joara preferred square houses (Eastman 1999:182, Beck et al. 2006:68). In addition, Goddard (2005:20) notes that discrepancies between the two variants of the Catawba language “would be easier to accept if Catawba proper (Esaw) and Saraw were formerly more distinct, as separate languages, than they appear to be as dialects of modern Catawba,” supporting the interpretation of the Dan River Sara as a Siouan-speaking northern piedmont community. The presence of distinct settlements with similar names in the western piedmont may have resulted from Cherokee use of the name “Suwa’li” to refer to communities living east of a gap in the Appalachian Mountains now known as Swannanoa (Mooney 1900:509,532). If the Cherokee continued to use this name after the depopulation of the upper Catawba valley, then Virginia traders may have understood it to apply to Dan River communities which they called “Sarrah” (Davis 1990:49). Finally, the equation of Bandera’s “Chara” and the eighteenth century “Charraw” would seem straightforward, except for the fact

there is no record of any group by this name between 1567 and 1716. As will be shown, the context in which “Charraw” first appears in English colonial records makes it clear that the intended referent is the Sara community of the Dan River, rather than an unknown entity that evaded detection for over a century, either among the Sara themselves or at large in the Atlantic piedmont. In addition, I will propose an explanation for the change in orthography from “Sara” to “Charraw” in 1716, which has not been attempted to date.

The last known Saratown settlement on the Dan River was inhabited between 1670 and 1710 (Ward and Davis 1999:250). Households of this community appear to have been dispersed over a 6.5-acre area, rather than clustered within a palisade like earlier Saratown settlements. Further, the varieties of pottery identified at this location, called the William Klutz site, suggest that the Sara had become host to refugee “fragments of ethnically diverse Siouan tribes” (Ward and Davis 1999:250). While these changes alone may be interpreted as evidence of stress associated with the colonial “shatter zone,” the presence of numerous subadults in a separate cemetery also suggests this community was subjected to the “Great Southeastern Smallpox Epidemic” that ravaged Indian communities at the end of the seventeenth century (Kelton 2007:161, Ward and Davis 1999:253). Survivors next had to contend with Iroquois raids, and it was these “frequent inroads of the Senecas” that were blamed for the Sara’s decision to relocate southward (Byrd 2001[1841]:112, McIlwaine 1925, III:397). In 1711, Colonel John Barnwell knew he would find “Saraws” on the Pee Dee River, and thus headed toward their settlement after visiting the lower Catawba valley on his way to attack the Tuscarora. Forty-two Saraws joined Captain Bull’s company, along with groups living on the coastal plain including the Pedees and Cape Feare (Barnwell 1908:31). While remains of the Saraw settlement on the Pee Dee River have yet to be found, Barnwell’s map suggests it was located at the fall line near

present Cheraw, South Carolina (Cumming 1958:Plate 48A). It is significant, perhaps, that during this period of considerable distress the Sara did not head directly for the lower Catawba valley. While the Saponi first accepted a partnership with Virginia before moving southward, the Sara selected a different settlement strategy that appears designed to maintain independence from both English settlers and other Indian groups. The fall line region of the Pee Dee valley was sparsely populated and boasted environmental diversity, which would foster economic independence, and also happened to be near the ambiguous jurisdictional boundary between Charles Town to the south and Albemarle and Virginia to the north, providing relative freedom from European settler interference. Prior to the outbreak of the Yamasee War, the “Saraw” village on the Pee Dee was home to 140 men and 370 women and children (Barnwell 1955:238-239).

When Catawba valley communities moved to rid the interior of European outposts as they had done over a century before, they were joined by their new neighbors on the Pee Dee River. After a series of victories, however, Catawba and Saraw forces lost 60 warriors in a battle with Colonel George Chicken in June of 1715, and another 80 to forces led Maurice Mathews in July (Ramsey 2008:149). These groups, spared further losses because Yamasee attacks on Charles Town required Governor Craven to abandon his march to “the Sarraws and our other Northern Indians” (Ramsey 2008:121), soon recognized their untenable position. Unlike the other southern polities participating in the Yamasee War, Indian communities north of the Santee-Catawba River did not have easy access to non-English sources of ammunition. By July of 1715, the Saraw turned to Virginia in an effort to re-establish trade (Merrell 1989:77-79). Relief would not be immediately forthcoming, however, because despite inter-colonial squabbles Virginia had established a trade embargo in the interest of obtaining formal peace treaties.

Security was also hard to come by, as South Carolina had convinced New York's governor to send Iroquois raiding parties to attack the communities on the Catawba and Pee Dee Rivers. The following summer, the Catawba cast their lot with South Carolina, signing a treaty in Charles Town, while the Saraw negotiated with Virginia Governor Spotswood to move northward. This plan fell afoul of the North Carolina council, however, which declared it "cannot by any means Concur" with Spotswood's "intention to Settle the Enoe, Sawra & Keeawawes Indians at Enoe Town" (Saunders 1886, II:242-243). The result was that the Saraw remained on the Pee Dee River in an ambiguous state that was neither war nor peace, and forged alliances with local communities of the Pee Dee drainage such as the Waccamaw (McDowell 1955:264). It was during this period that the government of South Carolina began to refer to the newcomers as "Charraw" Indians.

This change from "Saraw" to "Charraw" did not involve a complex negotiation of identities analogous to the transformation of Yssa to Nasaw. Instead, it can be understood as an artifact "secreted" by South Carolina's colonial administration within the demographic milieu of a particular historical moment (Cooper and Stoler 1997:17). The first known English use of the name "Charraw" occurred in 1716, and can be attributed to one man: Thomas Lamboll. In June of 1716, when Catawba leaders were in Charles Town to negotiate peace, the South Carolina commons house managed to pass a law that created a public monopoly to regulate the Indian trade (Merrell 1989:81). The board of commissioners appointed to run this organization first met on July 4, 1716, and appointed Thomas Lamboll "Clerk and Book-Keeper," a position which earned him a salary of 100 pounds per three months (McDowell 1955:69,294). As Lamboll is the source of the novel orthography for Saraw—"Charraw"—it is necessary to take a moment to understand the experiences that both qualified Lamboll for his position and may have led him to

arrive at this neologism. Thomas Lamboll was born in Charles Town in August 1694 to the carpenter Benjamin Lamboll (Pickney 1969:4). When he took the position with the Board of the Indian Trade, Lamboll was a young man of 22 who was through and through a product of early eighteenth-century Carolina society. While it appears that his father Benjamin was illiterate, Thomas recalled “going to school at some distance from Charles Town” (Pickney 1969:5, Webber 1916:16). This may have been either the eastern branch Anglican school at Silk Hope, founded in 1703, or the St. James Goose Creek parish school that opened three years later (Gray-White 2010:94). By 1712 Lamboll was apprenticed to a “principal merchant” (Pickney 1969:5), and it is this position that likely propelled him to his appointment with the Board of the Indian Trade. Thereafter, Lamboll’s exceptionally legible and consistent handwriting was lent to “many Years sundry honorable Employments in Government” as well as his successful mercantile business (Barnhart 1968:256, Pickney 1969:7). One of Lamboll’s most notable government positions was as a judge or “lay assistant justice” in Berkeley County from the early 1730s through 1756. In this position he frustrated colleagues who had obtained formal legal training in England by holding the position that “English law allowed the colony to make laws that departed from those of England” (Hamburger 2008:267). Further evidence of Lamboll’s political leanings can be found in his choice of religious institution: for more than 40 years he served as clerk for the Circular Church, which as the first Dissenter “Meeting House” in Charles Town was attended by English Congregationalists, Scotch Presbyterians, and French Huguenots (Calhoun 2008:13,44).

The only colonial records that refer to the Saraw as “Charraw” between 1716 and 1718 are those authored by Thomas Lamboll. In August 1716, North Carolina accused Virginia of arming “Sawra Indians,” and in November the Virginia Council replied that South Carolina had

consented to the northern colony's treaty with the "Saraw Indians" (Saunders 1886, II:246-247). In September of the same year, however, South Carolina's Board of Trade was busy choosing a location for its new trading post on the Pee Dee River at a location that would not be "exposed to the Insults of the Charraws" (McDowell 1955:111). While Lamboll initially spells the name Cherokee "Cherikee" before settling on "Charikee" (McDowell 1955:75,81,316), his spelling of "Charraw" is consistent throughout the Board of Trade records. The extent to which this reflects a consensus view of the board members—including Colonel John Barnwell—is unknown, but it is clear that at least Lamboll himself thought the spelling was correct. Since he departed from convention, presumably the 22-year old Lamboll was familiar with the name itself but not previous renderings. Further, he first records it following oral, rather than written testimony that was provided to the Board by the Welsh trader William Waties (Bull 1944:12, McDowell 1955:111). Lamboll's insertion of an "h" after the first consonant suggests that the name he heard began with a fricative, which is consistent with the expected pronunciation of Xuala in sixteenth century Spanish (Rudes 2004:394-395). While Lamboll may have been providing a more accurate spelling of the name in this regard, his use of "c" rather than "s" requires a possible explanation. While "sh" would be the usual choice for rendering the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ] in English, Lamboll turned to "ch," possibly intending this sound to be pronounced as the fricative in *château* and *chalet*. It would not be surprising for Lamboll to know some written French, given his mercantile apprenticeship during a period when Huguenots accounted for 30 percent of Charles Town's leading merchants (Nash 2003:210-211). Further, as a Huguenot "enclave" had been established north of Charleston on the Santee River at the end of the seventeenth century (van Ruymbeke 2006:113), discussion of environs north of Berkeley County may have had evoked a French context for Charles Town residents such as Lamboll.

While this argument is of course speculative, it does at least take into account the context in which the name “Charraw” first appears. While the Board of Trade was short-lived, Lamboll’s clear handwriting and service in government appears to have ensured that this spelling stuck. Subsequent records about the Saraw on the Pee Dee River—with the exception of regional maps, which constitute their own discursive realm—refer to this community as “Charraw.” Between 1746 and 1774, the South Carolina Gazette used the spelling “Charraw” to refer to both the American Indian community and the area long the Pee Dee River they occupied, only switching to the modern “Cheraw” spelling in 1775.

The Charraw continued to live in their village on the Pee Dee River through the late 1730s. Consistency in leadership during this period is suggested by the presence of a “King Robin” among the Sarraws who participated in Barnwell’s march against the Tuscarora in 1711, and the signatory of a 1737 treaty between the Charraws and trader John Thompson being identified as “Robert their King” (Barnwell 1908:33, South Carolina Council Journal 15 June 1739). In the years following the Yamasee War, Charraw attempts to open trade with South Carolina met with little success because they refused to send representatives to Charles Town to sign a treaty, as the Catawba had done in the summer of 1716. “The King of the Saraw Indians and three of his men” did, however, travel to Virginia to “Treat for Peace” in April of 1716 (McIlwaine 1925, III:426). In September of the following year, Meredith Hughes, the South Carolina public trading factor on the lower Pee Dee, reported that he had received “a Present of Skins from the Charraw Indians...which they made him as an Acknowledgement of the Fault, one of their Men committed, by offering to shoot him without any Provocation, on his Part” (McDowell 1955:206). While Hughes was of the opinion that “the said Charraws are not Inclined to yield to a Peace” and would need to be subdued by force of arms, the Board took no

action, perhaps assuming that the desire for trade would ultimately lead the Charraw to Charles Town (McDowell 1955:163,209). The flaw in this plan, of course, was that the Charraw had made peace with Virginia, and by 1718 Virginia traders were regularly making their way to the Pee Dee (McDowell 1955:265). The Charraw also likely gained access to trade networks through the alliances they built with local lowcounty groups like the Waccamaw (McDowell 1955:264). The maintenance of diplomatic relations between lower Catawba valley communities and the Charraw during this period is suggested by their inclusion on the 1721 deerskin map, where they, along with the Wateree, appear as the most proximal communities to Charles Town (Waselkov 1989:306). During the following decade, the Charraw remained on the Pee Dee River and were joined by the Keyawee (Byrd 2001[1841]:112, Cumming 1958:Plate 53). That they continued to think of the northern piedmont as their homeland, however, is suggested by the fact that Saponi representatives obtained permission for “such of the Saraws as shall think fit to incorporate with them” near former Fort Christanna in May 1732 (McIlwaine 1925, IV:269). While some may have accepted the offer, the stipulated loss of autonomy apparently was not acceptable for most community members, and the Charraw persisted on the Pee Dee River.

The timing and character of Charraw relocation to the lower Catawba valley is difficult to trace in part because diplomacy between the Catawba Nation and the Charraw was established soon after their arrival on the Pee Dee, possibly developing out of interactions among warriors who participated in Barnwell’s 1711 campaign. However, prior to the 1730s incidents of cooperation between the two groups appear to signal the alliance of geographically distinct independent polities, rather than population coalescence. For example, as early as July 1715 the “Saraw King” asserted that he “was impowered by the Chiefman of the Catabaw Indians” to negotiate peace and trade on latter’s behalf in Williamsburg (McIlwaine 1925, III:406). Ten

years later, the Cherokees found that they had to answer to the Catawba for the murder of a Charraw man (Headlam 1934:277-296). While it is possible that some Charraw moved to the lower Catawba valley prior to the 1730s (Brown 1966:224), it was not until 1737 that they made a committing move: the Charraw and some of their Pedee neighbors sold their lands on the Pee Dee River—which constituted “about forty old fields”—to a man named John Thompson (South Carolina Council Journal 8 June 1739). Later, when Welsh settlers who moved to the area as part of South Carolina’s township program were distressed to find “Peede and Charraw Indians running among their Settlements under pretense of Hunting,” Thompson admitted that the said Indians had retained ownership to two of their old fields. Thus even when they opted to relocate to the lower Catawba valley, the Charraw and Pedee did not intend to sever all ties to the region, possibly anticipating the need for a safety net should complications arise. And as in the case of the Saponi, differences clearly did arise between the Charraw and their Catawba valley hosts, for in 1746 they were planning to leave. South Carolina Governor John Glen, now two years in office and convinced it was necessary for pro-English Indian nations to unite against the French, choreographed a conference complete with “drums and flying colors and small canons” at which he graphically displayed the wisdom of strength in numbers by collecting the wooden ram rods from the attendee’s guns and demonstrating that they could not be broken when held together (Brown 1966:224). Whether impressed by this demonstration or simply not wishing to run afoul of South Carolina once more, the Charraw ultimately remained in the lower Catawba valley, where they retained an autonomous town through the 1750s (Merrell 1989:163, Richardson 1758). The relocation of the Saratown community to the Pee Dee River—and then ultimately to the lower Catawba valley as the “Charraw”—illustrates the role mobility could play for the persistence of American Indian groups in the context of English colonialism. However, the

Charraw and their Catawba hosts had different political and cultural histories, possibly making the process of Charraw relocation to the lower Catawba valley a fraught exercise in community coalescence (*sensu* Kowalewski 2006).

Constituents of the Catawba Nation were divided by language, practices of home and hearth, and political history, but during the first half of the eighteenth century they were all participants in the same economic pursuits. Although little information exists regarding how members of the Catawba Nation divided up tasks associated with farming, hunting, craft production, and trading during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, it is likely these labors were allocated along lines of gender and age. While the Catawba themselves may not have been differentiated by occupation, the English traders with whom they interacted became increasingly significant members of Catawba communities. During the 1670s, most transactions between central piedmont communities and Carolina traders took place at European settlements such as the Earl of Shaftesbury's plantation and Colleton's "Fair Lawn" on the Cooper River (Fagg 1970). However, by the end of the seventeenth century traders were making their way to the central piedmont from both Virginia and Carolina. During his visit to Kadapau in 1701, Lawson met John Stewart, "an Inhabitant of *James-River* in *Virginia*, who had traded there for many Years" (Lawson 1967[1709]:49). By 1715, there were almost 200 traders employed as factors for Carolina merchants conducting business in Southeastern Indian settlements (Johnson 1955:234). While this work required that traders obtain the trust of Indian communities, the Yamasee War demonstrated that many of these relationships could not survive the destructive logic of the Indian slave trade. The detailed records kept by Lamboll provide glimpses of the rivalries and logistical transformations that took place when Carolina received this mandate to reform the way it did business with Indian nations. While some traders saw the

new public monopoly as an opportunity to put their competitors out of business (McDowell 1955:114,119), those that were employed by the colony became not only traders but diplomats for Carolina. When Eleazer Wiggan was hired to trade with the “Catapas” in January 1717, his instructions specified he was “to ingage their Friendship and Adherence to this Government, avoiding all Occasions of Offence, and assuring them of our Protection” (McDowell 1955:156). The number of Carolina settlers involved in the trade at this time also increased, as Indian burdeners were replaced with “pack Horse men.” A trading delegation to the Catawba Nation in June of 1718, for example, was undertaken by the factor Captain James How, along with Thomas Davall, John Carney, Edward Pade, and Daniel Arrowsmith (McDowell 1955:284).

The return of the private trade and establishment of interior settlements through the township program led to the development of lasting relationships between traders and Catawba valley communities. These increasingly took the form of kinship ties, as in the case of Thomas Brown, who established a trading post at the confluence of the Santee and Wateree Rivers and fathered a Catawba son (Brown 1966:167-168). Further, the ability of traders to act as translators made them indispensable to colonial governments and Indian communities alike. In some cases traders used this situation to their advantage. For example, when a Cherokee leader requested Eleazer Wiggan serve as his interpreter in 1717, Wiggan used the opportunity to negotiate his way out of a 500 pound bond the Board of Trade had required he obtain to carry a delivery of goods to the Catawba and Cherokee (McDowell 1955:140-141). The Catawba found a more reliable “Linguister” in John Evans, who began to serve in that capacity during the late 1720s (McDowell 1992:89). Both the colonial government and the Catawba found Evans a useful resource during the Seven Year’s War. South Carolina Governor Glen recruited Evans to collect clandestine information about the location of Catawba towns and number of warriors they

contained, while the Catawba found him an indispensable resource for groups of warriors traveling to join English forces. A delegation of Catawba warriors had to delay their trip to Fort Prince George, it was reported, because “their Linguister falling sick they were obliged to return” (McDowell 1992:96,165). While individuals such as Evans may not have been formal constituents of the Catawba Nation, they wielded considerable delegated authority and acted as intermediaries between the Catawba towns and colonial governments.

One final group of individuals present in the eighteenth-century lower Catawba valley settlements were individuals who had been forcibly removed from their communities as captives. Some arrived as prisoners, others as refugees. Catawba interactions with American Indian and African slaves appear to have been highly variable in character, with some being exchanged as commodities, and others becoming incorporated into lower Catawba valley communities. Even after the Yamasee War, South Carolinians expected the Cherokee and Catawba would continue to provide traders with Indian slaves (Cooper 1838:93). However, given population losses from raiding and epidemics, it is just as likely that captives were kept as members of Catawba households. This practice was acceptable as early as 1701, when Lawson (1967[1709]:48) met an Esaw “War-Captain” traveling the trading path with his wife, daughter, and “Man-Slave” loaded with European goods. While some captives were considered likely candidates for adoption, others were not. In 1751, when the Onondaga and Cayuga attempted to recover warriors taken during a battle 25 years earlier as part of peace negotiations between the Six Nations and the Catawba, the interpreter Mathew Tool wrote to Governor Bull of “a Difficulty that may attend the Exchange of the Prisoners, which is that some who have been taken by the Catawbas were sold” (McDowell 1958:99). The exact manner in which retained captives interacted with lower Catawba valley communities is unknown, but may have followed

procedures similar to those employed by the Cherokee, who either formally adopted captives into their clan kinship system, or else kept them in the “precarious position” of *atsi nahsa’i*—“one who is owned” (Perdue 1979:8,18). These individuals participated in household production but were not considered part of Cherokee society. While South Carolinians employed the Catawba to capture escaped slaves in the 1760s and 70s (Merrell 1984:371), it seems that during the first half of the eighteenth century Africans who found themselves in the lower Catawba valley were not automatically destined to be returned to low country plantations. As early as the Yamasee War, the Catawba frustrated colonial officials in their reluctance to turn over “two Negro slaves Pope & Pompey belonging to South Carolina,” while in 1733 a group of escaped slaves found refuge in Catawba hunting grounds (McIlwaine 1925, IV:412, Merrell 1984:368). It is possible that escaped African slaves, like traders, were valued as intermediaries between English settlers and lower Catawba valley residents. In 1752, South Carolina Governor Glen was aware of a “free Negro that lives among the Catawbas, and is received by them as a Catawba, that Speaks both their Language and English, very well” (Merrell 1984:363). The practice of having multiple interpreters originating from different segments of colonial society may have ensured that Catawba community members received comprehensive and accurate information. Matters of translation were surely paramount for members of a polity that incorporated speakers “of above twenty different dialects” (Adair 2005[1775]:246).

The Catawba Nation as Friend and Foe

Members of the eighteenth century Catawba Nation often acted with a solidarity that belied their diverse origins. This may have been due in large part to the relatively small size of the nation, which unlike the Cherokee and Creek Nations, was geographically discrete and

lacked semi-autonomous regional divisions. While Beck (2013:195-196) terms these polities “chieftaincies” to distinguish them from chiefdoms, as they appear to have lacked tributary economies, this term disguises the extent to which such groups practiced consensus-based decision making. Within the Catawba Nation, a council of prominent men from each town were the “true fountain of authority” that delegated diplomatic tasks to *eractasswas*—such as Yanabe Yatengway (1741-1749) and Nopkehe a.k.a. “Hagler” (1749-1763)—who European settlers called “chief man” or “king” (Merrell 1985, 1989:110,157). While these representatives were selected by the council, the pool of appropriate candidates appears to have been limited to specific kinship groups. Once selected *eractassawa*, a leader was expected to consult with the council. Failure to do so resulted in censure, as when Nopkehe was “taxed” by the Nation’s headmen when he attempted to meet with South Carolina officials on his own in 1757 (Merrell 1989:142). The system instituted to assemble the council was observed by John Evans during his 1756 census of the Nation: “The King immediately ordered a new Flag to be hoisted and the Drum to beat, and then sent for the Headmen of each town to come to his Town the next Day” (McDowell 1992:107). This commitment to consensus government was surely an important factor in the persistence of the Nation, and also makes it possible to speak of the Catawba Nation as a cohesive political entity.

It did not take long for the Catawba Valley Mississippians to decide against becoming vassals of Spain, and this issue was never revisited. In contrast, the Catawba Nation avoided hostilities with English settlers, possibly because they did not immediately seek to establish a military presence in the piedmont. The most notable exception to this pattern was the Yamasee War. While the actual objectives of Catawba and Saraw participants cannot be known, they later convinced Virginia Governor Spotswood that they had “by mere Accident been drawn into a

War” with South Carolina, emphasizing that the Yamasee had coerced them to participate (McIlwaine 1925, III:412, Spotswood 1885:129). After re-establishing peace and trade with the English colonies, the Catawba Nation would remain an English ally up to the American Revolution. However, their interactions with the individual colonial governments were highly variable in frequency and character. The Saraw, who had formerly resided near the dividing line between Virginia and Carolina, brokered the peace between the Catawba and Virginia at the end of the Yamasee War. In an effort to solidify this alliance, the Catawba Nation brought 11 children to attend the school at Fort Christanna in 1717, only to have them returned the following year when Virginia decided to abandon the effort (McIlwaine 1925, III:442-443, Merrell 1989:89-90). It was not until the Seven Years War that Virginia renewed its interest in diplomacy with the Catawba Nation and sent a delegation to renew the “ancient alliance” between the two governments and secure Catawba assistance against the French (Brown 1966:205). North Carolina was even more circumspect in its dealings with the Catawba Nation. It was only in the 1750s that North Carolina began to seriously court the Nation, due not only to efforts to get the Catawba to fight the French, but also because of a boundary dispute between the divided Carolinas (Baker 1975:124-125, Merrell 1989:161). North Carolina Governor Dobbs went as far as attempting to replace Nopkehe with a leader that would agree to the colony’s demands, but his plan failed and Dobbs was left fuming that the Catawba Nation refused to surrender any of the 30 miles around their towns that South Carolina had assured them would be left under their jurisdiction. “I hope when the French are drove out of America,” Dobbs wrote, the boundary of Catawba territory “will be also fixed on a more just footing”—after all, “300 Tuskeroras were contented with 12000 Acres” (Saunders 1886, VI:58). The Catawba did accept North Carolina’s offer to build and garrison a fort among their towns in 1756, but North Carolina

abandoned the project the following year in compliance with demands from South Carolina (Brown 1966:235).

The Catawba Nation's relationship with South Carolina was more consistent than their interactions with either Virginia or North Carolina, due in large part to the mandate the Yamasee War bestowed on Charles Town officials to prevent similar incidents. By colonial reckoning, the Catawba Nation also fell within South Carolina's territory as conceptualized by the 1663 Carolina charter. When the Catawba leader Nopkehe referred to South Carolina as the Nation's "elder brother" to John Evans in 1755, he was invoking a relationship of mutual support and obligation that was half a century in the making. While South Carolina Glen was ready to accept that they were "like the Children of the same Household," it is not clear whether Glen recognized the significance of being elder brother in a Southeastern matrilineal family where uncles wielded more authority than fathers (Galloway 1989:346, McDowell 1992:86,95). Nevertheless, during the first half of the eighteenth century South Carolina leaders knew that they could count on the Catawba Nation to support their military endeavors. Charles Heath (2004:80-82) has argued that the Catawba served as "ethnic soldiers" for South Carolina, operating as "auxiliary combat troops" in order to retain their autonomy while maintaining access to trade. This relationship developed out of offers of mutual assistance, as when the Esaw offered to help subdue the Westo in 1673, and South Carolina offered to send twelve soldiers and 50 guns against the Savannah when they threatened the "Northern Indians" in 1707 (Cheves 2010[1897]:428, Salley 1941:23,62). Given Catawba participation in both the Tuscarora War and allegiance to Charles Town, it was not hyperbole for South Carolina to threaten the remaining Tuscarora "with a Warr from the Cherokees and Catauba's" when they were accused of committing "Injurys" to "White people of that Government" in 1731 (Saunders 1886, III:153). In addition to military assistance,

the Catawba Nation and South Carolina developed an informal hybrid justice system that recognized the prerogative of each entity to police its own populace. While this system generally worked to limit Catawba autonomy while expanding colonial powers (Brown 1966:166-167, Merrell 1989:158), South Carolina did make efforts to ensure that the Catawba were satisfied with the colony's efforts. Governor Glen, in particular, sought to demonstrate that the Southeastern practice of reprisal raiding could be replaced with diplomacy, executions, and forensics: when two Natchez killed a number of Catawba in 1744, Glen convinced the Natchez to turn over the culprits and delivered their preserved heads to the Catawba so that they could recognize the guilty parties by their tattoos (Brown 1966:223).

South Carolina may have cultivated a special relationship with the Nation, but the Catawba recognized that all of the southern colonies were beholden to each other despite their squabbling. This became particularly apparent during the Seven Years War. However, the Nation was a staunch English ally long before colonial newspapers buzzed with news of the French scalps Catawba warriors delivered to colonial officials (Boston Weekly 1757). In 1746, for example, Eractasswa Yatengway requested "a Drum, and likewise a Flag, that we may be able to shew to the Virginians and other white people that come amongst us, as a Token of our Friendship to the English" (Pennsylvania Gazette 1746). Given such demonstrations, Catawba alliance with the rebels during the American Revolution would seem to indicate a change in policy. However, when the members of the Charles Town Council of Safety explained that "The Great King wants us to pay four deer-skins for those goods which we used to buy for two" and might send red-coats to enforce this change (Brown 1966:260-261), the Catawba recognized a rift between the settlers and a distant entity with whom they had no direct contact. As matters of trade guided Catawba decisions during the Yamasee War, so too do they seem to have

contributed to the Nations' decision to side with the colonists. In addition, many of their Anglo-American neighbors in the Catawba-Wateree valley were rebels, and warned the Nation of dire consequences should they choose the wrong side.

Records of interactions between the Catawba Nation and other eighteenth-century American Indian polities suggest they worked to maintain an “open” network of relationships that could be mobilized for support in military endeavors as needed. The effective limits of the Catawba interaction network following the Yamasee War are displayed in the deerskin map, which names only two large polities beyond the central piedmont region: the Cherokee and the Chickasaw (Merrell 1989:93). Like the Catawba, these two groups were staunch English allies during a period of imperial competition between France and England. The inclusion of these polities on the deerskin map, and not the Creeks or Choctaw, may also be an indication of Catawba alliance networks during the early phase of the Creek-Cherokee War (Oatis 2004:225, 246). According to the Cherokee oral history, they abandoned their hunting ground in the western piedmont when it became depleted of game, and after conflict with the Catawba regarding jurisdiction over this region agreed the area between the Broad and Catawba Rivers would be a neutral zone (Mooney 1900:380-381). Whatever agreements existed between them, prior to the Anglo-Cherokee War in 1768 it appears that the Cherokee and Catawba generally remained on good terms and could expect assistance from each other upon request. For example, in 1717 the Cherokee sent the Catawba “a painted Stick, to give them Notice (thereby) to joyn their Forces in the latter End of July to prosecute the War with them against the Creeks” (McDowell 1955:177). By 1746, however, relations had soured and the Catawba accused the Cherokee of harboring and assisting “Northern Indians” that were attacking piedmont towns (Pennsylvania Gazette 1746:1). South Carolina Governor Glen attempted to restore diplomatic

relations among the Cherokee, Catawba, and Chickasaw—who had also run afoul of the Catawba—by hosting joint peace conferences in 1748 and 1749 (Brown 1966:225-226). In the case of the Chickasaw, these efforts appear to have succeeded, as the Catawba entrusted them with a diplomatic letter to the Creek Nation in 1757. In asking the Creeks to join them in fighting the French, the Catawba headmen noted that they had always been Brothers to the Creeks, such that “we never stole their Hair and they never stole our Hair” (McDowell 1992:420-421). That this situation was due to limited contact between the two polities, rather than amicable interactions, is suggested by the fact that an intermediary was required to deliver the message. Continued diplomacy between the Cherokee and Catawba during the 1750s is suggested by the recovery of 39 ground stone pipe fragments from the mid-eighteenth century Catawba settlement of Nassaw (38Yk434). Made of raw material available in the Appalachian Mountain region but not the piedmont, these pipes were elements of the “calumet ceremonialism” that was widespread in the lower South and Midwest during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Brown 2006, Rodning 2014). Diplomatic relations continued through the spring of 1759, when Eractasswa Nopkehe planned to travel to the mountains to “settle differences” over the death of a Catawba woman (Brown 1966:239). When South Carolina turned against the Cherokee the following year, however, the Catawba Nation was compelled to assist its colonial ally.

The American Indian polities with which the Catawba Nation was in near constant enmity throughout the eighteenth century were the Iroquois and Shawnee. The intensification of mourning wars by Iroquois nations due to losses from smallpox epidemics played a large role in shaping this situation. After overrunning their traditional enemies in the 1650s, the Iroquois began to seek captives further west and south as necessary, and the end of the Beaver Wars in the northeast further directed their attention southward after 1701 (Richter 1992:58-62, Merrell

1987:117). Indeed, the “frequent inroads of the Senecas” were blamed for the Sara’s decision to relocate southward to the Pee Dee River (Byrd 2001[1841]:112, McIlwaine 1925, III:397). The trauma associated with this threat from the north may be recorded in the deerskin map as a giant figure drawn between the territories of Cherokee and Virginia, its arms raised toward the piedmont towns. While their raids were at first directed toward central piedmont communities in general, specific hostilities between the Iroquois and Catawba appear to have begun around the time of the Tuscarora and Yamasee Wars. After suffering severe losses in attacks led by South Carolina, some surviving Tuscarora communities decided to become the sixth nation in the Iroquois League (Boyce 1987:155-156). While the war might have ended in the minds of Carolina settlers, the Tuscarora appear to have continued hostilities against the piedmont communities that joined Barnwell’s march. While visiting Fort Christanna in 1717, a Catawba delegation was attacked “by a Party of Senequas and Tuscaruros” (McIlwaine 1925, III:443). In addition, during the Yamasee War South Carolina had convinced New York’s governor to send Iroquois raiding parties to attack the communities on the Catawba and Pee Dee Rivers (Merrell 1989:78). Reprisals for these attacks intensified the enmity between the Six Nations and the Catawba. In 1751, on the eve of the Seven Years War, the Governors of South Carolina and Virginia attempted to mend this rift by orchestrating a peace conference between the Six Nations and the Catawba at Albany (Merrell 1987:127-130). It had taken ten years to convince the parties involved to participate, but by the end of 1754 Governor Glen was forced to concede to Catawba complaints that “the Five Nations did not faithfully observe” the peace, as he had received word that 50 Iroquois warriors were headed south to make war (McDowell 1992:27-28). During the 1750s the Mohawks appear to have been the most prominent of the Catawba Nation’s Iroquois foes. In 1755 a Catawba woman who had been taken by the Mohawk managed to escape, and

upon her return home reported that her captors “knew where the Catawbas fetched their Water and Wood and they would utterly destroy them” (McDowell 1992:49). Catawba reprisals to Mohawk attacks appear to have involved notable cunning, as a captured colonist reported having the following exchange while hunting with his Mohawk guard in Ohio: “We came to where the tracks were very plain in the sand, and I said it is surely buffaloe tracks; he said, ‘Hush, you know nothing, may be buffaloe tracks, may be Catawba.’ He went very cautious until we found some fresh buffaloe dung; he then smiled and said, ‘Catawba cannot make so’” (Brown 1966:162). While the Catawba attempted to reconcile with the Mohawk in 1758, the cycle of retaliation with the Iroquois continued even after the Catawba were forced to relocate their towns following the 1759 smallpox epidemic (Merrell 1987:131-132).

Catawba enmity with the Shawnee began at the end of the seventeenth century, when a segment of this diasporic Algonquian-speaking people moved to the Savannah River in present South Carolina and were courted by Indian slave traders in Charles Town. This group became known as the Savannah, and were credited with taking Westo, Winyah, and Cherokee captives (Crane 2004:21). The Savannah also attacked the Catawba before moving to Pennsylvania in 1707, initiating a sequence of reprisals. The Catawba participated in a raiding party against the new Savannah settlement organized by South Carolina in 1708, and in 1717 the Shawnee joined an Iroquois war party headed south to ambush Catawba leaders at Fort Christanna, although they later claimed not to have participated in the actual attack (Gallay 2002:210-211, Spero 2010:228). The Susquehanna Shawnee did, however, boast of having raised a young Catawba captive as their own (Spero 2010:229). Perhaps the most infamous exchange between the Shawnee and Catawba took place in 1763, when a group of Shawnee were responsible for the

death of the Catawba leader Eractasswa Nopkehe, or King Hagler. Stories of this raid, and the Catawba's revenge, were told on the Catawba reservation forty years later (Merrell 1989: 263).

Lower Catawba valley communities weathered the “shatter zone” of the Indian slave trade, the Yamasee War, an influx of refugees, and Iroquois raids. And in the fall of 1759 they faced another crisis when warriors fighting in the Seven Years War returned home infected with smallpox. Unlike earlier epidemics in the lower Catawba valley, the 1759 smallpox epidemic is well-documented (McReynolds 2004:51), likely due both to the Catawba's participation in the war and the severity of the epidemic, which led the Nation to temporarily evacuate the lower Catawba valley. In December of 1759, it was reported that the Catawba had dispersed into the woods, with “not 40 of their Warriors left in their Towns” (Saunders 1886, VI:219). The following summer, communities regrouped downriver at Pine Tree Hill near present Camden, South Carolina. Although reduced to “100 Gunmen,” the Catawba were ready to return home and insistent that South Carolina build a long-promised fort “for the Security of their Women and Children, while they go to War” (New York Mercury 1760:2). Upon returning to the lower valley the following year, the Catawba established new towns near Twelve Mile Creek, seven miles south of their old towns (Davis and Riggs 2004:3).

In some ways this move marked the beginning of a new era for the Nation. Families built new houses, laid out new fields, and located new sources of clay. The material they found proved to be of exceptionally high quality, and Catawba potters experimented with producing vessels they saw in colonial settlements, a process that may have begun while they were living in Camden. At the same time, the Nation's leadership remained in place, and old community divisions persisted, with some families—possibly of Charraw descent—choosing to live on the

opposite side of the river from the rest of the Nation (Cranford and Fitts 2012). This idea of duality, of being not one but two, is of particular utility for understanding the eighteenth century Catawba Nation. Catawba valley Mississippians dwelt in a universe that contained upper and lower realms, and formed societies in which there were central places and peripheries, elites and commoners. As the Nation of Esaws in the lower Catawba valley became a destination for traders and refugees, it came to include both people who were “of the river,” and others who were not. With the addition of the Charraw, the Catawba language gradually became dual, and the Nation itself contained descendants of both Mississippian and piedmont Siouan communities. The mid-eighteenth century Catawba were thus a nation of hosts and refugees, of aggressors and allies. And while the name Catawba may have once designated a community living near the fork of the river, it was the trail through the piedmont that made this town a nation.

CHAPTER 4

“SO WARLIKE A DISPOSITION”

The trader James Adair (2005[1775]:246) commented that he was not “acquainted with any savages of so warlike a disposition, as the Katahba and the Chikkasah.” How should we interpret this statement? The tendency in historical studies of “other” societies encountered by Europeans in the process of imperial expansion is to respond to such observations with epistemological polarity. Either this statement tells us Catawba and Chickasaw warriors were more innately bellicose than their Southeastern Indian neighbors, or it tells us nothing, because it is obviously yet another product of the European ethnocentric imagination. The first interpretation arises from a position of simplistic, pragmatic optimism, wherein the only way to know anything of the past is to take such narrative artifacts as transparent imprints of past conditions. The other position forecloses our knowing anything of the past—especially of the “other” societies Europeans encountered—because European observers had a frame of reference and a set of intentions that were ill-suited for providing accurate information. In the following pages I will attempt to navigate a path through the murk between these two positions, retaining some optimism regarding the possibility of distinguishing what happened from what is said to have happened (Trouillot 1995:3), while recognizing that past narratives—especially those that never intended to be history—need to be carefully contextualized if they are to be responsibly used as evidence about the past. In the case of Adair’s statement, I will argue that it does not tell us anything innate about the Catawba, but it does perhaps inform us about a strategy they chose

to adopt in response to conditions created by European settler colonialism. Specifically, Catawba warriors served as auxiliaries for the English colonies.

I examine this possibility by first considering Adair's account of the Catawba in the context of his experiences and aspirations. Adair charges that in addition to being "warlike," the Catawba were neither self-sufficient nor homogenous. His observations selectively highlight certain repercussions of the militaristic strategy employed by the Nation—namely the reciprocal relationship that was established between the Catawba and the English colonies, and the recruitment of refugees to live in the lower Catawba valley. I next describe "ethnic soldiering" as it has been defined by Ferguson and Whitehead (2000[1992]:21), who see this practice as a phenomenon associated with the increased violence that accompanied European imperialism in many parts of the world. Since choosing to be auxiliaries, or "ethnic soldiers," for the English colonies was certainly not the only strategy available to Southeastern Indian communities during the early eighteenth century, I also consider what values may have motivated this decision. Ultimately, the militarization of the Catawba Nation contributed to its geopolitical persistence in the lower Catawba valley, but also led to a precariousness that was experienced by Catawba men, women, and children in different ways. Catawba warriors, for example, found their military strength limited by colonial designs to control their access to ammunition. This insecurity became particularly acute during the 1750s, when threats from the Catawba's enemies intersected with other sources of stress including settler encroachment, epidemics, and drought. While the incorporation of refugees into the Catawba Nation was one strategy that could mitigate the deleterious effects of Catawba militarism, it required logistical adjustments to daily life. To orient my investigation of these changes, I employ the concepts of ethnogenesis and coalescence as frameworks for modeling how refugees may have become part of the Nation. While the

activities of Catawba warriors may have brought about population aggregation, all residents of the lower Catawba valley had to deal with its consequences. In concluding this chapter, I consider how an archaeological analysis of Catawba foodways may help determine how women organized their activities, and thereby examine the character of social transformation that unfolded in the lower Catawba valley.

Catawba Warriors as an Auxiliary Force

One important documentary source regarding the mid-eighteenth century Catawba Nation is the account of James Adair, an Indian trader perhaps best known for arguing that American Indians are of Hebrew descent. In order to support his thesis, Adair gathered information about Southeastern Indian beliefs and rituals, as well as aspects of daily life. In his brief treatment of the “Katahba Nation,” Adair (2005[1775]:245-246) makes several statements that have been influential in Catawba historiography. He asserts that their land “would produce any sort of Indian provisions, but, by the continual passing and repassing of the English, between the northern and southern colonies, the Katahba live perhaps the meanest of any Indians belonging to the British American empire.” He further characterizes Catawba degradation by stating that “they are also so corrupted by an immoderate use of our spirituous liquors, and of course, indolent, that they scarcely plant anything fit for the support of the human life,” noting that South Carolina has provided them with supplies. On the other hand, he was not “acquainted with any savages of so warlike a disposition,” and notes that “about the year 1743, their nation consisted of almost 400 warriors, of above twenty different dialects.” Merrell (1989:112-113) uses this latter statement to argue that “the relatively homogeneous cluster of communities that Lawson had wandered through became a polyglot “nation,”” such that “a period of contention, conflict,

and even chaos was almost inevitable.” Following Adair, Hudson (1970:48) further argues that “not only were they not homogeneous, they were not self-sufficient.” While other primary sources may attest to “a general malaise besetting the Nation” in the mid-eighteenth century (Merrell 1989:139), evaluating Adair as a source of information is useful for assessing the extent to which his statements are influenced by factors other than Catawba strategies and activities. When read critically, his account can be interpreted as a chronicle of effects and affects related to the Catawba practice of acting as an auxiliary military force for the English colonies, particularly Carolina.

James Adair was born around 1709, probably in the Scottish Presbyterian community of Antrim, Ireland (Braund 2005:449, Hudson 1977:311). Although nothing is known of his education, he clearly was schooled in Ireland or Great Britain before traveling to the American colonies. Between 1735 and 1744 Adair was a trader among the Catawba and Cherokee, but spent the bulk of his 40 years in the Southeast among the Chickasaw. Adair actually referred to himself as an “English Chickasaw,” leaving little ambiguity as to where his loyalties lay (Braund 2005:1). Like most traders, Adair maintained a residence in “Indian country,” but also lived part of the year in New Windsor, South Carolina, where he spent a lot of time with the “Lower” Chickasaw living near the English settlements (Braund 2005:26). In addition to being well-acquainted with the Chickasaw, Adair was also familiar with Indian warfare, as he participated in military engagements—such as Georgia Governor Oglethorpe’s 1740 march against St. Augustine—that were attended by both colonial settlers and Indian allies (Braund 2005:3, Hudson 1977:325). Given his interest in collecting evidence to argue that American Indians were of Hebrew descent, Adair also paid careful attention to the religious practices he was able to observe. Thus it is reasonable to consider Adair a particularly good source for matters relating to

the Chickasaw, Southeastern Indian warfare, and public ritual. At the same time, Adair possessed several biases beyond those linked to his male, Scots-Irish origins. While serving as a “good heuristic” that directed his attention to matters of ritual, Adair’s theory concerning the Hebrew origin of Southeastern Indians clearly hindered his interpretations of their ritual practices. For example, he did not believe the Indians themselves “understood either the spiritual or literal meaning of their religious songs” (Hudson 1977:315-317). And although he mentions instances of uncles and nephews acting on each other’s behalf in matters of great trust, he did not explicitly recognize the matrilineal organization of Southeastern Indians, either because it was an alien concept or because he thought it would harm his argument. In addition, Adair had developed a critical view of South Carolina’s Indian policy by the time he wrote his book. In 1746, Adair assisted Governor Glen in convincing a faction of Choctaws to become English, rather than French allies, and provisioned them with an initial installment of arms and ammunition (Braund 2005:7). However, when South Carolina did not further supply the Choctaw as promised, Adair accused Glen of mismanagement and became unwelcome in Charles Town. Finally, Adair held the opinion that although American Indians were suitable candidates for education and conversion to Christianity, they were in a state of decline due to the activities of unprincipled traders who sold them liquor (Braund 2005:37,45). While it appears that Adair truly held this belief, it is also possible that he emphasized this particular state of affairs in his book as a plan to secure the patronage of influential American churchmen and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. It is to such men that Adair applied and received the support and connections necessary to publish his work in 1775.

The description of the Catawba Nation that Adair provides is written like a parable. At the outset of his account, he observes that residents of the lower Catawba valley were in a state

of “great decay” despite living in a high-quality natural environment. The Catawba, who had mustered fifteen hundred warriors when “South Carolina was in its infant state,” were now “reduced to a very few above one hundred fighting men” (Adair 2005[1775]:246). Since educated thinkers of Adair’s time understood people to be the direct products of their environments (Eden 2008:11-12), the Catawba situation constituted an anomaly or paradox that he next sought to explain. In interpreting Adair’s claims, it is important to recognize his account as a palimpsest of information. Adair appears to have written much of his book prior to 1758, but he added to it through 1768 (Braund 2005:26,36). As Adair mentions the Catawba were reduced to about 100 warriors, it appears that most of his account relates to the period between 1760 and 1768, after the epidemic that led to the temporary evacuation of the lower Catawba valley. However, Adair does mention one specific date, 1743. This date accompanies a list of “national names” associated with the languages spoken in the Catawba Nation. In addition to *Kátahba*—“the standard, or court-dialect”—languages spoken in the Catawba Nation included those Adair attributed to the Wateree, Eno, Charraw, Chowan, Congaree, Natchez, Yamasee, and Coosa or Upper Creeks. As impressive a list as this may be, Adair’s manuscript contained even more names—one line of text was omitted from the original 1775 printed edition, as can be inferred from the fact that the catchword at the bottom of page 224—“*Charàh*”—does not match the first word of the next page—the syllable “*wah*” (Goddard 2005:44). Regardless, it appears that Adair was working from some form of notes to write this section of his account, given the specificity of the date and number of proper names involved. Since Governor Glen arrived in South Carolina in 1743 (Sirmans 1966:195), it is possible that Adair had a copy of a census that was undertaken to provide the new governor with current information about South Carolina’s Indian allies. Adair’s references to linguistic diversity and the presence of refugees within the Catawba Nation

thus appear to be on relatively secure footing, although we are missing some of the groups he specified in his manuscript.

The assertion Adair (2005[1775]:245) makes regarding Catawba subsistence, however,—that “they scarcely plant anything fit for the support of the human life”—is closely tied to his political views. He blames both their “excessive drinking” and “indolence” for this situation, conditions Adair believed were the result of unscrupulous traders, on the one hand, and South Carolina’s practice of provisioning the Catawba, on the other. That these explanations for the Catawba paradox were linked to Adair’s larger critique of colonial Indian policy is suggested by the fact that he compares the Catawba to the Lower Chickasaw, whom he also notes were much addicted to excessive drinking and insolent because they were the subjects of colonial “indulgence.” In addition to being part of his political argument, this portion of Adair’s account—which seems to refer to the Catawba of the 1760s—appears to have been written at least partly from hearsay, which would account for its vague character. Adair specifically mentions that “several respectable inhabitants in their neighborhood” complained that the Catawba “often destroy the white people’s live stock, and even kill their horses for mischief sake.” Adair apparently was happy to take these reports at face value because they supported his argument that Southeastern Indians tended to interpret material assistance from the colonies as “a tribute of fear.” Finally, when Adair specifically mentions the demographic decline of the Catawba, as opposed to their more general “corruption,” he refers to well-documented historic stressors such as Iroquois raiding and smallpox. While Adair’s account of Catawba agricultural decline is clearly tied to his policy statement, whatever information he obtained to this effect may have originated from the mid-1750s, when a series of droughts hit the mid-Atlantic, or the

period following the smallpox epidemic of 1759, when Catawba communities were gradually re-establishing settlements downriver of their former towns at Nation Ford.

I will argue here that another comment Adair makes may in fact be a key for understanding the conditions of linguistic diversity and subsistence stress that he attributes to the mid-eighteenth century Catawba Nation. After comparing the Catawba and Lower Chickasaw with regard to corruption brought about by their access to alcohol and colonial subsidies, Adair (2005[1775]:246) observes “we are not acquainted with any savages of so warlike a disposition, as the Katahba and the Chikkasah.” Given Adair’s experience with both the Chickasaw and Southeastern Indian warfare, this is not a statement to be taken lightly. After making this comparison, Adair goes on to mention the “bitter war” between the Iroquois and the Catawba, waged since “time immemorial.” While over fifty years of raids and counter raids had produced multigenerational enmity between lower Catawba valley residents and specific Iroquois Nations, such as the Seneca, this conflict between American Indian nations is only one element of Catawba militarism. While calling attention to Catawba militancy, Adair fails to mention their participation in campaigns at the behest of South Carolina, possibly because it would detract from his argument that provisioning Southeastern Indians contributed to their indolence. However, it is the Catawba strategy of serving as an auxiliary military force for the English colonists that likely contributed in large part to their recruitment of diverse refugees and the possible subsistence stress Adair describes. This “warlike” stance also led to the creation and maintenance of reciprocal obligations between the Catawba Nation and colonial settlers.

Charles Heath (2004) was the first researcher to use Ferguson and Whitehead’s (2000[1992]) concept of “ethnic soldiers” to characterize Catawba militarism, thereby drawing together literature on Catawba ethnohistory and Western imperialism. Doing so explicitly

recognizes that members of the Catawba Nation were experiencing opportunities and stresses similar to those faced by other non-state societies that have had to contend with expanding states. Several geo-conceptual spaces, which emphasize different elements of social life following the intentions of their authors, have been defined to characterize these contexts. Three of such constructs—Ferguson and Whitehead’s (2000[1992]) “tribal zone,” Ethridge’s (2006, 2009) “shatter zone,” and White’s (2011[1991]) “middle ground”—are relevant to the study of Catawba militarism in particular. In conceiving the “tribal zone,” Ferguson and Whitehead (2000[1992]:xvi) set out to counter narratives that posit humans are inherently warlike by demonstrating the extent to which state expansion has played a role in constructing modern “ethnic violence.” They define the “tribal zone” as an area where certain disruptive factors “spread beyond the direct observation of state agents (indirect contact) and whose changing parameters continue to shape institutions through later phases” (Ferguson and Whitehead 2000[1992]:8). These factors include disease, ecological transformation, and technological change. While interaction with state agents may have led to the formation of bounded political groups that have been called “tribes,” tribal zones can also contain “secondary states, open-ended alliance networks, autonomous villages, clan segments and extended families” (Ferguson and Whitehead 2000[1992]:13). The “tribal zone” concept is important for the investigation of eighteenth-century Catawba militarism because it serves as a reminder that we are not studying the “warlike” character of the Catawba in any essential sense—what Adair describes is a strategy devised in the context of European settler colonialism.

Ferguson and Whitehead (2000[1992]:4) intentionally avoid systematic discussion of political economy while focusing on the spread of violence in the tribal zone. This is not the case for Robbie Ethridge (2009:1), whose geopolitical concept of the “shatter zone” is expressly

articulated to integrate the various disruptive forces that led to the transformation of the Mississippian world. Unlike the tribal zone, which broadly applies to contexts of state expansion, Ethridge's construct is grounded in space and time—specifically, eastern North America during the late sixteenth through the early eighteenth centuries. Factors that she identifies as contributing to the shatter zone include the instability of “chiefdoms” as political entities, the introduction of Old World diseases, the “inauguration of a nascent capitalist economic system” through commercial trade in animal skins and Indian slaves, and the intensification of violence and warfare. Following Wallerstein's world-systems theory, Ethridge (2009:18-19) recognizes the American colonies as part of a “global periphery” through which the European “core” countries extracted labor and resources. Although limited in population size, these colonial outposts wielded the “economic power” of the core countries; thus Ethridge argues it was not the settlers but the system “in which they served” that held “extraordinary transforming power over Native life.” This perspective clearly emphasizes structure at the expense of human agency. However, Ethridge (2009:17) argues that the deterministic tendencies of world systems theory can be ameliorated through the examination of American Indian and European “social structures and their points of articulation.” While the shatter zone concept itself does not provide direction with regard to how such investigations might be accomplished, White's (2011[1991]) “middle ground” offers a starting point. Like the shatter zone, “middle ground” defines a geo-conceptual context of imperialism, but focuses on construction rather than destruction. Middle grounds are built in contexts of confrontation between imperial regimes and non-state forms of social organization when there exists “a mutual need or a desire for what the other possesses,” but each side cannot “commandeer enough force to compel the other” to do what it desires (White 2011[1991]:XII). The result is a process of mediation that White (2011[1991]:XIII) likens to the

activity of *bricolage* (Lévi-Strauss 1980:16-17)—a process of using the tools at hand to overcome novel obstacles. The result of this process is “a set of practices, rituals, offices, and beliefs that although comprised of elements of the group in contact is as a whole separate from the practices and beliefs of all those groups” (White 2011[1991]:XIII). This was not a process of cultural hermeneutics in which each side worked to accurately interpret the other; rather, misunderstandings were common and sometimes intentionally perpetuated. In general, however, White describes a type of “Third Space” (Bhabha 2004, Naum 2010:107), a term coined by Bhabha to define a discursive realm of translation and construction that moves the parties involved beyond simple binary opposition. In juxtaposing the “shatter zone” and “middle ground,” I am suggesting that we can conceive early eighteenth century Catawba communities as existing in a world that was simultaneously being destroyed and re-created alongside an emergent, diverse array of contingent “Third Spaces” that arose from specific genres of interaction, such as trade and diplomacy.

One such constructed space was the Catawba’s role as auxiliaries. Ferguson and Whitehead (2000[1992]:18) identify three general categories of militarization common in “tribal zones,” one of which is “ethnic soldiering.” The others—internecine warfare and wars of resistance and rebellion—also played a role in eighteenth century Catawba history. However, fighting for the English colonies appears to have had significant lasting impacts for the Catawba by encouraging not only the recruitment of refugees, but also colonial good will and geopolitical persistence in the lower Catawba valley. “Ethnic soldiering,” broadly conceived, occurs when non-state peoples “fight under the control or influence of state agents” (Ferguson and Whitehead 2000[1992]:21). These fighters are employed to attack forces of other states and the native auxiliaries of rival sates. While the concept of “ethnic soldiering” has value as a general category

that can be used to organize comparative research regarding military alliances between expanding states and indigenous groups, it does not accurately describe the Catawba's situation. Although they did fight for state agents, Catawba warriors were not considered an "ethnic" group, and did not serve as "soldiers" within a systematic military organization. For this reason, I use the terms "auxiliary force" and "native auxiliaries" when referring to Catawba participation in military undertakings organized by colonial governments. Doing so emphasizes that Catawba warriors served a supplementary role in joint military undertakings, thereby highlighting the political autonomy they clearly maintained while pursuing this strategy.

Ferguson and Whitehead (2000[1992]:21-22) note that "ethnic soldiers" are drawn into the service of state agents "by varying combinations of coercive and seductive measures." They further argue that incentives to raid were dialectical such that Native groups used European support to pursue standing grievances while Europeans worked to stir up factional strife between groups. The issue of motivation is a thorny one, because documentation rarely speaks to this topic and it is all too easy to project modern values onto past communities. Interestingly, while it is Ferguson and Whitehead's intent to show that human groups are not inherently aggressive to outsiders, the only motives they provide for the practice of "ethnic soldiering" involve intergroup aggression. Graeber (2001:26-33) similarly finds that anthropologists, even when examining interactions in non-market societies, often end up assuming that people are motivated by individualistic economic self-interest. If we take the position that what people value—how they "represent the importance of their own actions to themselves" (Graeber 2001:62)—has varied across space and time, then prior to any understanding of motivation and value in a society it is necessary to determine the relation between cosmological conceptions, notions of the person, and exchange (Graeber 2001:206). While detailed information on these topics is lacking for the early

eighteenth-century Catawba, it is worth considering what information is available in an effort to understand why Catawba warriors agreed to fight in cooperation with colonial agents.

It is common for studies investigating prehistoric and colonial period American Indian warfare to address the “Eastern Woodlands” as a single analytical unit (Lambert 2002, Lee 2007, Milner 1999). This is reasonable in some respects, as both the Iroquois and Southeastern Indians practiced small-scale raiding and took captives who could be ceremoniously killed or adopted. However, the belief systems that motivated these behaviors differed. The Iroquois conducted mourning wars to replace deceased community members regardless of the cause of death, and to restore peace to grieving relatives. A named presence, having become vacant, needed to be filled in order for the community or lineage to retain its power (Richter 1992:32-33). Colonial-era Southeastern Indians, on the other hand, do not appear to have practiced “re-quickening” ceremonies. Raids were undertaken not from the perspective of social reproduction, but rather to achieve justice and restore balance between polities or lineages (Adair 2005[1775]:185, Hudson 1976:239). This difference in emphasis meant that while obtaining captives was one outcome of clan retaliation, it was not the primary objective, which was to avenge one violent death with another. While this notion of justice clearly motivated acts of retaliation, it co-existed with another overarching value of daring, or bravery, which conferred high standing and authority. Young men gained honor by obtaining names that commemorated their exploits in warfare, a practice possibly derived from the criteria used to qualify individuals for leadership roles within elite Mississippian lineages (Knight 1986:680). For some groups, such as the Chickasaw, war names referred to specific acts of bravery, while in other cases they were titles owned by particular clans and bestowed upon men according to the merit of their exploits (Adair 2005[1775]:219-220, Hudson 1976:240,325). The rules governing war titles used by the

Catawba valley Mississippians are unknown. However, the presence of such designation systems—along with a possible need to standardize them within the polyglot Catawba Nation—is suggested Catawba men’s appropriation of the titles conferred by English commissions (Brown 1966:220). Below the Catawba “king,” each town or community had its own “captain.” The fact that Catawba leaders signed their names with these titles in translated correspondence—a practice not universal among colonial period Southeastern Indians—suggests these titles had become legitimate war names as well as political offices by the mid-eighteenth century (McDowell 1992:14,421).

The idealization of bravery in colonial period Southeastern Indian societies required contexts in which men could demonstrate their abilities and make a name for themselves. Of course, this does not mean they existed in a state of indiscriminate warfare (Lee 2007). Raids were physically and spiritually dangerous undertakings that required community sanction. In order to revenge a death, the aggrieved had to solicit volunteers during a public forum in which the legitimacy of the proposed undertaking was evaluated. To ensure success and protection, warriors followed ritual prescriptions before battle, and in some societies practiced cleansing rituals afterwards (Hudson 1976:244,252). In distinguishing between conjury and witchcraft in Cherokee society, Hudson (1976:363) notes that conjurers act in accordance “with legal and moral precepts” while witches do not. This same distinction attended physical violence during the colonial period, with the rules governing retaliatory raiding defining “just war” in Southeastern terms. Through their alliance with the English colonies, Catawba warriors gained an additional source of legitimized opportunities to demonstrate their bravery and fighting prowess. Among a series of speeches recorded in negotiations between the Catawba and Virginia in 1756 is a statement attributed to a Catawba warrior named Prenchee Uraw:

I am a young Man, and have not yet distinguished myself in War but I am not a little pleased, that I have an Opportunity of doing it. If I should be so fortunate as to do any Thing that deserves Commendation, I shall have the Thanks of the Great King George, and my Brethren the English. But whether I am successful or not, my Endeavors shall be such as to convince them of the Integrity of my Intentions. (Dinwiddie 1906[1756]:241)

Fighting for the English was not a duty for Catawba warriors, but an opportunity to prove skill, obtain acclaim, and demonstrate alliance. Given these motives, it is not surprising that Southeastern Indians had different standards of success in military undertakings than Europeans. Whereas the English hoped to decisively cripple their enemies, such an outcome was not desirable from a Southeastern perspective. Not only was the elimination of an enemy unnecessary to demonstrate bravery; it undermined the logic of equity associated with retaliatory justice and preempted the possibility of future engagements. These contrasting motives and expectations frustrated European military commanders throughout the eighteenth century. In 1711 John Barnwell complained that most of his Indian recruits abandoned his march against the Tuscarora after their first engagement with the enemy (Barnwell 1908:33), while almost fifty years later Virginia's Governor Dinwiddie warned a Colonel Washington to keep his Indian recruits out scouting for "if idle, they'll be thinking of home" (Brown 1966:208). Although embroiled in an international conflict rooted in European imperialism, the logic of retaliation and pursuit of war honors continued to motivate Southeastern warriors' actions during the French and Indian war (New York Mercury 1757). Thus while the Catawba acted as auxiliaries for the peripheral outposts of a European state, they did so largely within the framework of their own values. The integration of Southeastern Indian communities into the global political system provided warriors new opportunities to pursue traditional forms of value, resulting in a period of

cultural florescence—a phenomenon which has been documented in other cases of state expansion into occupied territories (Graeber 2001:162-163).

The earliest instance of lower Catawba valley men acting as an auxiliary force—or at least offering to do so—took place during the height of the Indian slave trade. When Carolina settlers were threatened by some Westo warriors in 1673, the Esaw agreed to fight against them (Cheves 2010[1897]:428). However, there is no report of an actual raid, and the Carolinians continued to trade with the Westo until 1780 (Browne 2005:82,100). When South Carolinians did make a concerted effort to exterminate the Westo, it was the Savannah—a community of Shawnee recently settled on the Savannah River—who they enlisted to this end. The Savannah took the Westo's place through the turn of the century, and are credited with capturing Westo, Winyah, and Cherokee slaves (Crane 2004:21). However, when the Savannah moved to Pennsylvania in 1707, the Carolinians were at a loss. As the Savannah had attacked Catawba-Wateree valley communities before leaving, Charles Town officials had little difficulty in enlisting them on an expedition against the Savannah (Gallay 2002:210-211). In February of 1708, the South Carolina house approved a plan to supply “the Northward Indians” with fifty guns and ammunition to attack the “Savana Indians our Enemies,” stipulating that “whoever brings in a Scalp or prisoner Shall have the Gun for their Reward or else to Return the Same Again when the Expedition is over” (Salley 1941:62). While obtaining slaves was not the primary objective of Southeastern Indian warfare, the practice of offering guns and ammunition for captives may have increased the frequency of this practice among Catawba-Wateree groups. In addition to pursuing the Savannah, Catawba valley warriors participated in Barnwell's march against the Tuscarora in 1711, although they disappointed him by returning home with plunder and captives after the first battle. While it is not known whether the lower Catawba valley

communities had a retaliatory motive for participating in this campaign, such an objective is clear in the case of attacks on the Westo and Savannah.

Joint participation in these military campaigns likely encouraged the political consolidation of lower Catawba valley groups, helping them form the emergent polity that Barnwell (1955:238-239) named “Catawba” on his 1715 census. However, in at least one instance lower Catawba valley groups sought to redress rivalries among themselves with the support of Carolina. During the Yamasee War, most Catawba-Wateree groups were quick to make peace at Charles Town in June of 1716. The Waxhaw— who were still listed as a distinct polity on the 1715 census—apparently did not participate in these negotiations. However, by August the South Carolina Commons House was able to report that “The Wascaws refus’d to make peace with us which obliged the Cattawbaws to fall on them” (Merrell 1989:103-104). This was not a conflict between groups of different cultural backgrounds. The Waxhaw, like the Yssa and Catapa, had been living in the lower Catawba drainage at the time of Juan Pardo’s expeditions (Hudson 1990:76). Around 1700, however, it appears that the Kadapau and Waxhaw were competing for the attention of Virginia traders (Fitts 2006:15). When the Waxhaw’s recalcitrance threatened the ability of other lower Catawba valley groups to access colonial trade, members of the newly consolidated Catawba Nation seem to have recognized an opportunity to weaken their rivals. Survivors of the attack fled to the Charraw settlements on the Pee Dee River, and the Waxhaw ceased to exist as an independent political entity (Salley 1928, VI:241, Lewis 1951:39). This censure was a clear demonstration of the strength of the consolidated towns, and likely played a role in convincing other groups to join the Catawba for protection. As Merrell (1989:105) notes, Catawba recruiters may have benefitted from the “implicit threat” that safety

could be found in Catawba towns not only from other Indians and settlers, but also from the Catawba themselves.

Catawba warriors served as an auxiliary force for AngloAmerica throughout the eighteenth century, but what was expected of them changed in concert with settlers' concerns. The decline of the Indian slave trade after the Yamasee War led to a reduction in Carolina's interest in providing financial support for military actions between Indian groups. Thus during the next two decades, Catawba warriors participated in retaliatory raids without interference from Carolina, particularly with the Iroquois. The War of Jenkin's Ear, however, brought renewed colonial interest in securing the military alliance of Indian nations. New York Lieutenant Governor George Clarke's 1741 concept of a "Covenant Chain" of alliance between all pro-English Indian nations was the first attempt to regularize England's native auxiliaries in eastern North America (Sirmans 1966:216). This undertaking required the Catawba to seek peace with the Iroquois. Later, in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), Catawba men served on several expeditions in the Ohio Valley, patrolled in the Broad River valley, and supported major actions against the Savannah-Shawnees and the Cherokees. Catawba warriors continued to serve with North and South Carolina regiments in the American Revolution, and then as soldiers for the United States well into the modern era (Heath 2004:87-92).

The militarization of the Catawba occurred coincident with the political transformation of the Nation from a geographically dispersed set of Catawba Valley Mississippian communities to a centralized, diverse polity located at the Catawba River crossing of the Great Trading Path. It occurred in a context of settler colonial imperialism, when lower Catawba valley warriors and Charles Town merchants were working to quite different ends: men of the Catawba valley had wrongs to avenge and sought venues in which they could obtain renown for bravery; Carolina

settlers sought slaves for export and a depopulated landscape. Together these disparate groups, each working to achieve their own objectives, developed a hybrid practice in which Catawba warriors served as auxiliaries for Carolina. In this discussion, I have sidelined the role of the deerskin trade in Catawba history, which was certainly another arena in which European settlers and American Indians developed a hybrid set of ideas and practices. While this other network of interactions surely entangled Catawba and Carolina, militarism, as I will discuss below, played a large role in the population aggregation that took place in the lower Catawba valley. Further, it appears that Catawba warriors were motivated to act as auxiliaries following their own cultural logic. Studies of the deerskin trade, at least among the Muskogee, have suggested that an uneven dissemination of European ideologies regarding the individualistic accumulation of property took place after 1760, when the children of European traders and Indian women came of age (Braund 1993:79, Saunt 1999:42). While the people living in the lower Catawba River valley during the first half of the eighteenth century were clearly interested in obtaining imported objects, I do not assume that they were “consumers” in the sense of the term that developed coincident with Western capitalism (Graeber 2011). It would require a separate study to investigate their associated desires and identify how this acquisition may have affected Catawba daily life during the first half of the eighteenth century.

Catawba militarization had significant effects on the historical trajectory of the Nation and the daily lives of all members of lower Catawba valley communities. On the one hand, it proved to be a successful strategy for Catawba persistence. The interaction of warriors from different Catawba Valley Mississippian communities likely helped establish the political infrastructure of the nation, while banding together ensured they could defend themselves and remain in the same general vicinity as their ancestors. Being English allies also provided

Catawba warriors an opportunity to obtain firearms and generate good will with the growing colonies. How serving as auxiliaries affected the daily lives of Catawba families is harder to ascertain. Adair's commentary suggests that there were certain costs to this strategy in the form of economic dependency and stress associated with the incorporation of refugees. To investigate these possibilities, I next use archival data to consider the effects of Catawba militancy and identify questions that can be addressed with archaeological data.

Offense, Defense, and Insecurity

Information about Catawba military engagements is vital for tracing the initiation and transformation of their role as auxiliaries. But how did this strategy affect the experiences of Catawba men, women, and children? Ethnohistoric and archaeological data regarding Catawba settlement locations, architecture, and political economy can be assembled to address this question. Logistical concerns associated with offensive and defensive strategies, for example, could influence where new towns were established and the types of public works communities decided to build. Meanwhile, heightened uncertainty associated with increased raiding and disease may have informed the economic choices of Catawba men and women, particularly with regard to foodways. It appears that during the mid-eighteenth century in particular, this affective state of insecurity intersected with other sources of stress to produce a state of precariousness among Catawba households, a state of affairs in which colonial governments served both as provocateurs and benefactors.

Historians have remarked upon the inverse relationship between the Catawba Nation's political influence and its demographic size. As Eractasswa Nopkehe observed in 1756, "We are a small Nation but our name is high" (McDowell 1992:107). Throughout the 1750s, the Catawba

could muster between 300 and 400 warriors, having a total population of about 1,000 people (McReynolds 2004:44). During the same period, their Cherokee neighbors boasted between eight and twelve thousand people (Thornton 1990:30). Hudson (1970:56-57) suggests that the Catawba mystique developed in part because low country planters believed they served as a deterrent for slave uprisings, while Merrell (1987:122) proposes that Catawba martial prowess developed as a result of living in an environment where they had neither steep terrain nor swamps to hinder their enemies. While both of these situations may have contributed to the renown of Catawba militarism, their use of a geospatial organizational strategy—settlement aggregation—is one specific tactic that contributed to their success. Having closely-spaced settlements facilitated Catawba offensive and defensive actions by reducing the length of time required for warriors to mobilize. The consensus decision-making practiced by most colonial period Southeastern Indians required negotiations and inter-community travel, thereby limiting the speed with which recruits could be mustered for offensive actions (Lee 2007:722-724). By reducing the distance between towns, Catawba warriors increased their response time. By the mid-eighteenth century, they had developed a systematic procedure to convene representatives from each town. After arriving in the Nation with important news, John Evans observed that “The King immediately ordered a new Flag to be hoisted and the Drum to beat, and then sent for the Headmen of each town to come to his Town” (McDowell 1992:107). The strategic value of Catawba settlement aggregation did not go unnoticed by colonial officials. Governor Glen of South Carolina observed this settlement strategy made the Catawba as effective as a force twice their number because they could be at arms in two hours (Merrell 1989:119–120).

The aggregation of Catawba towns began in the late seventeenth century, when communities relocated their settlements from riverine bottomlands to the adjacent uplands. An

examination of ten pottery surface collections from the lower Catawba valley tracked this change (Fitts 2006). All of the assemblages contained sherds from vessels stamped with wooden paddles that had carved curvilinear designs, indicating they were the products of potters trained in the Catawba Valley Lamar tradition. Late seventeenth and eighteenth century settlements could be distinguished from earlier ones, however, based on the presence of pottery that had been marked with paddles wrapped in fine cord, burnished, or made with folded and notched rims (Fitts 2006: 32-40, Figure 4.1). Unlike earlier Catawba Valley Mississippian communities, these late seventeenth and eighteenth century groups established settlements not on the banks of the Catawba River but along the main trading paths through the area. This situation was observed by John Lawson in 1701. When visiting “the powerful Nation of Esaws,” Lawson (1967[1709]:49) describes thriving towns “very thick” along an at least 32-km (20-mile) trail that traversed the eastern side of the Catawba-Wateree valley in present York and Lancaster Counties, South Carolina. It is unclear if further consolidation occurred prior to Barnwell’s 1715 census, when 1,470 Catawba men, women and children were said to be living in seven towns (Barnwell 1955:239). By the mid-eighteenth century—possibly following a 1738 smallpox epidemic (McReynolds 2004:51)—Catawba communities were arranged as a nexus of six or seven towns in a roughly two square mile (5 km²) area north of Nation Ford, the location where the Great Trading Path crossed the Catawba River. The focal town of this cluster was Weyanne, or King’s Town, where Eractasswa Nopkehe lived (Merrell 1989:163). Nopkehe referred to the other settlements as “my out towns” despite their proximity, possibly making an analogy to the Cherokee Out Towns, which were located away from the main trading path and thus less visited by Europeans (Greene 1996:5). Unlike the strategy of extreme mobility that characterized the “militaristic slaving societies” described by Ethridge (2006:208–209), the Catawba strategy of

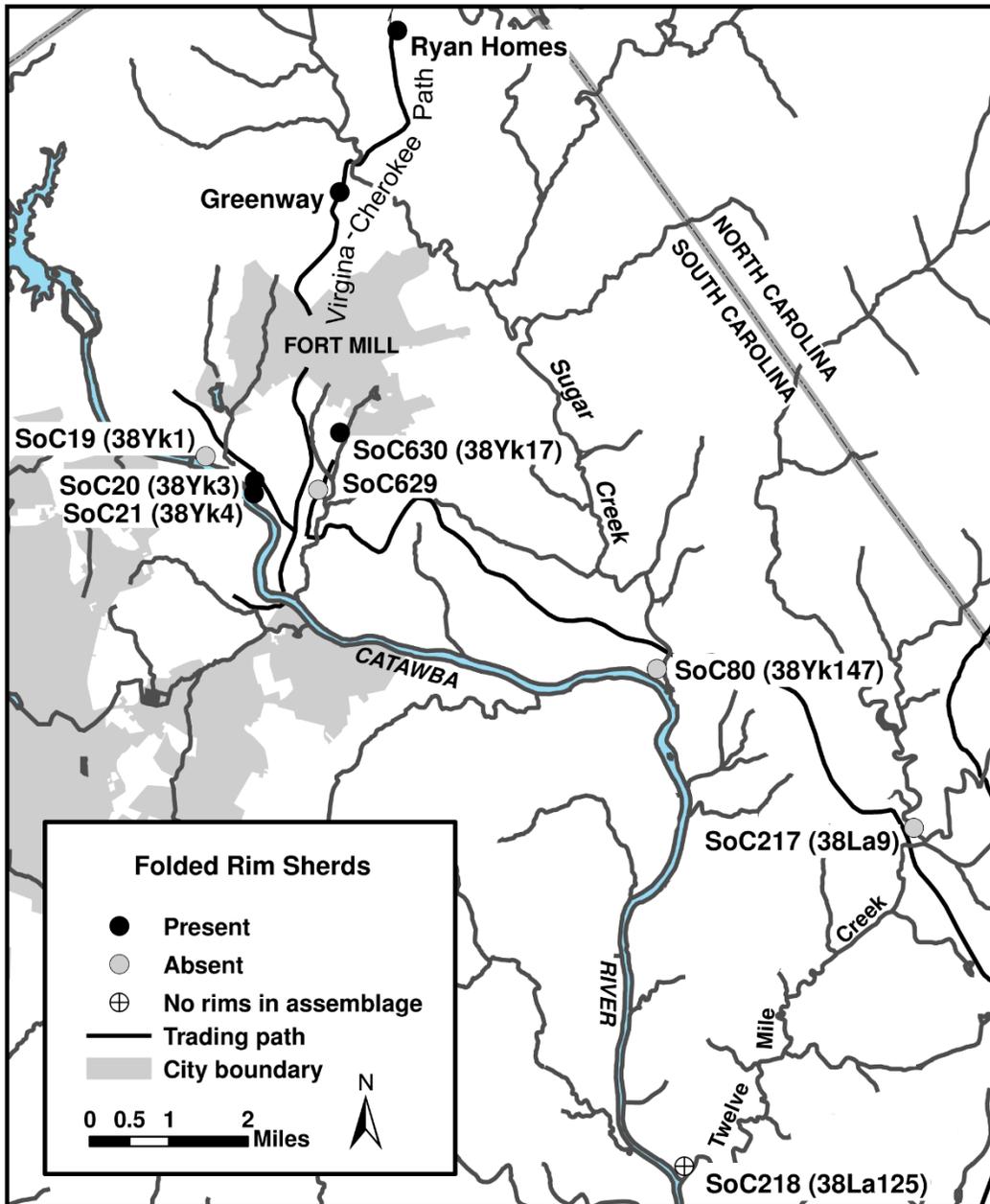


Figure 4.1. Map showing distribution of folded rim sherds in ten pottery surface collections from the lower Catawba valley.

population aggregation was one of geographic stability. Not only did John Lawson encounter dense settlement in the lower Catawba valley—he also witnessed evidence that these communities were not planning to move anytime soon. While traveling through the Esaw settlements, Lawson (1967[1709]:46) “met with several Towns of Indians, each Town having its Theater or State House, such Houses being found all along the Road.” This high frequency of council houses, which represent community investment in public architecture while also indicating these settlements were organized into formal political units, is surprising given the expected unpredictability of daily life in the “shatter zone.” The security of Esaw communities suggests that they had warded off the worst effects of the Indian slave trade prior to Lawson’s visit, including the great smallpox epidemic a few years earlier.

Population aggregation, in facilitating the speed with which decisions could be made and warriors deployed, served as an important offensive and defensive strategy for the Catawba Nation during the first half of the eighteenth century. In fact, it appears to have been the *primary* defensive strategy employed by the Nation. The construction of palisades—a common form of defensive architecture in the late prehistoric and early colonial Southeast—does not appear to have been practiced with any frequency in the lower Catawba valley. While Lawson (1967[1709]:55-56,62) observed fortified communities along the northern portion of the Great Trading Path, such as the Saponi and Keyauwee towns, he does not mention the presence of defensive architecture in any of the lower Catawba River valley settlements he passed through. The seventeenth century Westo town on the Savannah, in contrast, had a double palisade along its inland margin, and a single line that fronted the river (Cheves 2010[1897]:460). Thus at the time of Lawson’s visit—during the height of the Indian slave trade—the lower Catawba valley communities found safety in numbers to be a sufficient defensive strategy. Even after half a

century of serving as auxiliaries, the Catawba do not appear to have constructed palisades. The Reverend William Richardson of Virginia, who visited the Catawba towns in 1758, mentions that Charraw Town was “built round” (Richardson 1758). Although this comment has been interpreted as evidence of a palisade surrounding the town (Davis et al. 2014:27), it is just as likely that Richardson was contrasting a circular arrangement of buildings with the gridded plans of colonial towns with which he was familiar, such as Williamsburg. Further, systematic attempts to identify a palisade at the site of mid-eighteenth century Nassaw Town failed to locate any evidence of such a feature, although artifacts were clustered in roughly circular area (Fitts et al. 2007:25). Situations in which lower Catawba valley communities sought safety through fortification suggest that this was the exception rather than the rule. In 1717, trader Eleazer Wiggan reported that the Catawba “were much disturbed” at a rumor that they would be attacked by English colonists, and in response “gathered together, building and erecting Forts” (McDowell 1955:177). After this episode, it is not until the Seven Years War that the Nation exhibited an interest in fortifications. In 1756, Eractasswa Nopkehe reported that Catawba warriors would participate in the war as long as the English built and garrisoned a fort for the protection of their women and children (McDowell 1992:107–108, Saunders 1994:638–639). North Carolina started to build a fort but never completed it; South Carolina waited until 1760 (Brown 1966:238-239). One suspects that it was the garrison, and not the fort itself, that was of primary importance in this instance. A garrison would bring not only soldiers to keep watch over Catawba towns while warriors pursued war honors, but also a steady supply of ammunition. It was ammunition, I will argue, that was the primary vehicle through which Catawba warriors experienced their own precarious position within the political economy of the colonial Southeast.

A precarious position is one of uncertainty and insecurity. Recently, anthropologists have used the term “precarity” to describe “a structure of feeling” brought about by economic uncertainty and cuts to state and corporate programs under twenty-first-century neoliberal global capitalism (Muehlebach 2013:298). A fundamentally different set of conditions informed colonial period Catawba precariousness, as they lived in a world in which the notion of a “right to work” did not exist and possessed the farmlands and hunting grounds that sustained their economy. Two factors that probably did contribute to mid-eighteenth century Catawba precariousness were memories of the Indian slave trade and the adoption of imported materials and tools—particularly firearms. While the Indian slave trade had largely ended by 1720, ethnographers of post-slave trade existence in Africa have documented ways in which slave raiding contributed to the formation of subjective states that were reproduced through ritual protections and performances, concern over spirits in the landscape, stereotypes, stories, and rumors (Fitts 2015a:303-306). In Sierra Leone, for example, slave raiding seems to have brought about an increased concern over matters of control, leading people to elaborate or develop protective measures such as the use of amulets that conferred both invisibility and defense from invasive magic (Shaw 2002:60). While the scale of the American Indian and African slave trades varied considerably, at the level of lived experience the violence and uncertainty of increased raiding may have engendered similar concerns in eighteenth-century Catawba communities. Further, the specific practices and beliefs associated with concerns over control and protection likely differed according to age and gender, as has been the case in certain African contexts (Argenti 2010, Graeber 1997). In addition to this affective precariousness, the mid-eighteenth century Catawba had come to recognize the utility of many items that they only could obtain directly through interactions with European settlers. Like the colonists themselves, they were

beholden to the factors and merchants who circulated these items. Further, colonial governments limited or put stipulations on trade with specific Indian nations, creating a situation best described by the Latin root of “precarious”—*precarius*—meaning “obtained by begging, entreaty, or prayer” or “depending on the will of another” (Lewis and Short 1879). By the mid-eighteenth century, the Catawba had developed a *precarius* economic relationship with Carolina and Virginia in regard to a variety of iron and brass tools, imported fabrics, and of course firearms.

Firearms, of all the imported items obtained by Catawba communities, were the only tools that required a constant supply of supplementary imported materials to function as designed. Gunflints, gunpowder, and shot were all necessary to the functioning of eighteenth-century firearms. A Catawba warrior who owned a trade gun would need these items to use it. This rather straightforward situation was quite intentionally exploited by Carolina throughout the colonial period. When the proprietors were notified of the Westo War in 1680, they responded by reminding the settlers of the strategy that would best pacify the Indian groups that threatened the fledgling colony’s existence:

Wherefore we desire you seriously to consider whether it will not be extremely usefull for the quyet and peace of our Collony to sett up some other nation in the roome of ye Westoes (whoome we deem ruined) and whose Government is lesse Anarcicall then theirs that shall be furnished by us with Arms & Ammunition; but with restriction to them not to furnish any other Nation: which Nation soe furnished by us will owe their strength to us and absolutely depend upon us for ye continuation of it, by furnishing them with Ammunition, the which will keepe your Neighbors the stricter united to you and ye northern & Spanish Indians from dareing to infest you: And those Indians being thus sett up above the others by us will never be able to abstaine from insulting ever their neighbors, and by consequence drawing on themselves their hatred and envy: soe that whenever that nation that we sett up shall misbehave themselves towards us, we shall be able whenever we please by abstaineing from supplying them with Ammunition, and making show of Invadeing them to ruine them and lay them open to ye wrong of their neighbors. (Salley 1928,I:117-118)

While this plan was not implemented perfectly given the inability of colonists to effectively control their own Indian traders, let alone interactions between Indian nations, it nevertheless roughly describes Westo and Savannah history in Carolina. Catawba warriors appear to have been selected to fill this role when they were offered the chance to exchange Savannah persons and scalps for guns in 1708 (Salley 1941:62). In the aftermath of the Yamasee War, the practice of supplying Indian nations with arms and ammunition decreased in popularity. However, when the War of Jenkins Ear began in 1739, imperial threats from Spain and France motivated the English colonies to revisit the strategy of selectively arming Indian nations. Between 1740 and 1760, the Catawba Nation was supplied with at least two thousand pounds of powder, four thousand pounds of lead shot, and 2,750 gunflints (Merrell 1989:153). This amounts to an average of 200 pounds of shot per year, or about 4,000 rounds per year at 20 balls per pound. Most soldiers of this period carried about 60 rounds of ammunition into battle (Jørgensen et al. 2005:58), so by this standard the Catawba were given enough supplies for between 60 and 70 men to fight in one battle per year. Of course these disbursements did not occur annually, but rather when the Catawba were expected to fight. Complicating the matter, guns had become not only weapons of war but also vital tools for hunting. According to regulations enacted in 1767, traders were allowed to lend hunters 12 pounds of shot per season on credit (Braund 1993:190); by this standard, the Catawba were supplied with enough ammunition for only 15 to 20 hunters per year. Colonial governments had an interest in making sure the ammunition supplied to the Catawba was used only for defense and military operations. The interpreter and colonial agent John Evans reminded Catawba warriors that the ammunition South Carolina provided “was sent to defend them, their Wives, Children, and Country from the Enemy, and not to be waisted on every trivial Occasion” (McDowell 1992:86). Traders, on the other hand, had an interest in

obtaining “supply contracts” from the colonial government. In 1754, a trader named Mathew Toole reported to South Carolina’s governor that the Catawba were “very destitute of Ammunition and wanted me to let them have it which I would not” (McDowell 1958:488). Toole was writing for permission not only to supply the Catawba with ammunition but also to join them in moving against the French and their allies. Collusion between the trader and Catawba to obtain government-funded ammunition is suggested by an accompanying letter—transcribed by Toole and signed by King Hagler (Nopkehe)—which states that the Catawba had “no Skins to buy any [ammunition] of him, and we are very much in debt to him already” (McDowell 1958:487).

Catawba warriors clearly did recognize, and were frustrated by, their *precarious* position with regard to obtaining ammunition. This situation was acute in the 1750s, when the colonial supply was tied up in wartime operations. While individual warriors may have obtained ammunition as they were able, colonial provisions of ammunition were divided up equally among all Catawba communities. A 1755 delivery from South Carolina, for example, resulted in each of six Catawba towns receiving two kegs of powder and two kegs of bullets (McDowell 1992:34-35). The year earlier, Nopkehe and four other Catawba leaders had complained that ammunition supplied by Virginia “when we came to divide it was not above ten Shotts apiece” (McDowell 1992:14). The leaders further complained that powder and lead were scarce because no trader had come to the Nation during the summer. Such a situation would seem to heighten concern over matters of control and protection for Catawba warriors, whose access to the power potentially afforded by gun ownership was constantly mitigated though traders and colonial decree. In 1756, John Evans reported to South Carolina Governor Glen that the Catawba were again “complaining that Ammunition was very scarce and desired I would let your Excellency

know their Condition, they all seemed to be in a great Consternation” (McDowell 1992:92).

While beholden to external interests to obtain ammunition, Catawba warriors could nonetheless protest their condition and use “weapons of the weak” (*sensu* Scott 1985) such as foot-dragging to obtain colonial compliance with their requests. This tactic was used by Nopkehe in a letter to Governor Glen, in which he requested that “some Traders might come from Carolina with Goods to trade with us or we must sit over the Fire without any other Action” (McDowell 1992:85).

Catawba women are largely absent from colonial documents, making it difficult to assess how they may have experienced and responded to the precariousness brought about by the Indian slave trade and colonial economy. However, other Southeastern Indian women were generally responsible for childcare and farming (Hudson 1976:264), making it reasonable to suppose that this was also the case in mid-eighteenth century Catawba households. While no records from this period refer directly to Catawba parenting, some version of the stories or parables recorded by ethnographers in the early twentieth century may have been told during the eighteenth century—particularly those that appear to reference the dangers of raiding behavior associated with the Indian slave trade. I have argued that this may be the case with regard to tales about spirits called *ye’ ha su’ri*, translated as “wild people” by Frank Speck (1939) and “wild Indians” by Thomas Blumer (1985) (Fitts 2015a:306-307). Catawba *ye’ ha su’ri* are human-like, of small stature, and use arrows as weapons (Speck 1939:31). In their small stature they resemble the “little people” known to the Cherokee and other Southeastern groups (Witthoft and Hadlock 1946). While Cherokee little people can be benevolent and helpful, Catawba *ye’ ha su’ri* are primarily intent on mischief. In one story recorded by Speck, they abduct a child, and in another, they tie an old woman to a tree. Blumer (1985:152) interprets stories of *ye’ ha su’ri* as a technology of Catawba parenting, stories women told as a means of scaring children to keep them within the safety of

the yard. While this may be so, it does not explain their form or the character of practices associated with them. One twentieth-century account by Mrs. Catherine Saunders Canty describes how her mother made certain to bring in baby clothes at night since they attracted wild Indians. At dusk she also used a broom to wipe out the tracks of small children who had been playing in the yard, lest the wild Indians “play” in their tracks and make them cry at night (Blumer 1985:151). The precautions taken by Mrs. Canty suggest *ye’ ha su’ri* are alert for signs—such as small clothes and footprints—that might lead them to children. In this, they appear to embody fears of exogenous raiders. As most captives taken to be Indian slaves were women and children (Gallay 2002:12–13), it makes sense that this phenomenon might be referenced, if obliquely, in the stories Catawba women told their children.

Colonial documents also provide little information about Catawba women’s agricultural practices. However, it is clear that during the eighteenth century, uncertainty caused by Catawba militancy intersected with other sources of stress to the extent that households appear to have experienced food insecurity. These intersecting stresses were four-fold. First was the threat of attack by Iroquois and French-allied groups, which produced a climate of fear that was said to have affected Catawba subsistence practices. In 1753 a trader reported that the Catawba could not hunt for fear of the enemy, and in 1754 a Catawba woman who escaped from the Iroquois returned home with the threat that her captors “knew where the Catawbaws fetched their Water and Wood and they would utterly destroy them” (McDowell 1958:454, McDowell 1992:48-49). Compounding this situation were a series of epidemics in the early part of the decade and a drought that began in 1755, destroying many low country indigo fields (Edelson 2006:111). Reports of sickness in the Catawba Nation indicate epidemics occurred in 1749, 1751, and 1753, resulting in population losses that may have spurred Catawba efforts to recruit Indian groups that

had remained independent, such as the Pedee who had remained on the Pee Dee River (McReynolds 2004:51). The drought mentioned by planters also has been identified through dendrochronology of bald cypress forests in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia (Stahle and Cleaveland 1992:1954, Stahle et al. 2000:121). In January of 1759, Nopkehe sent word to Virginia Governor Lyttelton that dry weather had “intirely destroyed our Crop,” presumably referring to the previous year’s efforts (McDowell 1992:482). A fourth source of stress that contributed to Catawba food insecurity in the 1750s was settler expansion into Catawba hunting grounds. Due to the encouragement of North Carolina’s colonial government there were some 500 settler families within 30 miles of the Catawba towns in 1754 (Saunders 1887,V:124). South Carolina Governor Glen protested this development, as he had promised the Catawba a 30-mile buffer exempt from settlement around their towns. By 1757, North Carolina’s governor was complaining that Glen encouraged the Catawba to “molest” these planters (Saunders 1887,V:574). Not surprisingly, members of the Catawba Nation were displeased with this influx of colonists. As early as 1752, three Catawba leaders signed a letter complaining that the settlers were establishing plantations too near to the Catawba towns and were stealing their horses (McDowell 1958:361). In 1753 the Nation took matters into its own hands and sent young warriors to evict one Andrew Clewer from Fishing Creek, a tributary of the lower Catawba River. A South Carolina merchant reported that the men “delivered him [Clewer] all his Effects, but they burnt his House after he was gone” (McDowell 1958:371).

Raiding, illness, drought, and settler encroachment all took their toll on Catawba subsistence practices. Some of the strategies Catawba men and women adopted to mitigate this food stress can be inferred from colonial documents. When the threat of Iroquois raids made it difficult for Catawba men to hunt in 1753, traders were willing to accept maize as payment

instead of deerskins. In order to compensate for this loss to their food supply, Catawba women appear to have intensified the collection of wild foods such as fruits. It was reported—presumably with exaggeration for emphasis—that the Catawba had “lived entirely upon Blackberries” that summer (McDowell 1958:454). In order to compensate for reduced hunting opportunities, Catawba men adopted a strategy that emphasized not wild but domestic foods—they took hogs and cattle from the proliferating settler homesteads (McDowell 1958:371). After the drought began, they appear to have also visited plantations to collect maize. In 1756, the North Carolina government agreed to supply the Catawba with £50 worth of maize because the Catawba were said to “subsist by begging from the neighbouring Planters who are themselves scarce of Corn yet Dare not Deny them” (Saunders 1887,V:656). Interestingly, there are no reports of Catawba men collecting maize from planters prior to February of 1756, when South Carolina first purchased corn for the Catawba.

This initial episode of maize distribution appears on the surface to be a simple case of a colonial government provisioning a native auxiliary force to alleviate food insecurity. However, available evidence suggests that it was devised by Governor Glen as a strategy to appease Catawba warriors’ frustration over ammunition shortages. In October of 1755, the interpreter John Evans visited the Catawba towns to inquire about the murder of several Pedee Indians in the low country. Eractasswa Nopkehe used this opportunity to compose a letter to Governor Glen in which he communicated the severity of the Nations’ ammunition shortage (McDowell 1992:85). The following month, Glen told the South Carolina Commons House that he had been informed “our Friends the Catawbas” were in “extreme want of Corn; occasioned by a very dry Season” (Lipscomb 1989:9). As neither Nopkehe nor Evans mention this condition in their earlier correspondence, it appears Glen did not think it prudent to provide the requested

ammunition, perhaps because he did not want South Carolina to subsidize Catawba warriors' participation in what he viewed as Virginia's offensive undertakings against the French. Instead, Glen secured 500-600 bushels of maize. Alternately, he may have thought that the legislature would balk at providing the Catawba more ammunition, but that the planter representatives—having themselves experienced a dry season—would endorse a request for maize. In December John Evans received word of this appropriation, and managed to make the requested corn available to the Catawba by the beginning of February 1756 (McDowell 1992:89,92). He reported that while they were thankful for the corn, Catawba warriors reiterated their request for ammunition. In a letter to Nopkehe written soon afterwards, Governor Glen mentions “our last Benevolence in purchasing Corn to supply the Necessities of your Nation unasked” as proof that South Carolina operated as the Nation's “constant Protectors” (McDowell 1992:278). From this point forward, the Catawba recognized maize as another commodity that colonists would supply to the Nation if asked. While the stresses of the 1750s may have hindered maize production and turned this staple into a commodity, Catawba women continued to farm, even selling excess maize to their neighbors during the American Revolution (Hutchinson 1843, North 2014:33).

This symbolic transformation of bullets into maize perhaps best illustrates the nature of Catawba precariousness within the context of colonial-period imperialism. By serving as native auxiliaries, Catawba warriors obtained access to venues in which to prove their bravery while also obtaining the good will of colonial governments. However, from a very early date colonists recognized that by controlling the supply of technology—specifically ammunition for firearms—they could limit the power of Indian nations. At the same time, those who brokered these relationships, such as Governor Glen, found they could not maintain diplomatic relations without in some way responding to Catawba requests. This *precarious* relationship with colonial

governments in combination with the persistent threat of retaliatory attacks, memories of the slave trade, disease, drought, and settler encroachment combined to produce stress and food insecurity in the mid-eighteenth century Catawba Nation. Adair's (2005[1775]:245) assertion that "the Katahba live perhaps the meanest of any Indians belonging to the British American empire" takes on new significance when considered in light of these factors. At the same time, however, the Catawba Nation owed its geographic stability in large part to militaristic strategies that emphasized mobilization. The aggregation of Catawba Towns within a roughly two square mile (5 km²) area north of Nation Ford was one of these strategies. This emphasis on settlement aggregation encouraged sedentism and the geographic persistence of the Nation in the lower Catawba River valley. Yet as Adair also observed, many residents of the lower Catawba valley were newcomers—refugees from other groups that were recruited to join the Catawba Nation. While a militaristic strategy may have encouraged this diversity, it does not in and of itself explain how these newcomers interacted with established lower Catawba valley communities on a daily basis. To this end, I next consider anthropological theories of ethnogenesis and coalescence to explore how the incorporation of refugees into the mid-eighteenth century Catawba Nation can be modeled and tested with archaeological data.

New Neighbors

"About the year 1743, their nation consisted of almost 400 warriors, of above twenty different dialects." Adair's (2005[1775]:246) description of the Catawba Nation evokes a pluralism that not only counters the prevailing EuroAmerican stereotype of American Indian societies as monolithic, homogeneous cultures, but is truly difficult to imagine in any context other than a twenty-first century United Nations operation. Yet it is clear that the Catawba

Nation—a polity founded by groups that were *nieya í-suwq*, or “people of the river”—was host to refugees from a variety of different backgrounds. Some, like the Sugaree, Congaree, and possibly Wateree, were descendants of Catawba Valley Mississippian communities, while others, like the Charraw and Saponi, were northern Siouan-speaking groups. In addition to having different backgrounds, these refugees seem to have joined the Catawba Nation in a variety of ways. Some individuals or families may have moved into existing lower Catawba valley communities, while others appear to have established new settlements. In some cases these new communities persisted into the mid-eighteenth century, as was the case with the Charraw, while others returned home, like the Saponi. While the Catawba are well-known for incorporating refugee communities, they were not unique in this regard. The uncertainty of the colonial shatter zone led many Southeastern Indian groups to relocate and establish new polities or transform existing ones. Two processes associated with this phenomenon have been termed ethnogenesis and coalescence. Given the models of human behavior posited by these terms and details of Catawba history, it is possible to develop a set of questions about the logistics of refugee incorporation that can be addressed by examining the material remains of Catawba economic activities.

The terms ethnogenesis and coalescence are both used by anthropologists to refer to contexts in which novel forms of social identity are created. However, these concepts differ with regard to the character of the identities produced and the types of processes involved in their creation. As the name implies, ethnogenesis refers to the development of new ethnicities, or “ideologies of shared ancestry, territory, language, history, and/or tradition” (Voss 2008a:407). As categories that are constantly being (re)produced through a dynamic of self-naming and external ascription (Barth 1969, Nagel 1994), ethnic identities are in a sense always being

(re)constructed. However, new collective identities can also develop, particularly in cases of population movement and external stress (Fairbanks 1974, Weisman 2007, Voss 2008a,b). For this reason, ethnogenesis is common in colonial contexts. Shared experiences of material conditions such as the adjustment to new environments and foods may contribute to ethnogenesis, as may people's experiences of and responses to the contexts produced under rules and regulations of colonial institutions (Voss 2008a:408). While narratives of ethnogenesis may seem to highlight cultural discontinuity, they are more properly considered accounts of transformation (Panich 2014:117-118).

Coalescence, on the other hand, refers to a process of sociopolitical reorganization in which formerly distinct groups establish new polities (Ethridge and Hudson 2002, Kowalewski 2006). The concept most frequently has been used to describe the transformation of Southeastern Indian polities in the wake of regional depopulation caused by the Indian slave trade, but coalescence can be cross-culturally deployed to characterize sociopolitical change in other contexts of demographic decline due to violence, disease, or environmental disruption (Kowalewski 2006:96). Coalescence involves the creation of new population centers and the incorporation of groups that speak different languages. Given the need to secure cooperation among previously separate groups, people involved in creating coalescent polities often promote ceremonies and ideologies that emphasize community integration (Kowalewski 2006:98). This corporate emphasis, in which group unity is foregrounded and individual status competition downplayed (Blanton et al. 1996), may lead to the organization of supra-household task groups, often based on gendered divisions of labor (Kowalewski 2006:117). Ultimately, coalescence can foster ethnogenesis by creating situations in which people from different backgrounds live and work together, experiencing similar material conditions and practicing community rituals. The

distinction between these two forms of social construction lies therefore in the character of the product—an ethnic identity versus a political affiliation—as well as in the extent to which the people involved are intentionally working to provide for their own defense and subsistence as a collective entity.

The Catawba have been characterized as both a distinct ethnic group and a coalescent polity by historians and anthropologists (Baker 1975, Beck 2013, Brown 1966, Davis and Riggs 2004, Harrington 1908, Hudson 1970, Merrell 1989). While this implies the Catawba underwent processes of ethnogenesis and coalescence, little is known about how these transformations actually took place. As both involve the relocation of people to new contexts, one place to start is to consider the ways in which refugees may have settled into the social geography of the lower Catawba valley during the first half of the eighteenth century. The size of a relocating party, in particular, likely played an important role in where newcomers settled. The smaller the group, the more likely their behavior may have followed the patterns suggested by comprehensive models of human “migration” developed using findings from cultural anthropology, geology, and sociology (Anthony 1990, Burmeister 2000). Knowledge is often a factor limiting population movements. However, in many societies marriage arrangements require change of residence, thereby building kinship information networks across regions (Anthony 1990:901). The low level of interaction between constellations of Cowans Ford and Saratown potters evident in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century lower Catawba valley and Dan River ceramic assemblages, as discussed in Chapter 3, may have been produced by occasional marriage alliances in this manner. Kinship networks also linked communities of the Catawba-Wateree drainage. Information that traveled between communities through these relationships could facilitate the movement of larger groups, such as entire households, to existing lower Catawba valley settlements. Once

established, such “apex families” may have facilitated the development of migrant enclaves (Anthony 1990:904, Burmeister 2000:549). Refugees that moved to the lower Catawba valley in this manner, however, will be difficult to identify in historic documents, although intra-site variation in household architecture or artifact patterning may be used to identify them archaeologically.

The concept of coalescence—as a process of constructing a polity from previously autonomous groups under conditions of duress—departs from this general model of small-scale migration by implicating the movement of larger groups. This is consistent with observations that migrations become less selective when people are faced with “existential threats” such as war, natural catastrophes, and economic recession (Burmeister 2000:550). In the Catawba case, increased Iroquois raiding and settler encroachment led groups such as the Saponi and Charraw to move to the lower Catawba valley. While it is possible that some members of these communities may have decided not to participate, these moves involved enough people that at least from the European colonists’ perspective, they amounted to the relocation of entire political entities. These refugee communities appear either to have been “adopted” by existing Catawba towns, forming “twin towns,” or else established new settlements on their own. Twin towns were a common phenomenon in Southeastern Indian geopolitical organization that involved two communities living adjacent to each other while maintaining their own political institutions and associated architecture (Willis 1980:98). This phenomenon is particularly well-documented for groups of the lower Mississippi valley, the Creek, and the Cherokee. During the colonial period, the formation of twin towns frequently occurred when one polity experienced a military defeat or other form of severe stress and sought refuge through association with a larger or higher-ranked polity. Pre-existing kinship and diplomatic ties of the kind involved in short-distance regional

migration presumably informed these pairings (Willis 1980:105). While each partner community in a “twin town” maintained their own political organization, they were not necessarily considered equal. The refugee polity was often understood to be subordinate to the host polity, a relationship that mapped on to a widespread Southeastern value system coded red-white. White entities were considered senior, stable, and high-rank, while red entities were junior, volatile, and low-rank (Blitz 1999:858, Hudson 1976:235). Having an existing institution for establishing such relationships may have eased the tensions that accompanied community relocation, as did the logistical benefits to each party involved: greater security on the part of the refugee community, and enhanced strength on the part of the host polity (Blitz 1999:584-585).

One apparent instance of twin towns in the Catawba Nation is the relationship between Nassaw and Weyapee. Unfortunately, little is known about Weyapee, which was the “red” town of this pairing. Nassaw—or *nieya i-suwq*, meaning “people of the river”—was the elder town, home to descendants of the Esaw Nation visited by John Lawson. Nassaw and Weyapee appear as contiguous settlements on Evans’ 1756 map, a topological indication of proximity that is reinforced by the fact he provides a combined warrior count for these two groups. While no explicit reference to this relationship has been found in colonial documents, the configuration of polities shown on the 1721 deerskin map suggests that it may have even been established by that date, possibly in the aftermath of the Yamasee War. Nassaw is located in the center of the cluster of towns depicted, while “Wiapie” is depicted as an adjacent, much smaller polity immediately to its west. The settlements associated with Nassaw and Weyapee in the 1750s have been equated with archaeological site 38Yk434, as will be discussed in the following chapter.

Some refugees that moved to the Catawba Nation did not join existing settlements as individuals, households, or twin towns. They established entirely new settlements instead. This

was the case with the Charraw town in the Catawba Nation, which was likely established after they sold most of their lands on the Pee Dee River to John Thompson in 1737 (South Carolina Council Journal 15 June 1739). Charraw Town is depicted on Evan's 1756 map as home to 56 warriors, making it similar in size to the combined population of Nassaw and Weyapee. This suggests that one reason the Charraw established a new town was due to the number of people involved—upon their arrival, they may have outnumbered any individual lower Catawba valley town. It is also possible that as a primarily northern Siouan community, the Charraw were not familiar, inclined, or eligible to participate in the Mississippian-derived ceremonialism associated with the establishment of twin towns. In either case, the Charraw maintained both political and spatial autonomy within the aggregated lower Catawba valley towns. In the 1750s, they lived at a location that is now known as archaeological site 38Yk17.

The arrival of refugees among the Catawba, a phenomenon spurred by the Nation's strategy of providing warriors to serve the English colonies as an auxiliary force, required the newcomers be incorporated into the existing sociopolitical landscape of the lower Catawba valley. The nature of the associated accommodations likely varied in relation to the size of the refugee party, with smaller groups joining existing settlements and large ones establishing new towns. Of course, refugees not only needed a place to live, but also access to resources necessary for them to undertake productive activities, such as hunting grounds and farmland. As economic practices associated with foodways and land tenure were strongly gendered in Southeastern Indian societies, the activities of women and men may have influenced the processes of Catawba coalescence and ethnogenesis in different ways. In general, the activities of men have been described as strengthening intercommunity cooperation, while those of women are often characterized as leading to cultural persistence. Catawba men from different towns, for example,

interacted during military undertakings and also served as the primary representatives of Catawba towns in matters of diplomacy. When hunting, they partook of a resource that was available to all. The practice of matrilocality, on the other hand, has often been charged with community boundary maintenance. During the colonial period most Southeastern Indians traced kinship through their mothers, and these matrilineages maintained rights to agricultural fields, which were located both in riverine bottomlands and in the uplands within or adjacent to villages (Waselkov 1997:180). Rights to groves of nut-bearing trees, tended by selective forest thinning to increase their yields, also may have been maintained through matrilineages (Gardener 1997:171, Peles and Scarry 2015:7-23). Among some groups such as the Muskogee, matrilineages occupied clusters of farmsteads and women worked the fields together, with yields considered property of the entire community. Cherokee women also worked their fields together, but each household was assigned its own portion of fields, and yields were deposited into both household and community granaries (Scarry and Scarry 2005:262-263). The latter were used to feed those whose crops had failed, to assist neighboring towns, to provide hospitality for visitors, and to supply expeditions (Fogelson and Kutsche 1961:96). It has been posited that there would be less homogenization of language and other practices such as ceramic production with groups of kinwomen living and working together in this manner (Galloway 1995:320, Fitts 2006:46). From this perspective, Southeastern matrilineages appear to operate as economically self-sufficient, closed systems that would most likely hinder political coalescence and ethnogenesis.

Documents do not provide specific information regarding mid-eighteenth century Catawba land tenure and farming practices. We do know, however, that both host and refugee communities alike were experiencing precarious economic circumstances given the various sources of stress in the 1750s. While this shared experience may have contributed to the

ethnogenesis and maintenance of a pan-Catawba identity, the integrative expectations of political coalescence would seem to be at odds with the centripetal tendencies of the matrilineal practices that most likely governed Catawba land tenure and women's productive activities. In order to resolve this issue, we must learn more about how Catawba women organized their labor. Were they working in matrilineal villages, or was the spatial aggregation of Catawba towns in the mid-eighteenth century accompanied by the organization of labor at larger scales? Were refugees incorporated into these work groups, or did newcomers fend for themselves? While Catawba warriors established diplomatic ties and garnered a bellicose reputation that encouraged other communities to join the lower Catawba valley polity, how did women's activities contribute to Catawba coalescence? In the following chapters, I will address these questions by examining archaeological evidence of Catawba craft production and foodways obtained from excavations at the sites of Nassaw-Weyapee (38Yk434) and Charraw Town (38Yk17). As both of these settlements were occupied at the same time and located about two miles (3.2 km) apart, any variation in practices evident in archaeological data are unlikely to be related to diachronic change or differences in available plant and animal species. They will instead provide a glimpse into the strategies neighboring groups of Catawba women employed as their fathers, husbands, and sons prepared for war.

CHAPTER 5

HILLY LAND

The preceding pages have provided an account of Carolina, Catawba, and the intersection of these entities primarily through the use of historic documents. Moving forward, this ethnohistoric approach will be increasingly augmented by the practice of historical archaeology. While Americanist historical archaeology as practiced at the end of the twentieth century has been conceived as a topical discipline, focusing on the development of the “modern world” (e.g. Leone and Knauf 2015, Orser 1996), my emphasis here will be on historical archaeology as methodology. What distinguishes historical archaeologies from other epistemological approaches that develop accounts of the past is the practice of bringing texts and elements of the material world—often artifacts or “material culture”—into the same narrative space. The relationship between these two sources of information has been portrayed as variously “contradictory, complementary, sources for hypotheses, ripe for debunking, and needed for context” (Little 1994:14), although in general it can be said that they are different in how they are used to produce knowledge (dos Reis 2005:50). Artifacts do not describe or interpret themselves, while texts or images that were created in the past provide only representations. I proceed under the supposition that neither source of information necessarily has priority over the other, and that they must be considered on a case-by-case basis.

So far I have treated the lower Catawba valley as a single entity, but in the following pages will shift scales and focus on the heartland of the mid-eighteenth century Catawba Nation.

Archival documents prove to be of little utility for this undertaking. John Lawson, for all his interest in cuisine of the native communities he encountered, had little to say about the landscape of the lower Catawba valley. When passing through the Sugaree Towns, he noted that there was “no barren Land being found amongst them, but great plenty of Free-Stone, and good timber” (Lawson 1967[1701]:49). On the map that accompanied his narrative, Lawson provided the annotation “hilly land” in the vicinity of the Esaw settlements, an apparent reference to the piedmont. Taken together, these comments do little justice to the lower Catawba valley landscape. I adopt an eclectic approach that incorporates historic, ecological, geologic, archaeological, and ethnographic information to create an account of the world in which Catawba families dwelt during the mid-eighteenth century. With this ground work laid, I next present information to support an argument that is of critical importance for the conclusions made later in this study—that the archaeological sites 38Yk434 and 38Yk17 can be interpreted as the material remains of the mid-eighteenth century Catawba settlements Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town. This chapter concludes with a consideration of artifact distribution at 38Yk434 and 38Yk17 in order to define the analytical units that will be used to examine plant, animal, and ceramic data in the following chapters. This requires developing a familiarity with mid-eighteenth century Catawba architecture and trash disposal practices. Overall, this chapter follows a trajectory of refinement in scale, ultimately providing the building blocks that will serve as the basis for an assessment of the mid-eighteenth century subsistence economy.

The Land and Landscape of Nation Ford

Using archaeological materials to investigate Catawba women's productive activities during the mid-eighteenth century requires an acquaintance not only with Catawba history and

politics but also the physical world in which they dwelt. To this end, the following discussion considers elements of the environment in the vicinity of the river crossing known as Nation Ford—the heart of the mid-eighteenth century aggregated Catawba Nation. In doing so I make a distinction, following Ingold (1993), between land and landscape. Ingold, like Whitehead (1978), seeks to move beyond dualism by emphasizing process. In the context of environmental studies, dualism manifests as a “sterile opposition between the naturalistic view of the landscape as a neutral, external backdrop to human activities, and the culturalistic view that every landscape is a particular cognitive or symbolic ordering of space” (Ingold 1993:2). Like other organisms, humans experience the world and transform it through their actions. It is from this relational context of engagement with the world that specific places become significant. These interconnected places form a landscape, or “the world as it is known to those who dwell therein” (Ingold 1993:5-6). This is quite different from perspectives generated by activities such as surveying, which produce images of the world “as it could be directly apprehended only by a consciousness capable of being everywhere at once and nowhere in particular” (Ingold 1993:5). Land is an abstract concept, and thus “quantitative and homogeneous,” while landscape is “qualitative and heterogeneous” (Ingold 1993:4). This distinction is analogous to that between labor—“human work shorn of its particularities”—and what Ingold (1993:8) calls the “taskscape,” or the entire ensemble of interlocking tasks that people undertake as part of their normal business of life. While Ingold privileges the situated character of human experience in his discussion, pragmatic abstraction is useful precisely because it allows us to imagine the world and identify patterns at scales much larger or smaller than normal human experience. In the following discussion of the Nation Ford environment, I tack back and forth between these two perspectives to characterize the world with which mid-eighteenth century Catawba women were

familiar. Rather than presenting information about the Nation Ford environment according to modern disciplinary boundaries, I instead address a series of landscape elements that one would encounter while travelling through the lower Catawba valley.

We begin at home, in one of the six Catawba villages that constituted the core of the Nation on the northeast side of the river near Nation Ford. Both documentary and archival evidence suggest that mid-eighteenth century Catawba villages consisted of compact clusters of houses. A visitor to Charraw Town noted that it was “built Circular” (Richardson 1758), suggesting if not a circular arrangement of houses around a central open space, then at least a cluster of houses in a curved configuration. This general pattern is suggested by the results of a systematic metal-detecting survey at Nassaw-Weyapee (Fitts et al. 2007:5). Three discrete clusters of artifacts were identified, with the largest—likely Nassaw proper—covering an oval area of about 7,000 m (1.73 acres). Based on the presence and configuration of post hole features at Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town, it appears that Catawba houses were rectangular, post-in-ground buildings. In addition to houses there may also have been granaries for storing dried maize on the cob, a common practice in Southeastern communities (Scarry and Scarry 2005:265). According to ethnographic information collected by Frank Speck (1939:56), in the late nineteenth century—after the Catawba had adopted a more dispersed community pattern—each family had a granary, and community labor was pooled at harvest time to husk and store each household’s maize in turn. In the mid-eighteenth century such structures would have been a tangible, persistent reminder of women’s labor and corporate group solidarity. They also may have been subject to Catawba word-play, as the Catawba name for corncob—*kus-suk*—is a compound word that joins the terms for maize (*kus*) and house (*suk*) (Gatschet 1900:546). The static structures and houses of Catawba villages would have been animated with the smoke from

fires, men and women going about their daily tasks, horses, and of course children. While visiting Charraw Town, the Reverend Richardson observed Catawba children, but his succinct account is more tantalizing than illuminative. “There are Sundry Children in this Town,” Richardson (1758) wrote, “whose activity in directing themselves was very surprising.” Unfortunately, he provides no further information. While we do not know what exactly the Catawba children were doing, they were clearly not behaving as Richardson expected children to behave, and were possibly engaged in some self-directed group activity. Catawba men were both the source and target of complaints about horse theft in 1752 and 1754, indicating they were keeping horses, and harness buckles and snaffle bits have been found at Nassaw-Weyapee (McDowell 1958:361,378; Saunders 1887, V:143). In addition, a Virginia man was compensated for shoeing Catawba horses during the Seven Year’s War (Hening 1820:227). While little is known of Catawba equine husbandry practices, they would at least have been a common sight in Catawba villages as they were loaded up for trips and rode in by visitors.

Mid-eighteenth-century Catawba villages were clearly-defined places due to the clustering of buildings, but they were not walled-off from the surrounding landscape. Excavations targeting the edge of the largest oval cluster of artifacts at Nassaw-Weyapee failed to locate a defensive palisade (Fitts et al. 2007:25), and as discussed in Chapter 4 these features were not mentioned by John Lawson, who visited the lower Catawba valley during the height of the Indian slave trade. Thus, lines of sight probably existed from within Catawba settlements to the surrounding elements of the landscape. Some towns were positioned such that this view could have covered a considerable distance, depending on land-management practices. At least two Catawba villages, Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town, were established in uplands that range from 78 to 126 feet (24 to 38 m) above river level and were located 0.5 and 1.5 miles (0.8

and 2.4 km) north of its banks, respectively. The surrounding landforms are highly dissected by gullies that drain into the river. According to their position on Evan's (1756) map, two other towns—Suchah and Noostee—were located closer to the river and floodplain. An open buffer area likely existed around each Catawba town, produced by the continual coming and going of people and horses, as well as intentional clearing. Portions of this disturbed ground may have been colonized by edge habitant plant species such as spurge (*Euphorbia sp.*), geranium (*Geranium sp.*), morning glory (*Ipomoea sp.*), evening primrose (*Oenothera sp.*), purslane (*Portulaca sp.*), and bearsfoot (*Polymnia uvedalia*) (Riggs and Davis 2014:1-8). Houses provided sheltered spaces not only for Catawba families but also for wasps such as mud daubers (Sphecidae and Crabronidae) to construct their nests, and vigilance was likely required to keep a variety of insects and small mammals out of dried food stores.

Setting out from home, people had one or more destinations in mind. These may have been nearby fields, other Catawba towns, hunting areas, or settler plantations. Travels to more distant locations such as other Indian nations or colonial centers such as Charles Town required arrangements with family members and packing provisions, weapons, and personal effects. Moving from place to place, of course, also required paths. Ingold (1993:17) observes “there can be no places without paths, along which people arrive and depart; and no paths without places, that constitute their destinations and points of departure.” Trails were particularly important elements of the landscape in the Eastern Woodlands, as unused paths gradually would be erased by succession. As features of the landscape that simultaneously arose out of habitual human movement and themselves imposed habitual patterns of movement (Ingold 1993:17), trails were an element of infrastructure that both enabled and were products of Catawba interests and communication networks. When Spanish conquistadors such as De Soto sought to travel great

distances through the Southeast, they learned that *de facto* borderlands existed between American Indian polities that could be traversed only by little known, out of the way trails that were sometimes overgrown (Hudson 1990:68, 130-131). It is not surprising, therefore, that Southeastern Indians used path metaphors in political discourse. The path could be “clean or bloody, white or dark, clear or obstructed, straight or crooked” (Merrell 1989:148). Trails also played an important role in Southeastern spiritual beliefs, as a “path of souls” guided the deceased through the underworld (Reilly 2004:126). Indeed, the linked concepts of the road, trail, path, and journey have been described as “one of the most fertile, wide-spread tropes in American Indian consciousness” (Nabokov 1998:256). The physical trails that wound their way through the mid-eighteenth century Nation Ford landscape were likely of various magnitudes related to the volume of traffic they received. The main paths that led to Virginia, Charles Town, and the Cherokee were important conduits not only for the Catawba but for traders, enemies, and refugees (Fitts 2006:17).

Frequent destinations for Catawba women were their gardens and fields. Women and children likely visited the fields on a daily basis during the growing season, but certain tasks, such as field preparation at the beginning of the year, may have drawn most members of the community. In all likelihood the Catawba, like their Creek and Cherokee neighbors, practiced a mixed-habitat strategy that combined large, communal field cultivation with household gardening in or adjacent to villages (Waselkov 1997:180). Since some Catawba towns such as Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town were located in the uplands, distance—along with corporate land rights—may have determined whether people living in a given settlement maintained fields in the floodplain bottomlands. As bottomlands are located less than a half-mile from Nassaw-Weyapee and about a mile from Charraw Town, floodplain fields would have been

more accessible to the former. There are no known maps of Catawba fields that date before 1760, but observers who visited the Catawba settlements established downriver after the smallpox epidemic noted the presence of a single 100-acre field located along Twelve Mile Creek (Moultrie [1773] 1942, Wyly 1764). Fields attributed to the Creek town of Cussetuh totaled about 520 hectares (1,285 acres), of which only about a quarter were under production any given year (Foster 2003:416-419). It was common for members of Southeastern matrilineages to work their fields communally, but rules for the allocation of produce were more variable. Cherokee fields were divided into plots, the products of which went into individual household granaries, with some designated for communal storage (Scarry and Scarry 2005:262-263). Among the Creeks, all production was communal, while the Apalachee of Florida distinguished between household, community, and their chief's crops. Supervision of these allocations was a significant element of women's authority in Southeastern communities, a power that diminished during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as nuclear family ownership of land became more common (Waselkov 1997:190).

The area around Nation Ford, like most of the Southeast, has a climate well-suited for agriculture. The average growing season between frosts averages 220 days, with daytime temperatures typically reaching 90°F (32.2°C) in the summer and 40°F (4.4°C) in the winter (Riggs and Davis 2014:1-7). Average annual precipitation is 46.1 inches (117 cm), which is less than the lower South but more than the region of central North America where most farmland is currently managed. Unlike alluvial soils close to the river which would have had nutrients replenished through periodic flooding, the Cecil and Lloyd Series soils around Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town were subject to nutrient depletion (Camp 1965:442,444). Gardens kept nearby these towns may have been enriched through composting, or simply expanded to increase

production. It is also possible that the Catawba created furrowed fields, as this practice has been documented at Mississippian period sites (Riley 1987). While we lack specific information about the location, size, or organization of Catawba fields, archaeological analysis of plant remains—which will be presented in Chapter 7—provides evidence for the kinds of crops that were grown during the mid-eighteenth century. Catawba women probably practiced intercropping—growing maize (*Zea mays*), beans (*Phaseolus sp.*), cowpeas (*Vigna unguiculata*), and squash (*Cucurbita sp.*) together, so that maize stalks served as a superstructure for the vine crops. Fruits that grow on vines—such as watermelon (*Citrullus lanatus*) and maypop (*Passiflora incarnata*)—were planted or allowed to become established as self-seeding perennials. Sections of fields were also devoted to tobacco (*Nicotiana sp.*) and sweet potatoes (*Ipomoea batatas*). The presence of the latter, which rarely occur in macrobotanical assemblages, is inferred from the presence of pit features in Catawba houses, which were likely used as root cellars (Samford 2007:125-126). Spread from South America by the Spanish, sweet potatoes quickly became so ubiquitous in the Southeast that they were considered an indigenous crop by the late seventeenth-century Virginia historian Robert Beverley (1947:145). Peaches (*Prunus persica*), which were also introduced by the Spanish and quickly indigenized in the Southeast, may have been planted in groves or at the edges of fields. Given all this information, we can imagine Catawba fields as dense expanses of vines supported by maize stalks, interspersed with fruit trees and crosscut with paths maintained by women and children for harvesting produce and hunting garden pests such as rabbits (*Sylvilagus sp.*), hispid cotton rats (*Sigmodon hispidus*), meadow voles (*Microtus pennsylvanius*), and white-footed mice (*Percomyscus leucopus*) with cane blow guns and traps (Godfrey 1997:57-58,68, Speck 1938:201-202, Speck 1946:14-15). What may not have been as apparent to a visitor, but would have been carefully-regulated by Catawba women, was the variety of

maize planted in each field. Since maize pollen is wind-borne, maintaining different corn varieties requires planting each maize cultivar in its own field. Growing different varieties of corn is advantageous because their differing ripening times and responses to environmental stress improves the chances of having a good yield despite annual climatic variation (Scarry 1994:365). Preliminary analysis of carbonized maize cobs from Nassaw-Weyapee suggests that Catawba women did plant different kinds of maize. The number of kernel rows on maize cobs can be used to distinguish maize cultivars, although there is some variation in row number within cultivars (King 1994:47, Scarry 1994:360-361). While 8-row and 10-row cobs are most common in the Nassaw-Weyapee assemblage, 12-row, 14-row, and 16-row cobs are also present, suggesting the existence of at least two cultivars.

Outfields not under cultivation became meadows. Far from being unfrequented voids in the landscape, meadows were productive environments that contained a variety of plant foods that were systematically collected by Catawba women and children. In addition to peaches and perennial vine fruits established when these areas were under cultivation, meadows were also good places to find blackberries (*Rubus sp.*), wild strawberries (*Fragaria sp.*), sumac (*Rhus sp.*), goosefoot (*Chenopodium sp.*), and wild beans such as *Lespedeza virginica*. In addition, some tree species—such as hickory (*Carya sp.*), hazelnut (*Corylus sp.*), and persimmon (*Diospyros virginiana*)—would have been especially productive at the edges of these open spaces. The plant resources that were collected by the Catawba also drew a variety of game animals. White-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*), black bear (*Ursus americanus*), gray foxes (*Urocyon cinereoargenteus*), raccoons (*Procyon lotor*), striped skunks (*Mephitis mephitis*), and turkeys (*Meleagris gallapavo*) all frequent field and edge environments (Godfrey 1997:108, Skeen et al. 1993:18-19, DeSelm and Murdock 1993:104). Bones of these species found in Nassaw-Weyapee

and Charraw Town middens—which will be further considered in Chapter 7—suggest that meadows served as hunting grounds as well as sources of foraged foods. Some uncultivated prairie areas may even have been maintained by setting fires. Ecologists posit that big bluestem grass (*Andropogon gerardii*) prairies were once common natural habitats in the piedmont (Barden 1997, Davis et al. 2002). However, given the successional character of Eastern Woodland plant communities, some disturbance is necessary for these open habitats to be created and maintained. Studies of contemporary bluestem population sites have found much variation in associated species, suggesting that nearby seed sources, rather than soil conditions, determine the composition of these plant communities (Tompkins et al. 2010:390-392, Tompkins and Bridges 2013:107). When disturbances such as fire and field-clearing are suppressed, these communities disappear (Tompkins and Bridges 2013:102). As numerous European observers, including John Lawson, noted that American Indians used fire for hunting and to clear land (Hammett 1992:13-15), it is likely that these practices were involved in shaping the piedmont prairie.

Paths leading beyond the gardens, fields, and meadows associated with mid-eighteenth century Catawba towns would inevitably pass through stretches of mesic mixed hardwood or oak-hickory climax forest communities. Mesic mixed hardwood forests—consisting of beech (*Fagus grandifolia*), tulip poplar (*Liriodendron tulipifera*), black gum (*Nyssa sylvatica*), sourwood (*Oxydendrum arboretum*), white oak (*Quercus alba*), red oak (*Q. rubra*), sweet gum (*Liquidambar styraciflua*), red maple (*Acer rubrum*), hornbeam (*Carpinus caroliniana*), dogwood (*Cornus florida*), American holly (*Ilex opaca*), and witch hazel (*Hamamelis virginiana*) trees—usually grow on north-facing slopes in acid soils (Nelson 1986). Oak-hickory forests also contain a diverse assemblage of hardwoods, but are dominated by oaks and hickories in combination with pines. On low terraces near the Catawba River a traveler would encounter

bottomland forest with a canopy of swamp chestnut oak (*Quercus michauxii*), water oak (*Q. nigra*), willow oak (*Q. phellos*), loblolly pine (*Pinus taeda*), sycamore (*Platanus occidentalis*), box elder (*Acer negundo*), hackberry (*Ceitis occidentalis*), cottonwood (*Populus deltoids*), red maple, tulip poplar, sweet gum, red maple, and American holly (Riggs and Davis 2013:1-8). While there are few exclusively arboreal mammals, such as grey squirrels (*Sciurus carolinensis*), these forests were frequented by many of the generalist species attracted to meadow edges, such as white-tailed deer, black bears, and foxes. Eastern box turtles (*Terrapene carolina*) and various snakes could also be found in the woods. While Catawba women were focused on their fields for part of the year, forested areas became destinations in the fall, when oaks and hickories dropped their mast. John Lawson (1967[1701]:34) observed “great Baskets” full of nuts at the Congaree village in 1701, and such containers were likely also in use upriver. According to Speck (1944:42-43), the Catawba words for oak and hickory—*watka’høre* and *wanaku’*—refer to red oak and shagbark hickory (*Carya ovata*), respectively. Since there is genetically-induced year-to-year variation in oak and hickory nut yields, it benefitted Catawba women to plan selective exploitation of nut resources, keeping track of a set of specific groves from year to year (Gardener 1997:171). In addition to monitoring the groves, selective thinning of the forest around mast-bearing trees may have been practiced to increase yields and facilitate nut collecting. The botanist William Bartram noted groves of hickory trees growing near Creek villages in Georgia, suggesting they practiced some form of silviculture (Scarry 2003:76, Waselkov and Braund 1995:39). Like field areas, such groves of tended trees may have been managed by matrilineages.

Catawba settlements, fields, meadows, and forests all existed as patches in the mosaic of the Nation Ford landscape—patches that were encountered by traveling along linear paths.

Waterways were another set of linear features that contributed to the landscape, but unlike trails these served as destinations as well as routes of movement. Given the need for fresh water, settlements not located near the Catawba River were established adjacent to spring-fed streams. These tributaries, along with the erosional gullies of intermittent streams, dissected the old river terraces into southward-trending ridges. Many of these short waterways are presently unnamed. The most significant of these tributaries—located at the eastern edge of the aggregated Catawba settlements—was called Spring Branch at the end of the eighteenth century (White 1808:60), and is now known locally as Moore’s Branch (Davis per. comm. 2105). The main trading path that passed through Nation Ford ran parallel to Spring Branch as it approached the river from the north, and several Catawba settlements—Suchah Town, Weyanne, and Charraw Town—were sited along these two linear resources. Spring Branch enters the Catawba River near a bend where shoals enabled a relatively easy crossing. Called *intí iswa musáwār’é* in Catawba—literally “rock river jutting-out” (Gatschet 1900:547)—shoals signaled shallow waters. In the Nation Ford vicinity, the banks of the Catawba River are between 130 and 170 meters (427 and 558 feet) apart, and while the deeper parts of the river generally did not exceed 3 meters (10 feet)—Speck (1946:21) mentions the Catawba used 10- to 12-foot long poles for propelling plank canoes upstream in the early twentieth century—fording on foot or horseback was obviously preferable to the logistics of boat crossings. The rocks that jugged out of the river around Nation Ford are part of the Charlotte Terrane, a unit of metavolcanic stone produced by volcanic and tectonic activity beginning around 580 million years ago (Hibbard et al. 2002:311). In the western portion of the Nation Ford region around Nassaw-Weyapee, most of these rocks are metamorphosed granite and granodiorite; in the area around Spring Branch, they are metamorphosed quartz diorite and diorite (Wright and Dicken 2001). While this distinction may not have been of

interest to people living in the area during the mid-eighteenth century, it is of archaeological significance because it means that there is an east to west gradient of increasing quartz in the geologic parent material, which may help interpret variation in mid-eighteenth century Catawba pottery.

The river may have been an obstacle to be forded for those passing through the Catawba Nation on their way to the Cherokee or Virginia, but for lower Catawba valley residents it was also a destination. The lowlands immediately adjacent to the river provided river cane (*Arundinaria gigantea*) and sedge (*Scirpus sp.*), which were important construction materials for mats, baskets, and other items. Of course, the river itself was a source of fish. A variety of capture methods, including traps and spears, were used to catch red horse (*Moxostoma sp.*), largemouth bass (*Micropterus salmoides*), white crappie (*Pomoxis annularis*), catfish (*Ameiurus sp.* and *Ictalurus sp.*), perch (Perciformes), eel (*Anguilla rostrate*), garfish (*Lepisosteus sp.*), and suckers (Catostomidae) (Speck 1946:27). The animal bone assemblage from Charraw Town contains elements from both painted turtles (*Chrysemys sp.*) and cooters (*Pseudemys sp.*), while muskrat (*Ondatra zibethicus*) bones are present in the Nassaw-Weyapee assemblage, indicating that aquatic environments were a source of small game as well as fish. A bit further back from the river's edge was another resource that drew people to the river. Clay did not need to be hunted, but given the difficulty of locating clays suitable for making pottery, viable sources would have been revisited (Herbert and McReynolds 2008:55), with allocation and access—like field and produce distribution—possibly determined through corporate group membership. In the lower Catawba River, terraces with unexpectedly high clay content occur on landforms that were created around 50 thousand years ago. It was at about this time that the sediment source for the river switched from relatively unweathered bedrock—which had previously yielded gravel and

sand—to the well-developed soils within the river basin (Layzell et al. 2012). These clay-rich terraces, which formed when the river was building a flood plain about 9 to 12 meters (roughly 30 to 40 feet) higher than the present one, are the source of well-known clay deposits about 15 km (9.3 miles) downriver from Nation Ford (Butler 1966:50). Preliminary compositional analysis of clays and potsherds from Catawba sites suggest that these southern clay pits were mostly used after 1760, when Catawba families returned to the lower Catawba valley after evacuating their Nation Ford settlements during the 1759 small pox epidemic (Semon et al. 2012). Thus there were probably clay sources in the Nation Ford area which have yet to be re-identified.

This impressionistic review of the Nation Ford land and landscape is by no means a comprehensive inventory of all of the places visited, resources pursued, and tasks undertaken by mid-eighteenth century Catawba people. I have tried, however, to provide a working description of the places in which daily life unfolded, from the clustered houses of Catawba settlements to the verdant fields of ripening corn and fruit, to the river banks where water was always flowing eastward. Like the paths maintained by countless trips to gather water and visit neighbors, daily life in the lower Catawba valley was a product of the patterned interactions between people as they worked together in the environment. Having visited this world, we are now poised to interpret the material remains that were produced by Catawba men, women, and children in the process of living within it.

Placing Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town

My plan to use archaeological data to investigate the organization of mid-eighteenth century Catawba economic practices, particularly with regard to the incorporation of refugee

communities, requires linking archaeological sites with communities mentioned in documentary sources. To this end, I next discuss the process by which two clusters of artifacts came to be identified as places where the Catawba towns Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town were located in the mid-eighteenth century. This story begins with Catawba “linguist” John Evans drafting a map of the Nation Ford area as military intelligence for South Carolina Governor Glen in 1756, and leads to the excavation and analysis of artifacts from two specific locations in present-day York County, South Carolina, 250 years later. After describing how elements of Evan’s map have been linked to the modern landscape, I identify the Catawba towns that are the subject of this study, highlighting aspects of their community histories that have particular significance for interpreting archaeological data. A summary of the work that has been done at two archaeological sites thought to be the locations of Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town—38Yk434 and 38Yk17, respectively—is then presented, followed by an examination of the multiple lines of evidence that suggest these sites are in fact the remains of mid-eighteenth century Catawba towns and most likely the settlements in question.

It was February 12, 1756, and South Carolina Governor Glen was vexed. That troublesome Dinwiddie of Virginia had again disregarded his precedence over Catawba affairs and sent a letter directly to the Catawba headmen encouraging them to fight England’s enemies in Ohio. As always, the Catawba were ready to fight, but they expected to be provided with ammunition. Glen knew this aid must come from him, or else the Indians’ loyalty to South Carolina might waver. In order to appropriate funds he would need a budget and have a way to make sure that the resources were allocated properly. He needed more information and more time. Glen’s mood began to improve when he realized he could solve both problems by appealing to one man. First, Glen wrote to King Hagler, reminding the Catawba leader that “you

have at all Times declared that you will take no Step without the Advice of this Government,” and promising more instructions later in the spring (McDowell 1992:96). He sent this letter to the interpreter John Evans, desiring him to carry it up to Nation Ford and interpret it for the Catawba head men. Glen further instructed Evans

While you are there make it your Business to learn the exact Number of Warriours or Men able to go to War upon any Occasion. Do it in the most distinct Manner you can distinguishing how many Catawbaws, Charraws and Pedees. At least be exact how many Warriours are in each Town. Let me know also the Distance between each Town but do not take it by any Instrument. The Public will defray your Expense but no Time is to be lost. (McDowell 1992:96)

At the end of March Glen was rewarded with a short diary of Evan’s trip and a map of the Catawba settlements with their respective warrior counts as he had requested, which Evans had researched and drafted all in a single day—March 4, 1756 (McDowell 1992:107). The map itself (Figures 5.1 and 5.2) depicts an easterly-flowing section of the “Wateree River”—now considered part of the lower Catawba—with a set of six towns situated on the north side of the river. Evans also marked the main ford that he used to cross the river, and the routes of paths that connected the Catawba towns. As best as he could judge without instruments, the towns were clustered in an area of about three square miles, with three settlements arranged north-south along the main trading path, and three more towns to the west, where the river curved and traveled in a southerly direction. Evans also included, but did not name, four short branches that ran between the two sets of Catawba settlements, as well as a larger stream he understood to serve as the eastern boundary of the clustered towns.

The papers of Governor Glen, including John Evan’s map, came to reside in the National Archives of Scotland through a family connection. When late twentieth-century historians identified Catawba history as a neglected field of research and plumbed colonial archives for

pertinent materials, the Evans map was rediscovered and used to judge the location of the mid-eighteenth century settlements. Scholars immediately recognized that the map referred to the easterly-flowing section of the lower Catawba River, as Evans had dutifully provided not only a compass rose but also clearly indicated the direction the river was flowing. However, Evans indicated that the Catawba settlements were located along an approximately 3-mile long section of the river, but the easterly-flowing river segment is approximately 12 miles (19.3 km) long. The question then became which segment of the easterly-flowing Catawba River corresponded to Evan's sketch. Initially, precedence was given to an apparent correspondence between the settlement named "Sucah Town" on Evan's map and the stream known today as Sugar Creek (Baker 1975:114, Merrell 1989:163). According to this interpretation, Evan's Sucah Town—translated into English as Sugar—gave the stream its name, which was preserved as a geographic term to the present day. However, this placement is inconsistent with another aspect of Evan's map—the presence of a ford across the Catawba River immediately upstream of the confluence of the Catawba River and unnamed stream presumed to be Sugar Creek. No shoals are present in the Catawba River at this location, and Mill's 1825 atlas (Figure 5.3) does not show a river crossing in this location. Instead, there is a bridge across Sugar Creek itself. The only non-ferry crossing of the easterly-flowing portion of the Catawba River depicted by Mills is "Old Nation Ford." As it is unlikely that an easily forded place in the river would have fallen into disuse by 1825—particularly one associated with the main route of travel through the region—the equation of the ford on Evan's map with Old Nation Ford appears a more likely correspondence than that of the unnamed easternmost stream on Evan's map with Sugar Creek (Fitts 2006:24). In this case, the waterway in question is Spring Branch, which is recorded on early nineteenth century plat maps (White 1808:60) but unnamed on modern topographic maps. Making this interpretive

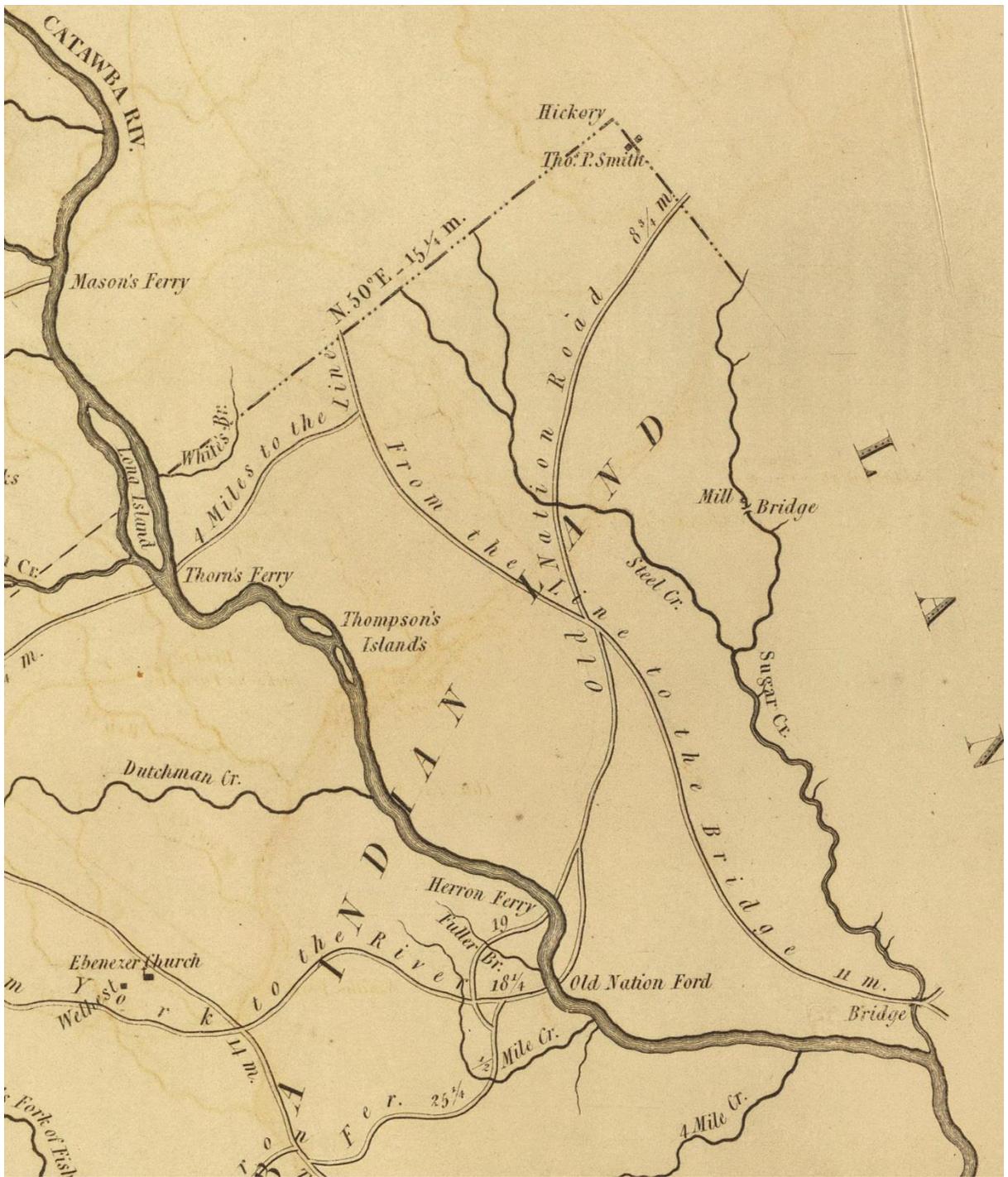


Figure 5.3. Portion of a map of York County, South Carolina, showing “Old Nation Ford” and Sugar Creek bridge (Mills 1825).

adjustment allowed Davis and Riggs (2004:7) to equate archaeological sites with the mid-eighteenth century settlements depicted by Evans.

The two archaeological sites that have been identified as Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town are 38Yk434 and 38Yk17, respectively (Figure 5.4). Site 38Yk17 was first identified by George Teague during a 1971 investigation of archaeological sites reported by local artifact collectors. Although 38Yk17 was overgrown with grass, incised pottery and a piece of dark green eighteenth-century bottle glass were found during an examination of the ground surface (Teague 1971). Since the prevailing interpretation of Evan's map at the time equated the easternmost waterway with Sugar Creek rather than Spring Branch, it was initially thought 38Yk17 could be Nassaw. Re-alignment of Evan's map, however, makes Charraw Town a more likely candidate. Site 38Yk434 was first identified in 2005, when relatively dense clusters of ceramic sherds, iron gun parts, and fragments of wine bottles and kaolin pipes were identified in surface exposures under power transmission lines that cross-cut the site area (Snapp 2007). Based on its position relative to Nation Ford and Spring Branch, it was proposed that this mid-eighteenth century site might be the remains of the Nassaw Town depicted by Evans. A systematic metal detection survey of this area by Davis and Riggs in the spring of 2007 (Fitts et al. 2007:5) revealed that the site was extensive, covering over 2 acres (0.8 ha). Over 1,500 mid-eighteenth century artifacts were recovered in 493 shovel tests, providing artifact distribution data that helped define the site boundaries and guide later excavation strategies.

The Nassaw and Charraw Town communities, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, had distinct histories that encapsulate the cultural variation of the mid-eighteenth century Catawba Nation. In short, the name "Nassaw," meaning "people of the river," is the self-designation of a community affiliated with the Yssa/Esaw, a Catawba Valley Mississippian group encountered by

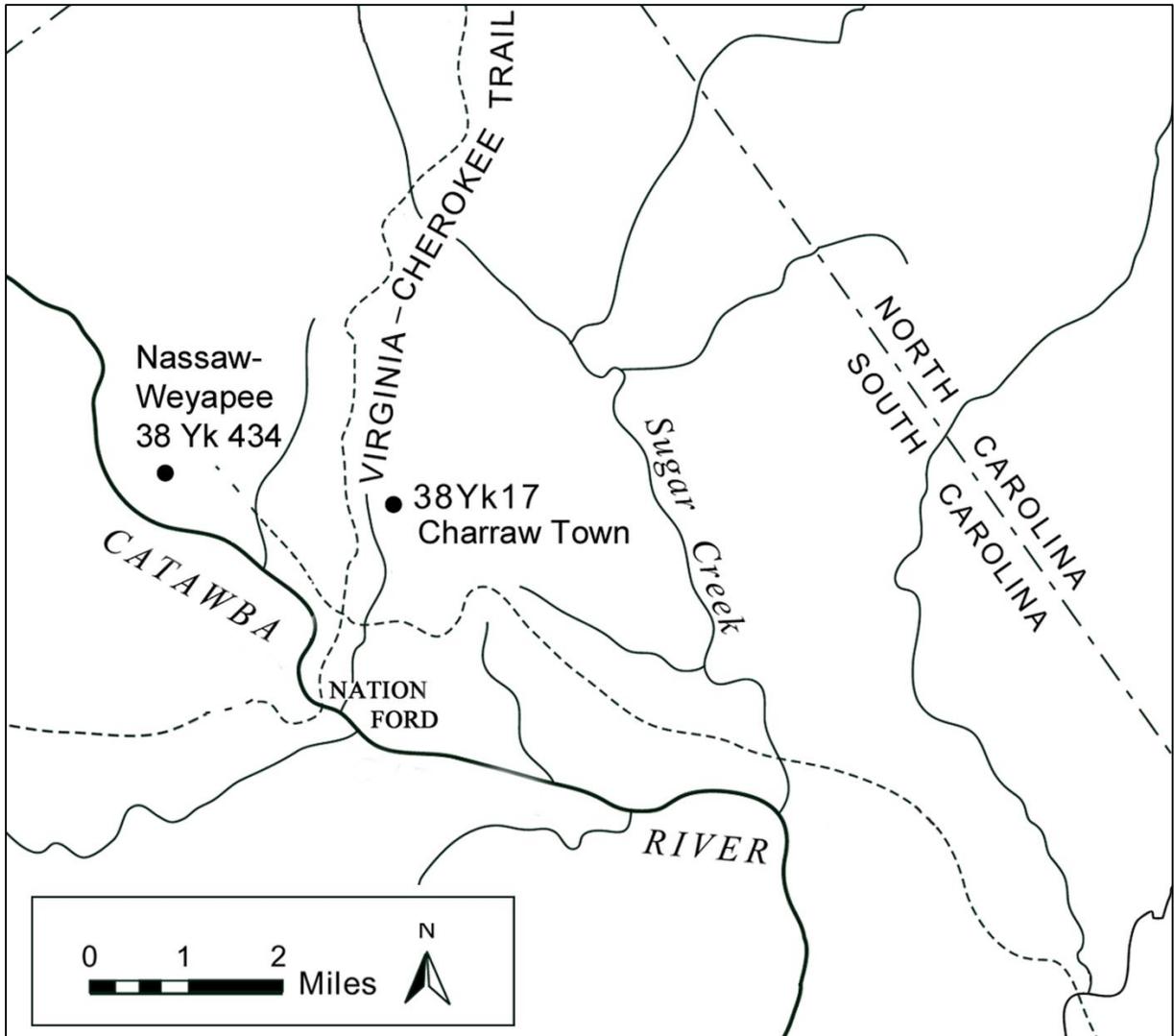


Figure 5.4. Location of the archaeological sites 38Yk434 and 38Yk17 in York County, South Carolina.

Spanish expeditions in the late sixteenth century and Carolina settlers in the late seventeenth century. The Charraw, on the other hand, were descendants of a northern piedmont Siouan-speaking community known as the “Saraw” to Virginia and Carolina settlers prior to the Yamasee War. Certain aspects of these communities’ histories are of particular relevance for linking Evan’s 1756 map to specific archaeological sites. With regard to Nassaw, it is important to remember that in the early eighteenth century this community was “the first Town of the Catawbas” encountered by southward-bound Virginia traders traveling the Great Trading Path (Byrd 2001[1841]:85). However, based on the position of this town on Evan’s map, it is clear that Nassaw Town had relocated to the western edge of the Nation Ford locale by the mid-eighteenth century. While we can only speculate as to why this community moved away from the main trading path, for archaeological purposes this move indicates that the time span of the settlement shown on Evan’s map should be restricted to the mid-eighteenth century, rather than covering a much longer time period. One possible candidate for the previous iteration of Nassaw Town is Spratt’s Bottom (38Yk3), an archaeological site located just west of Old Nation Ford. Another important characteristic of Nassaw is that it appears to have been twin towns with Weyapee. Not only are these towns depicted as contiguous settlements on Evans’ 1756 map, but this topological indication of proximity is reinforced by the fact that Evans provides a combined warrior count for these two groups. This relationship may have predated the westward move of Nassaw, since on the 1721 deerskin map (Figure 5.5) Nassaw is located in the center of the cluster of towns and “Wiapie” is depicted as an adjacent, much smaller circle. Given the existence of this apparent “twin town” relationship, any archaeological site identified as the remains of mid-eighteenth century Nassaw Town should have an adjoining community that can be attributed to Weyapee.

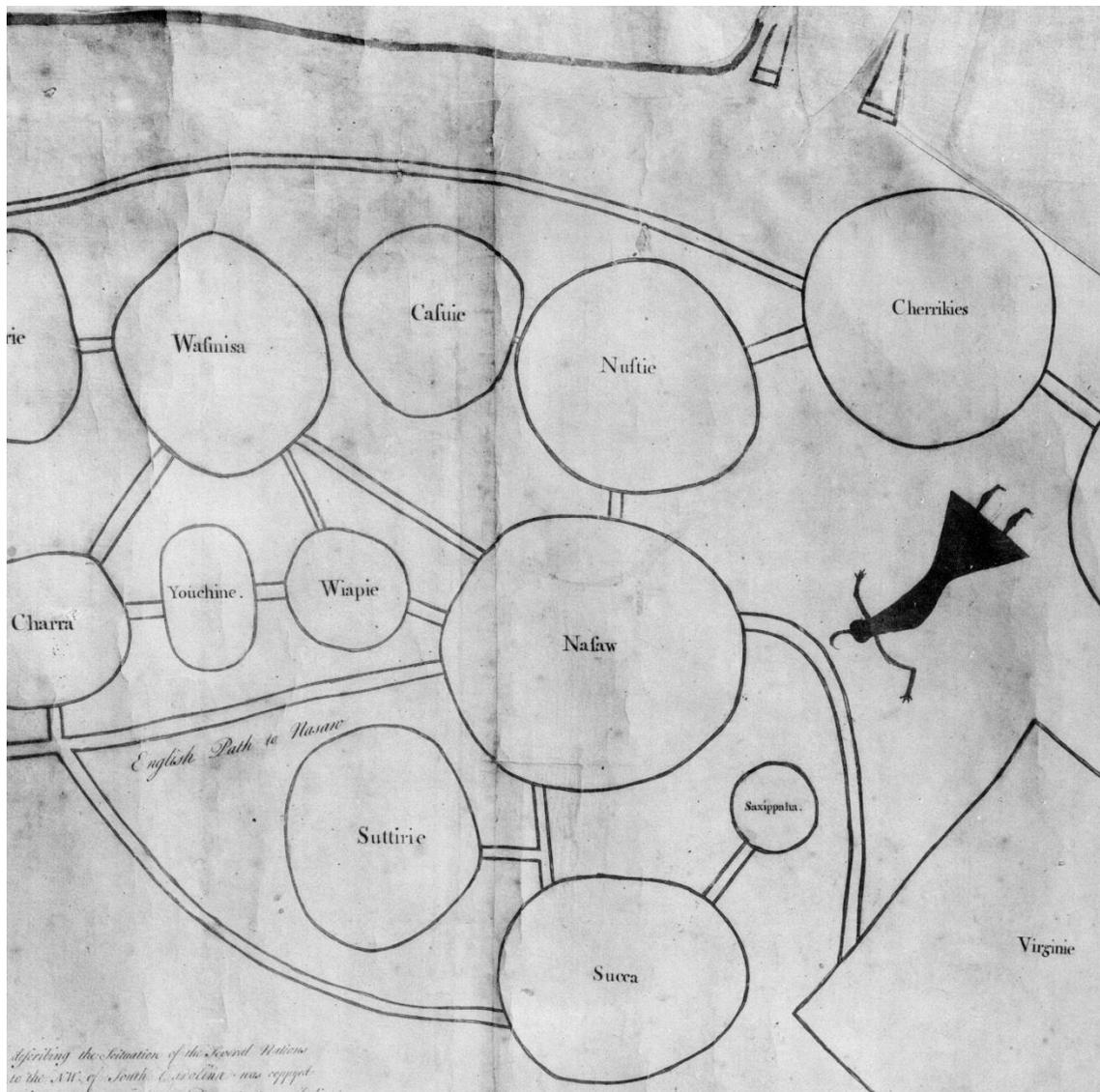


Figure 5.5. Portion of Catawba deerskin map depicting “Nasaw” and “Wiapie” (Anonymous ca. 1721).

The settlement dates and cultural composition of the mid-eighteenth century Charraw community can also be inferred from colonial documents, thereby providing important contextual information for the interpretation of archaeological data. While it is possible that some Charraw families moved to the lower Catawba valley prior to the 1730s (Brown 1966:224), it was not until 1737 that the Charraw reportedly sold their lands on the Pee Dee River—which constituted “about forty old fields”—to a man named John Thompson (South Carolina Council Journal 8 June 1739). The Charraw Town on Evan’s map, therefore, was likely inhabited primarily between 1737 and 1760. In addition, it may be of interpretive significance to note that the mid-eighteenth Charraw community was itself culturally diverse. After moving to the Pee Dee from the Dan River, the Saraw/Charraw were reportedly joined by the Keyawee in the 1730s (Byrd 2001[1841]:112, Cumming 1958:Plate 53). Encountered by John Lawson near the Caraway Creek crossing on the Great Trading Path, the Keyawee lived in a fortified town sheltered by the northern range of the Uwharrie Mountains (Lawson 1967[1701]:56). Excavations at an archaeological site believed to be the late seventeenth century Keyawee town resulted in the recovery of glass beads and Caraway pottery (Ward and Davis 1999:137). As discussed in Chapter 3, Caraway pottery was produced by a constellation of potters that used carved patterns with curvilinear designs, but is in other ways distinct from Catawba Valley Cowans Ford ceramics (Moore 2002:168). During their stay on the Pee Dee River, the Charraw also developed alliances with the Waccamaw and Pedee (McDowell 1955:264), and the latter are mentioned as living with the Charraw in the mid-eighteenth century. In 1755, a delivery of ammunition was split evenly between six Catawba towns, one of which was “Corrow Town and Pedee” (McDowell 1992:35). Both the Pedee and Waccamaw were low-country Mississippian communities. The Charraw also had diplomatic ties with the northern-piedmont Eno and Saponi,

and may have hosted families that decided to stay in South Carolina after most of the Saponi returned to Virginia in the 1730s (Davis 2002:152, Merrell 1989:116, Richardson 1758:Nov. 8). Thus when the Charraw moved to Nation Ford, they could themselves be described as a coalescent polity wherein a northern piedmont Siouan-speaking community developed political and possibly family ties with Mississippian-influenced groups. How this interaction affected mid-eighteenth century Charraw communities of practice remains an open question.

Excavations at Nassaw-Weyapee (38Yk434) and Charraw Town (38Yk17) were conducted by the Research Laboratories of Archaeology at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, under the direction of Stephen Davis and Brett Riggs. This work was done as part of the Catawba Project, a research program designed to “illuminate the emergence of the modern Catawba Nation in the early eighteenth century” (Davis and Riggs 2004:1). Site 38Yk434 was investigated in 2007 and 2008, and site 38Yk17 in 2011. All three field seasons were conducted as archaeology field schools in which students were taught techniques of archaeological excavation, recording, and interpretation. Work at Nassaw-Weyapee (38Yk434) was made possible by Cherokee LLC as part of the planning process for a mixed-use sustainable community in consultation with the Catawba Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO) (Fitts et al. 2007:ii). One important objective of this work was to define the site’s boundaries so that it could be preserved as undeveloped parkland. Different portions of site 38Yk434 were also tested in order to identify the range of mid-eighteenth-century Catawba contexts present and determine their spatial extent (Figure 5.6). It was expected that numerous burials might be present, given the site’s occupation during the 1759 small pox epidemic. A systematic metal detection survey was undertaken over the entire site area, as well as mechanical stripping of an almost 2,000-square meter (0.5-acre) area at the northern end of the site (Fitts et al. 2007:12). In addition, 363

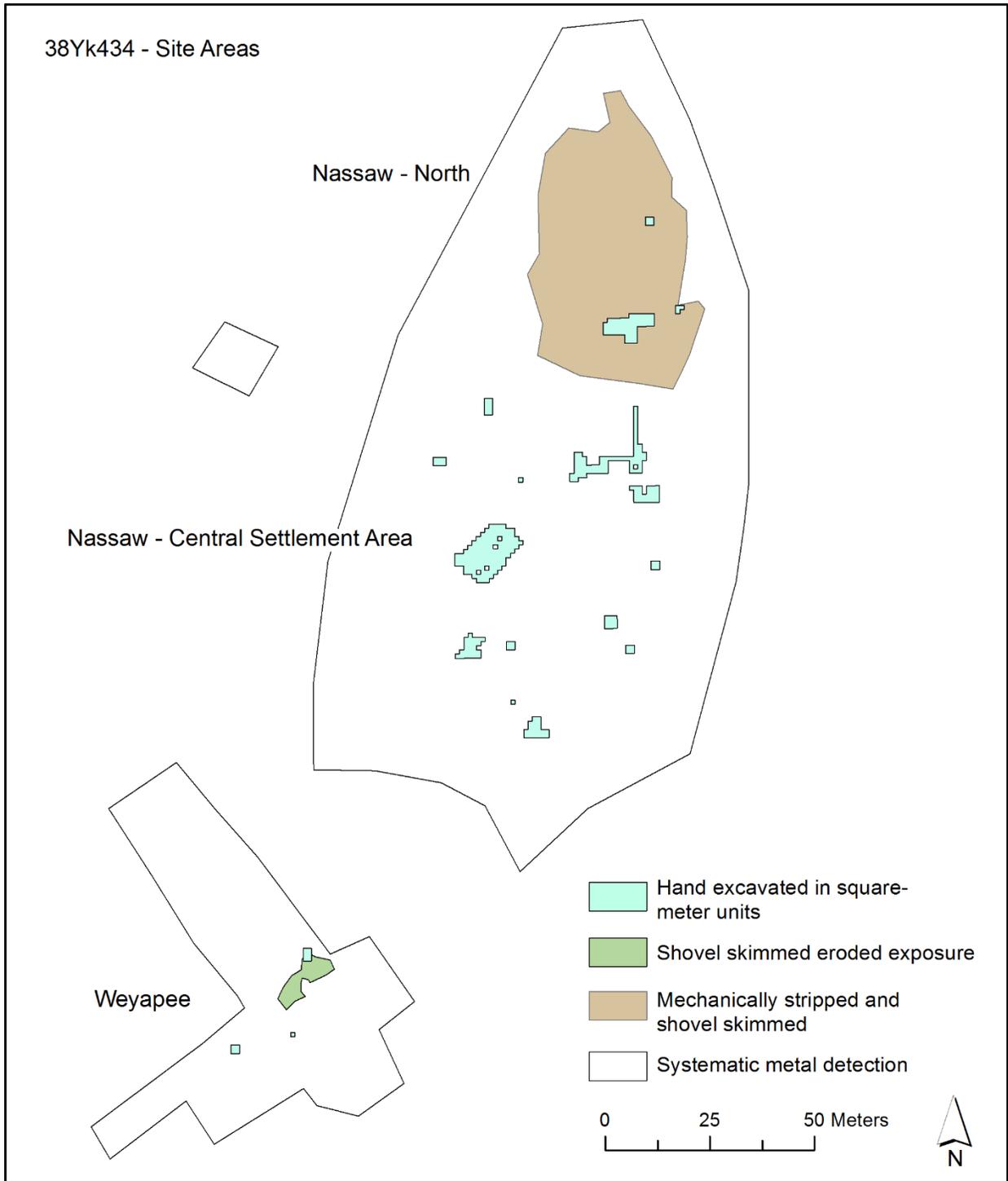


Figure 5.6. Scope of work conducted at 38Yk434 in 2007 and 2008.

square meters (just over 3907 square feet) of site 38Yk434 were hand-excavated over the course of the two field seasons. A total of 203 cultural features were identified, including 26 storage pits, 28 smudge pits filled with carbonized maize cobs, and 136 post holes from post-in-ground structures. In addition, 8 graves—identified by their pit shape in plan view and fill soil characteristics—were mapped and reported to the Catawba THPO.

Charraw Town (38Yk17) is located on a privately-held parcel which is mostly pasture land, as well as a currently occupied home site. The 2011 work at Charraw Town was less extensive than at Nassaw-Weyapee. The objectives of research at 38Yk17 were to obtain a sample of materials that could be compared to the Nassaw-Weyapee data, and to assess the integrity of the eighteenth-century deposits, which according to twentieth-century topographic maps had been subject to severe erosion and mechanical terracing. Limited metal detecting was conducted at Charraw Town (Figure 5.7). At the end of the 2011 field season, 112 square meters (over 1,302 square feet) had been excavated, resulting in the discovery of 5 storage pits and 5 post holes in the eastern part of the site, as well as a midden area in the western portion of the site.

Similar excavation, sampling, and recording techniques were used at both sites. General context sediments, consisting of eroded soil that had been plowed during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, were hand excavated as one-meter square excavation units and dry screened through 1/4" mesh. At Nassaw-Weyapee, flotation samples were collected from 50% of these general contexts. The buried midden at Charraw Town was sampled in this manner, with the remaining matrix screened through 1/8" mesh to recover beads. The severely eroded general contexts elsewhere at Charraw Town were not sub-sampled, and were screened through 1/4" mesh. Upon completion, each excavation unit was troweled, photographed, and mapped. Pit

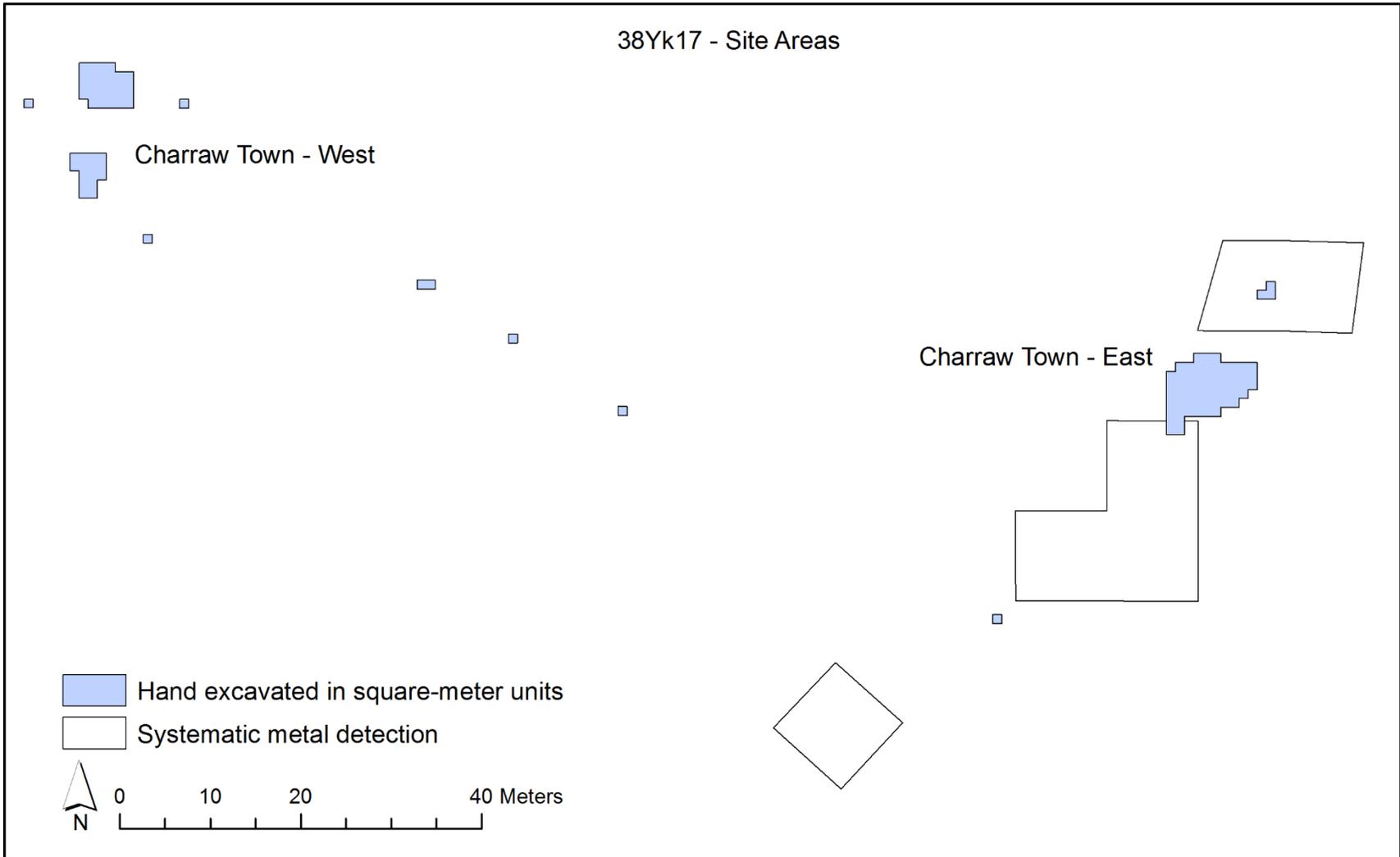


Figure 5.7. Scope of work conducted at 38Yk17 in 2011.

features were sectioned and excavated in zones according to variation in soil matrix. In most cases, post holes and post molds—the holes dug to receive posts and the burned or decayed remains of the posts themselves—could not be differentiated, so possible posts were excavated as single contexts. Smudge pits consisting of carbonized maize cobs were also excavated as single contexts and processed as flotation samples. With the exception of flotation samples, all feature soil from pits and post holes was bagged and transported to a waterscreening station off-site where this soil was washed through 1/16” mesh.

Armed with archaeological data from these excavations, it is possible to examine whether sites 38Yk434 and 38Yk17 are in fact good candidates for being the remains of Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town, respectively. The Evans map provides the names of these communities, from which cultural affiliation can be inferred, as well as warrior counts that can be used to estimate population size. Evans counted 56 warriors at Charraw Town, and while the document is damaged—obscuring Evan’s notations regarding Nassaw-Weyapee—he apparently counted 50 warriors at this location because he recorded a total of 204 “men fit for warr” in the Nation and his counts at the other towns total 154 (Merrell 1989:163). Assuming that warriors accounted for 25 to 30% of the total population (McReynolds 2004:45, Snow and Lamphear 1988:24), we can extrapolate that approximately 167-200 people were living at Nassaw-Weyapee, and 187-224 at Charraw Town. Incidentally, these numbers are consistent with Catawba town sizes of forty years earlier. Although Barnwell (1955:238-239) does not itemize the Catawba settlements in his 1715 census, he records a total population of 1,470 people living in seven towns, which would on average be 210 individuals per settlement. Evans also provided general information regarding distances between the Catawba settlements as well as how they were positioned in relation to each other and elements of the landscape. According to Evan’s

estimation—Glen instructed him not to use survey equipment, so his recorded distances were likely based on pacing and travel time—it was about 3 miles from the eastern Catawba towns to those west of Nation Ford. Nassaw-Weyapee is shown to be west of a small branch near a north-south bend in the Catawba River, while Charraw Town is east of the main stream that is likely Spring Branch, but north of a fork in the stream. Finally, of course, Evan’s map provides a date during which these settlements were inhabited. In order for sites 38Yk434 and 38Yk17 to be reasonable candidates for the remains of the Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town, it is necessary to demonstrate that characteristics of these sites are consistent with the characteristics of Evan’s map, as well as other information available about these communities.

There is no way to confirm directly that the names of settlements at 38Yk434 and 38Yk17 were Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town, but it is possible to assert that these communities were inhabited by Southeastern Indians who were members of the Catawba Nation. This can be done with reference to specific practices that are evidenced by artifacts and features. In emphasizing practices rather than the artifacts themselves, I seek to avoid uncritical use of a dichotomous classification system in which certain artifacts are considered Native American and others European “without a consideration of the social context of practice and memory in which they were produced, used, discarded, and given meaning” (Silliman 2009:214). Three practices are sufficiently well-documented as common activities for members of mid-eighteenth century Southeastern Indian communities to justify their use as evidence that 38Yk434 and 38Yk17 were Catawba towns: the use of maize cobs as fuel for small, smoldering fires kindled specifically to produce smoke; the creation and use of clothing and personal effects embroidered with fields of small glass beads; and the domestic production of earthenware pottery that resembles wares made by precolonial American Indian potters. Smoke-producing smudge pits are well known to

archaeologists in part because they were the subject of a widely-circulated article by Lewis Binford that examines the role of analogical argument in archaeological reasoning. Binford (1967:6-7) compiles ethnographic accounts that describe various American Indian tribes of Eastern North America using smoke to cure animal hides, and concludes that it is reasonable for archaeologists to interpret features similar to those described in the ethnohistoric literature as smudge pits made for this purpose. However, it is clear that smoke was also used for other purposes. The presence of 25 smudge pits beneath benches in a large Apalachee council house at Mission San Luis, for example, suggests smoke was intentionally created to fill the building, possibly as a form of insect control (Scarry 1992:138). Reducing conditions, caused by limiting the availability of oxygen to a fire and thereby causing incomplete combustion of available fuel, were also used by early twentieth century Catawba potters to effect smoke (carbon) deposition on the surfaces of pots and ceramic pipes, turning these objects “a brilliant black color which seems to penetrate their very substance” (Harrington 1908:405, Rye 1981:108). At 38Yk434, 28 shallow pits filled with charred maize cobs were identified, suggesting that smudge pit use was common in this community. While no smudge pits were identified at 38Yk17, the amount of soil loss at this site equaled or exceeded the depth to which cob pits were typically dug, on average approximately 12 cm (4.7 inches) into the clay subsoil.

Soil loss may limit our ability to determine whether people were using smudge pits at 38Yk17, but the use of beaded items and the production of low-fired earthenware pottery were clearly taking place at both sites. Two kinds of bead embroidery have been documented in seventeenth and eighteenth century Southeastern Indian archaeological contexts: designs using contrasting panels of beads, in which fields of different colors are juxtaposed, and single element designs, which do not make use of extensive background panels (Duffield and Davis 2011).

These bead embroidery techniques may have developed out of feather-working practices, and the designs were likely adapted from those previously painted on skins or woven into fabrics (Hudson 1976:266-267). The adoption of small glass beads as a raw material to produce these designs has had significant consequences for the archaeological identification of American Indian sites. Made out of inert, stable material, glass beads do not decay and thus make visible in perpetuity what had previously been much more ephemeral—the Southeastern Indian practice of creating personal items and clothing covered with patterned swaths of color. The sheer quantity of glass beads recovered from 38Yk434 and 38Yk17—17,883 and 7,156, respectively—along with the fact that they were ubiquitous in all excavated contexts, makes it easy to imagine that the sites' inhabitants were creating and wearing such embroidered articles. Based on the color distribution of beads, it appears that black, reddish brown, and blue designs were executed against white backgrounds (Duffield and Davis 2011).

Evidence of low-fired, household ceramic production at both sites further suggests these settlements were inhabited by Southeastern Indians. While African slaves also were producing low-fired ceramics during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, jars in the 38Yk434 and 38Yk17 pottery assemblages were produced using carved and textile-wrapped wooden paddles. The use of such paddles has clear precedent in the techniques used by pre-colonial Southeastern Indian potters, as discussed in Chapter 3. In addition, lumps of potter's clay were present in undisturbed feature contexts at 38Yk434, clearly indicating that production was taking place at the site. Preliminary elemental analysis of this clay shows it to be consistent with sherds collected from 38Yk434, but different from raw materials collected downriver that were used by Catawba potters after 1760 (Crow 2011, Semon et al. 2012).

It seems reasonable, given their geographic location and evidence of smudge pit use, bead embroidery, and ceramic production in the Southeastern Indian tradition, to assert that 38Yk434 and 38Yk17 were inhabited by members of the Catawba Nation. Equating them specifically with the Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Towns on Evans' map requires further consideration of the sites' characteristics, such as how well their positions correspond to the locations Evans depicted. According to his estimation, it was about 3 miles (4.8 km) from the eastern Catawba towns to those west of Nation Ford. As the crow flies, 38Yk434 and 38Yk17 are 2.3 miles (3.7 km) apart. Given the rise and fall between terraces, branch crossings, and curves in the trail the actual distance between the two sites, as traveled in the eighteenth century, may well have approached 3 miles. And since Evans was estimating distances, not using survey equipment, the distances he recorded must themselves be taken as approximate. Other aspects of the sites' positions correspond well with what Evans depicts. Nassaw and Weyapee are shown to be located to the west of a small branch, and the eastern edge of site 38Yk434 does slope down to an unnamed stream. Further, the Catawba River turns to run north-south about a half mile west of 38Yk434, as Evans depicts. Another expectation based on Evans' map is that the twin towns of Nassaw and Weyapee were adjacent settlements. Site 38Yk434 consists of two discrete loci separated by a spring hollow: one larger, compact circular locus of 7,000 m² (1.73 acres), which appears to be the remains of Nassaw, and a smaller locus of 3,000 m² (0.74 acre) to the south, which would in turn be the remains of Weyapee (Fitts et al. 2007:1-2). Charraw Town, on the other hand, is shown on the east side of the main stream that is likely Spring Branch and north of a fork in this stream. The position of 38Yk17 matches this topology, being east of the main channel of Spring Branch, but west of a fork that joins the stream about 0.6 mile (1 km) south of the site.

It is more difficult to determine if the site areas for 38Yk434 and 38Yk17 correspond to the population estimates of 167-200 people living at Nassaw-Weyapee and 187-224 at Charraw Town. The total site area for 38Yk434 is approximately 10,000 m² (2.47 acres). Although the complete extent of Charraw Town has not been determined by survey, taking the maximum distance between known cultural deposits (140 m) as the diameter of a circle results in an area of 15,393.8 m² (3.8 acres). This is nine times as much area as would be expected if population density was similar to that of the Fredricks site in present Hillsborough, North Carolina (Ward and Davis 1993:416-417). At this site, thought to the late seventeenth century settlement of the Occaneechi, the complete footprint of a palisaded settlement was excavated revealing 12 houses and a cemetery. Taking an estimate of 6 persons per household as recorded by Jamestown colonists (Gallivan 2002:548), the Occaneechi settlement—which covered a 1,700 m² (0.4 acre) area—would have been home to about 75 people. In contrast, the communities living at Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town appear to have been less densely clustered across the landscape: the population density of Nassaw-Weyapee was one person per 50 m², while at the Fredricks site an individual was allotted 23.7 m². This partly may be due to the absence of palisades around Catawba settlements, which allowed new houses to be built without concern for whether they fit within the existing village footprint. It is also possible that the Catawba needed space for horses and the Occaneechi did not, although as I will discuss, artifact patterning suggests horses may have been kept around the outside edges of the Nassaw habitation area. While variation in settlement density makes it difficult to determine if the site areas of Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town correspond to Evans' census, it is worth noting that Charraw Town appears to be the larger settlement, which is consistent with the presence of six more warriors and their families at Charraw Town relative to Nassaw-Weyapee.

The final requirement for an archaeological site to be the remains of a settlement mapped by Evans is that it should contain artifacts indicating it was inhabited in 1756. Objects produced in Europe—or in its colonies using similar technological practices—are particularly useful for this purpose because they are found in most assemblages from eighteenth-century American Indian archaeological sites due to the pervasive deerskin trade. This situation has enabled the development of robust chronologies using archaeological methods such as seriation in combination with archival information about settlement and manufacturing dates. Here I address four categories of European-produced artifacts that can be used to infer when sites 38Yk434 and 38Yk17 were inhabited: kiln-fired pottery, trade guns parts, glass beads, and kaolin pipe stems.

Sites 38Yk434 and 38Yk17 contain little in the way of imported ceramics. This makes them noticeably different from late eighteenth-century Catawba sites, where a diversity of English table wares have been recovered (Davis and Riggs 2004, Plane 2011:155-156). Since materials deposited by settlers who rented land from the Catawba in the nineteenth century are present at both sites, only pottery recovered from contexts not disturbed by plowing are considered attributable to the Catawba occupations. Ceramics found in secure Catawba contexts at 38Yk434 and 38Yk17 that were not produced by the Catawba themselves consist of stoneware and lead-glazed slipped earthenware. Both of these pottery types were produced for food preparation and storage purposes. Stoneware, the stronger of the two due to its vitrified, or glass-like body, requires higher firing temperatures (above 1000°C) and special clays to produce (Rye 1981:108). While salt-glazed stoneware made in Germany and England was imported to the American colonies throughout the eighteenth century, potters trained in stoneware production were operating in Virginia by 1720 and South Carolina by 1730 (Baldwin 2014:6-7, McCartney and Ayres 2004, Zug 1986:26). Earthenware can be made with a wider range of clays than

stoneware, but it remains porous after firing. Potters made these low-fired wares watertight with the addition of a lead glaze. While lead-glazed earthenwares were produced by Virginia settlers as early as the second quarter of the seventeenth century (Straube 1995), most of the sherds from the Nassaw-Weyapee assemblage appear to be fragments of “combed slipware” vessels made in the North Midlands of England between 1670 and 1795 (Fitts et al. 2007:20, Grigsby 1993:17-18, 56-61). Stoneware and slipware cannot provide a mid-eighteenth century date for Catawba occupation of 38Yk17 and 38Yk434 given the long production period of these wares. However, their low frequency, coupled with the absence of the refined tablewares that are common at Federal period sites, suggests that Catawba settlement of 38Yk17 and 38Yk434 at least predates the late eighteenth century.

The glass beads and trade gun parts found at 38Yk17 and 38Yk434 provide further evidence of eighteenth century occupation. While the vast majority of glass beads from these sites consist of small black and white “seed” beads that are not temporally diagnostic, some varieties can be attributed to specific date ranges (Table 5.1). Two of these varieties are not common in contexts dating after the mid-eighteenth century. The first—a small two-layered rounded tube bead with an opaque redwood exterior and translucent grey interior—accounts for approximately 1-2% of the bead assemblage from each site, and is rare in contexts dated after 1775 (Figure 5.8:19) (Brain 1979:106, Kidd & Kidd 1970: Type IVa1). The second is a single large translucent rose brown “raspberry” bead found at 38Yk434, which is rare in contexts dated after 1760 (Figure 5.8:26) (Brain 1979:111, Kidd & Kidd 1970: Type WIIe). A recent seriation of seventeenth and eighteenth century bead assemblages from Southeastern burial contexts suggests beads of this type were traded between 1715 and 1750 (Marcoux 2012:175). The bead assemblages from both 38Yk434 and 38Yk17 also contain a few small opaque light blue simple

Table 5.1. Glass beads recovered from mid-eighteenth century Catawba sites with associated date ranges.

Size and Form	Diaphaneity and Color	38Yk17		38Yk434		Type ^b	Date Range ^c
		N	% ^a	N	% ^a		
Small simple tube	Opaque light blue	2	0.03	4	0.02	Ia16	1725
Small simple tube, rounded (oval)	Opaque brown	1	0.01	1	0.01	Ia15	1600-1836, mean 1739
Small striped tube, rounded	Translucent rose wine with white stripes	447	6.25	797	4.46	Iib12	1670-1835, mean 1743
Small two-layered tube, rounded	Opaque redwood over translucent gray	104	1.45	168	0.94	IVa1	1600-1775
Large simple tube, rounded	Opaque medium blue	0	0	1	0.01	Ia46	1699-1890, mean 1748
Large wire wound, rounded (raspberry)	Translucent rose brown	0	0	1	0.01	WIIe	1670-1760

^a Percent of total bead assemblage

^bAfter Kidd & Kidd (1970)

^cAfter Brain (1979)

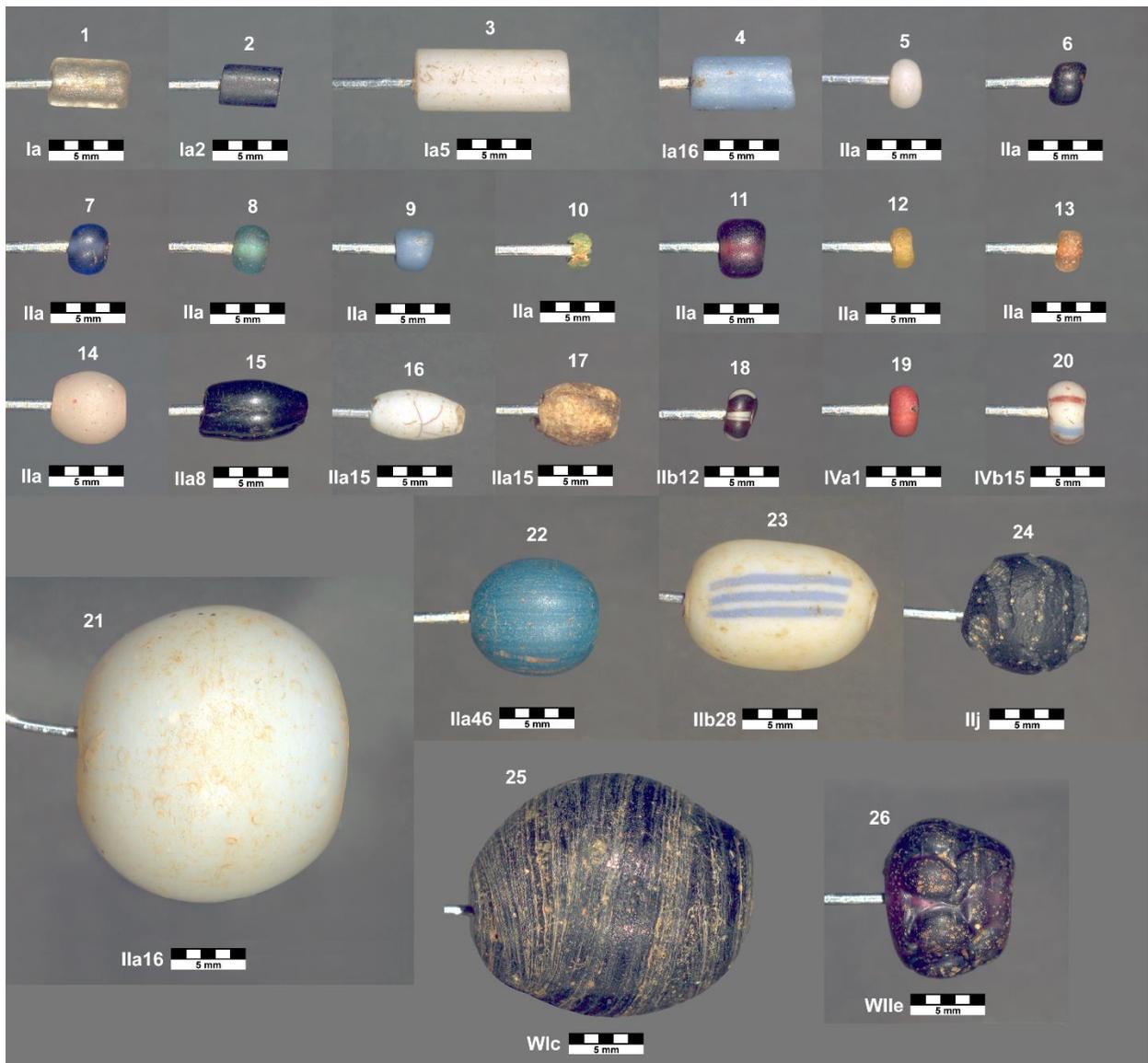


Figure 5.8. Beads recovered from mid-eighteenth century Catawba sites.

tube beads (Kidd & Kidd 1970: Type Ia16), which Brain (1979:100) dates to roughly 1725 (Figure 5.8:4). Marcoux (2012:175) suggests these monochromatic tube beads were likely in circulation during the second half of the eighteenth century. Most of the gun parts found at both sites can be attributed to “Type G” guns made in England specifically for the Indian trade (Burke 1980:68). These arms were manufactured between 1725 and 1775 and have engraved brass fittings (Figure 5.9). One dog lock is also present in the Nassaw assemblage. These were in use on firearms primarily during the seventeenth century, and would have been an antique by the 1750s (Peterson 1956:35).

Perhaps the most robust line of artifactual evidence that can be used to suggest sites 38Yk343 and 38Yk17 were inhabited during the mid-eighteenth century comes from analysis of English kaolin clay tobacco pipe fragments. A total of 495 kaolin pipestems were collected from 398Yk434, and 161 from 38Yk17. Tobacco is a New World plant that was first brought to England in the sixteenth century. By 1619, pipe makers had formed an organized body in London, and new production centers soon developed throughout England (Oswald 1975:7). Making these pipes involved forming a blank, piercing the stem of the blank with a length of wire, pressing the blank into a two-piece mold, and hollowing out the bowl of the pipe. While this process remained fundamentally the same through the end of the eighteenth century, among English pipe-makers the thickness of the wire used to pierce the stem varied through time, such that the diameter of the wire decreased through the eighteenth century. This trend was first noted by Harrington (1954), who measured the bore of pipestem fragments from well-dated Colonial Williamsburg contexts using drill bits and developed histograms that illustrated this trend (Figure 5.10). Unfortunately, Harrington split the eighteenth century in half, and the pipestem bore diameter distributions from 38Yk434 and 38Yk17 are not good matches for either of the



Figure 5.9. “Type G” gun parts from Nassaw-Weyapee (38Yk434).

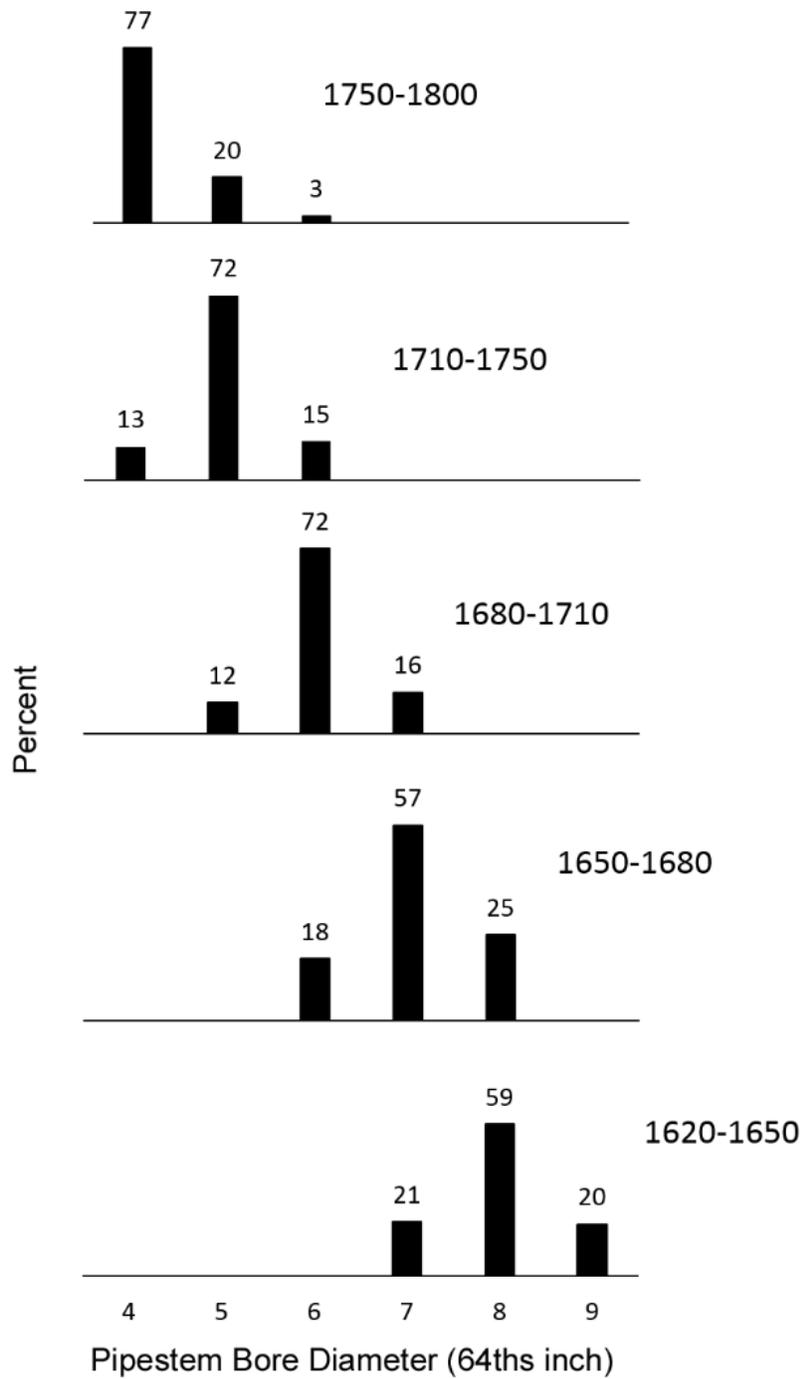


Figure 5.10. Relationship between kaolin pipe bore diameter and date ranges, after Harrington (1954).

distributions he presents (Table 5.2). The mode of the 38Yk17 assemblage is 5/64th-inch, which might suggest the assemblage dates between 1710 and 1750, but pipestems with 4/64th-inch diameter bore holes also make up about 38% of the assemblage. The reverse is true for the pipestem assemblage from 38Yk434, which nominally falls into the 1750-1800 category. However, it is also possible to estimate the date of the pipestem assemblages using a formula Binford (1962) devised by conducting a linear regression of Harrington's data. The resulting formula is

$$Y = 1931.85 - 38.26x$$

where Y is the midpoint occupation date and x is the average bore diameter of a given pipestem assemblage. While efforts have been made to refine Binford's formula (e.g. Heighton and Deagan 1971), it continues to be corroborated by ever-increasing datasets (Shott 2012:32). The Binford pipestem dates obtained for the Catawba sites in question are 1762.3 for 38Yk434 and 1755.1 for 38Yk17. These midpoint dates are slightly later than expected, particularly for 38Yk434, since a mid-point date of 1762.3 would seem to indicate some persisting occupation of the site after 1759, when the Nation Ford area was evacuated due to the smallpox epidemic. This may indicate that the occupation of 38Yk434 was primarily in the 1750s, with artifacts such as the dog lock and type WIIe "raspberry" bead having been obtained several decades earlier and later brought to the new settlement. While a variety of other explanations may be proposed to explain the nuances of these dates, such as a change in the number of people smoking over time, in a general sense they indicate that sites 38Yk434 and 38Yk17 were likely inhabited during 1756, and are thus eligible to be considered candidates for the towns mapped by Evans.

No single line of evidence I have presented here is of itself sufficient for attributing sites 38Yk434 and 38Yk17 to the Catawba settlements Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town,

Table 5.2. Kaolin pipe stem bore diameter measurements from 38Yk434 and 38Yk17.

Bore Diameter	38Yk434		38Yk17	
	Count	%	Count	%
4/64	61	37.9	269	58.6
5/64	100	62.1	182	39.7
6/64	0	0	8	1.7
Total	161	100	459	100

respectively. Taken together, however, these independent lines of evidence make a strong case for this equation. The document which has made it possible to identify the remains of Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town on the modern landscape is only a snapshot of the Catawba Nation in early 1756. However, Evans provided enough information so that it is possible to identify which section of the easterly-flowing river was home to the aggregated Catawba towns as the Seven Years War began. Ultimately it is Nation Ford, a shoal that served as a river crossing in the heart of the Catawba Nation, which makes it possible to pin Evans' map to the modern landscape. Since it is clear that the people who lived at 38Yk434 and 38Yk17 were using smudge pits, embroidering clothing and personal items with thousands of glass beads, and making pottery that suggests they were taught by Southeastern Indian potters, it is reasonable to conclude that these sites were home to members of the Catawba Nation. Given their geographic position on the landscape in relation to waterways, and the presence of adjacent settlements at 38Yk434, these sites are also consistent with the locations of Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town as mapped by Evans. Finally, excavations at both sites have yielded kiln-fired ceramics, glass beads, gun parts, and kaolin pipestem fragments with bore diameters that are consistent with the types of objects that were in circulation during the mid-eighteenth century. From this point forward, I will refer to 38Yk434 as Nassaw-Weyapee and 38Yk17 as Charraw Town.

Mediating People and Things to Define Units of Analysis

Attributing 38Yk434 and 38Yk17 to Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town, respectively, makes it possible to compare the mid-eighteenth century subsistence and economic activities of a local Esaw-affiliated community with those of the immigrant Charraw. Doing so, however, requires careful parsing of the archaeological data to ensure that any patterns identified are indeed the result of Catawba activities, rather than variation in archaeological excavation and recording techniques or events that took place at these locations after the mid-eighteenth century. Ideally, we should also organize archaeological data so that the products of similar activities are grouped together. For example, combining archaeobotanical data from maize cob-filled smudge pits with that from general trash areas would produce misleading results, because the former are the result of specific incidents in which only one element of the Catawba diet was used as fuel, while the latter represents an accumulation of remains from many various meals throughout the year. Several steps are necessary to ensure the development of meaningful comparisons. First, it is necessary to understand the relationship between archaeological data and Catawba activities. In other words, we must clarify how data archaeologists produce in the present can be linked to networks of people and things that existed in the past. These relationships, along with archaeology's focus on things and space as sources of information, informs the types of analytical units used in this study. Although Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town were both inhabited during the mid-eighteenth century, matters of simultaneity and sequence inform context definition, as do Catawba waste-management practices. The latter are addressed by examining artifact distributions at both sites. Patterns identified in this manner can then be used

to define clusters of things which will be treated as units of analysis in the following examination of mid-eighteenth-century Catawba subsistence and economic practices.

Robert Braidwood (1958:734), in his obituary for fellow archaeologist V. Gordon Childe, noted that his colleague “never forgot the ‘Indian behind the artifact,’” a reference to the tendency for early twentieth century archaeologists to focus on artifacts themselves to the exclusion of the human interactions and activities that led to their production. This phrase, “the Indian behind the artifact,” continues to be used by archaeologists in theoretical discussions that examine the nature of people, things, and the archaeological enterprise. Recently, Olsen (2010:136) has argued that “people, the Indians included, do not occupy positions behind things (through which they may be accessed).” This objection is directed at semiotic approaches in archaeology, wherein artifacts are treated as signifiers that simply transmit information. Such an approach is complicated by the fact that things themselves are not passive intermediaries, “obediently” transporting meaning without transformation (Olsen 201:145). Rather, as Whitehead (1978) argued, the world is composed of composite entities that are the ephemeral products of constant interaction, such that “things and beings all share the capacity for making a *difference* in the world and to other beings” (Olsen 2010:9). While Olson is heavily influenced by Latour’s (2005) actor network theory, a similar concern with the proper role of things and the focus of archaeological inquiry was expressed by Kent Flannery (1967), who approached the matter from an ecological perspective. Flannery (1967:120) argued for an archaeology in which people were considered as “one component of a system that also includes many noncultural components.” From this perspective, the subject of archaeological research was not simply “the Indian behind the artifact” but rather “the system behind both the Indian and the artifact” (Flannery 1967:120). While these authors engage different philosophical traditions, their

positions have similar implications for the practice of learning about past life-worlds from things. Simply put, at any given point in time during human history, a regime of people, other organisms, and things is in process. Some of the things humans transform into artifacts are more durable than others. After becoming disconnected from the network in which they were made, these more durable artifacts continue to be components of other assemblages of organisms and things—often in soil, but also in other places such as oceans, caves, or on the ground surface—transforming and being transformed in the process. In the practice of archaeology, these items are taken into yet another set of entanglements through a variety of agencies—human, climatological, geologic—to dictate everything from where archaeologists decide to dig, to what types of technical specialties they cultivate, to what kinds of questions they ask about the past. Taking this whole process into account, it may be more proper to say that artifacts have people in their pasts, and one goal of archaeology is to devise logical ways of describing how people, animals, and things were once articulated in these pasts.

To this end, it is necessary to describe categories used for classifying assemblages of things, along with the entities they implicate. One element missing from recent efforts to bring symmetry to archaeological narratives concerning people and things is space, and hence scale. Artifacts are by definition things whose position in space is due in part to human agency. Spatial relationships are critical elements of archaeological information because they can help define limits of possibility regarding the temporal extent and size of an implicated network. This study uses four general types of archaeological contexts, classified by scale, to parse durable traces of mid-eighteenth century Catawba subsistence and economic activities: features, activity areas, sites, and constellations of craft production. While these concepts have general archaeological application, they are only a subset of the context categories used by archaeologists world-wide.

Their use here is related to the durability of things that were part of the mid-eighteenth century Catawba life-world and characteristics of the Eastern Woodland piedmont environment, specifically forest succession and clay-loam soils. They are also the product of a set of archaeological practices routinized during the course of the mid-twentieth century (Coe 1995:45-60).

Features, the most temporally and spatially circumscribed of these phenomena, are specific locations where variation in soil characteristics indicate a hole was excavated and later re-filled. Activities associated with the creation of a feature may be inferred from its size, shape, location, and/or contents. For example, post hole features are identified as such largely by their size and shape, while cob-filled smudge pits are defined by their contents. In some instances features were filled but not excavated by people, such as debris-filled gullies and tree stump holes. In the context of the eastern piedmont, where most of the landscape—including Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town—has been mechanically plowed for farming, features are effectively time capsules that have escaped the homogenizing influence of the plow. Activity areas are more expansive spatially and conceptually, in that they may incorporate a cluster of features or yield artifacts that suggest the locus in question was a differentiated element of the past landscape. Houses, yards, gardens, and even trash-middens are places where distinctive clusters of people, things, and animals interacted on a regular basis. While the utility of the archaeological “site” concept has been debated (e.g. Dunnell 1992), the distribution of artifacts across the landscape and pragmatism have contributed to its continued use to denote “places where people lived or carried out activities” (Kowalewski 2008:226-227). Thus an activity area may be a site, but sites can contain multiple activity areas. Both contexts owe their character to redundancy, in that the more frequently an activity is undertaken in a specific location, the more

things from this activity are likely to accumulate and later be identified archaeologically. Finally, artifacts may be used to define constellations of craft production, as discussed in Chapter 3.

Unlike “communities of practice,” or emergent social groups that arise out of collective engagement in a joint enterprise (Wenger 1998:84, 126-128), constellations of craft production span longer units of time and space. These extensive networks of teachers, learners, tools, and materials in various states of transformation are identified through the attributes of artifacts, ranging from style to chemical composition.

Two confounding factors need to be taken into account in defining Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town contexts. The first is that evidence of eighteenth-century habitations of settlers who leased Catawba lands in the nineteenth century are present at both sites. It appears that the main habitation areas associated with these later occupations were not located in the portions of Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town examined during the 2007, 2008, and 2011 excavations. Artifacts clearly associated with these settler households, such as cut nails, are excluded from consideration in this study. However, the presence of these materials is indicative of a larger obstacle to archaeological analysis—the nineteenth and twentieth century use of both sites as farm and pasture land. Soils at both sites have been classified as “severely eroded,” having experienced severe sheet erosion and gully formation (Camp 1965:17, 25). As a result, features are truncated—plow cut or eroded down below their elevation of origin—at both sites. At Charraw Town, soil disruption and loss from erosion and plowing is compounded by twentieth-century terracing activities, evident in a 1964 aerial photograph and the modern topography. The average depth of storage pit features gives a general sense of how much soil has been lost at each site. At Nassaw-Weyapee, the 26 pit features identified extended from 8 to 50 cm (3 to 19.6 inches) below the base of the plow zone, with an average depth of 26 cm (10.2 inches). At

Charraw Town, the 6 excavated pit features ranged from 4 to 25 cm (1.6 to 9.8 inches) deep, with an average of 14 cm (5.5 inches). While it is possible that deeper pits are present at Charraw Town but were not encountered during the 2011 field season, the available data suggest that about 5 more inches of soil were lost at Charraw Town compared to Nassaw-Weyapee. As stated earlier, this fact may account for the apparent absence of smudge pits at Charraw Town, along with the fact that excavations at this site were less extensive.

Complications in defining analytical contexts can also arise when multiple episodes of construction take place in the same location. Many Mississippian sites, for example, appear as palimpsests of overlapping pits and post holes due to the persistence of a community in the same location over generations. Intersecting pit features, storage pit re-use, and evidence of rebuilding post-in-ground structures all provide information about relative chronology. The expectation is that there should be little evidence of re-building at Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town since these sites were only occupied for 10 to 20 years during the mid-eighteenth century. However, instances of newer pit features being dug into older, filled-in pits were identified at both sites.

The storage pits dug in mid-eighteenth century Catawba houses can best be thought of as miniature root cellars. They often appear in clusters because they were excavated into the dirt floors of houses to help regulate the temperature of their contents—probably sweet potatoes—and were covered with boards and mats (Samford 2007:125). Storage pits needed to be refurbished more frequently than buildings due to occasional spoilage, burrowing rodents, and collapsing pit walls (Samford 2007:132). While the Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town excavations resulted in the identification of only one complete house footprint, several clusters of storage pits and post holes were identified, indicating the presence of at least six houses. One of

these storage pit clusters was encountered on the eastern side of Charraw Town, one was found in Weyapee, and four are present in the central and northern portions of Nassaw.

A cluster of 4 closely-spaced pit features was identified in the eastern block of test units excavated at Charraw Town (Figure 5.11). Although a complete structure footprint was not uncovered, the arrangement of nearby post holes suggests that Features 4 through 7 were located inside the house. Three of these features were dug and filled in a sequence. Feature 4 was first created and then filled, after which Feature 5 was dug, cutting partly into the northeast corner of Feature 4. After Feature 5 had been filled, Feature 7 was dug, cutting into both of the earlier pits. At Weyapee, the portion of a house excavated contained five storage pits (Figure 5.12). None of these pits intruded upon the others, but a potsherd found in the bottom of Feature 46 mends with sherds from the base of a complicated-stamped jar found in the upper fill of Feature 48, indicating that both were filled sometime after this vessel was broken.

Three of the four house areas identified in the Nassaw settlement have yielded evidence of pit feature construction sequences. The one house area that has not, located in the southern portion of the settlement, was subject to the least amount of excavation (Figure 5.13). However, a cob-filled smudge pit intruded into one of the pits located here—Feature 10—suggesting either that the orientation of the house in that area changed during an episode of rebuilding, or that at some point the house was removed and this location used for other activities. About 15 meters (almost 50 feet) to the north, a complete house pattern was uncovered in which 9 storage pits had been dug in a roughly circular arrangement (Figure 5.14). This suggests they were positioned around a central hearth and/or inside a standing structure, although no evidence of either was identified due to plowing and soil loss. Only one case of intersecting pits was noted in this location: Feature 60 was cut into the northern end of Feature 59 after the latter had been filled.

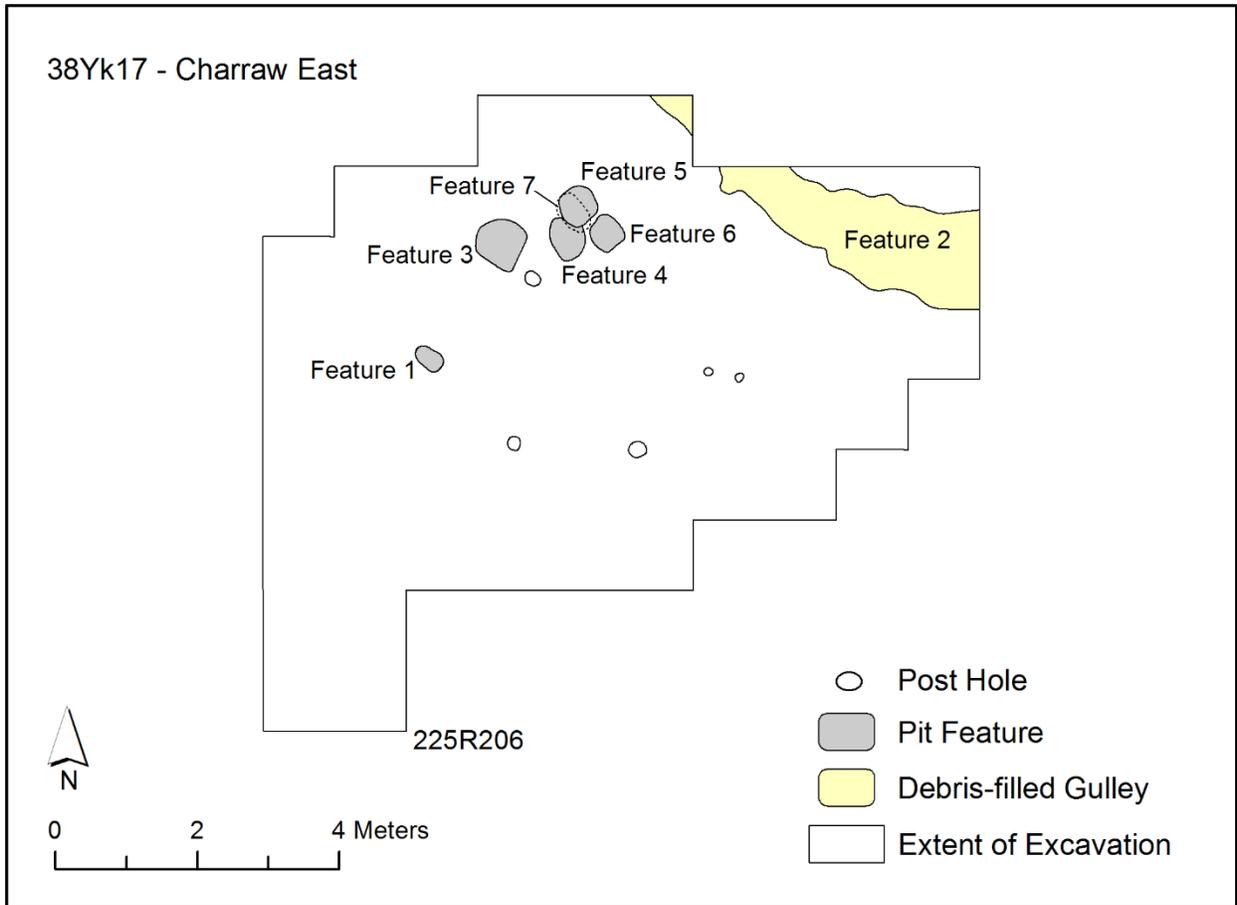


Figure 5.11. Features identified at Charraw Town.

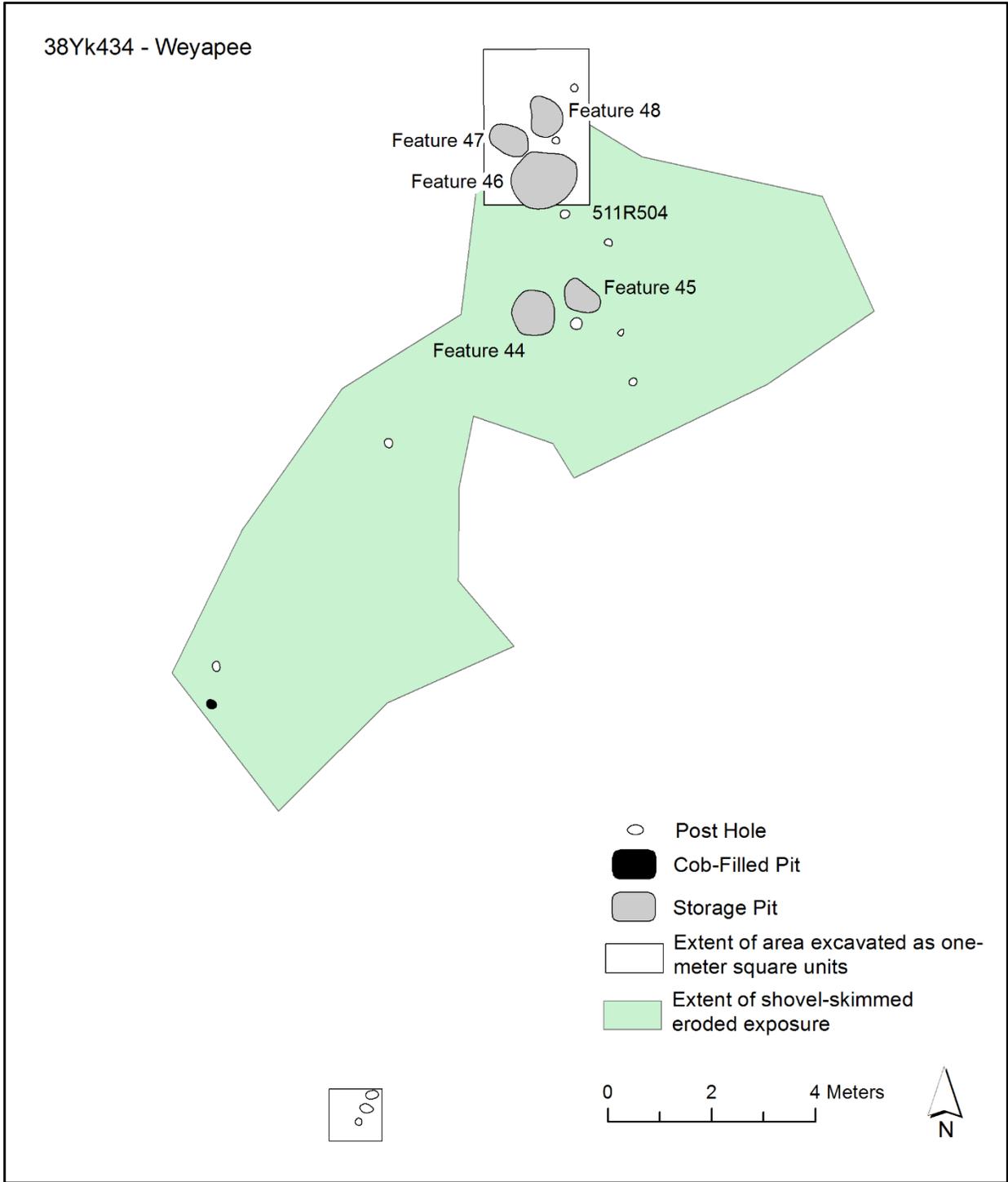


Figure 5.11. Features identified at Weyapee.

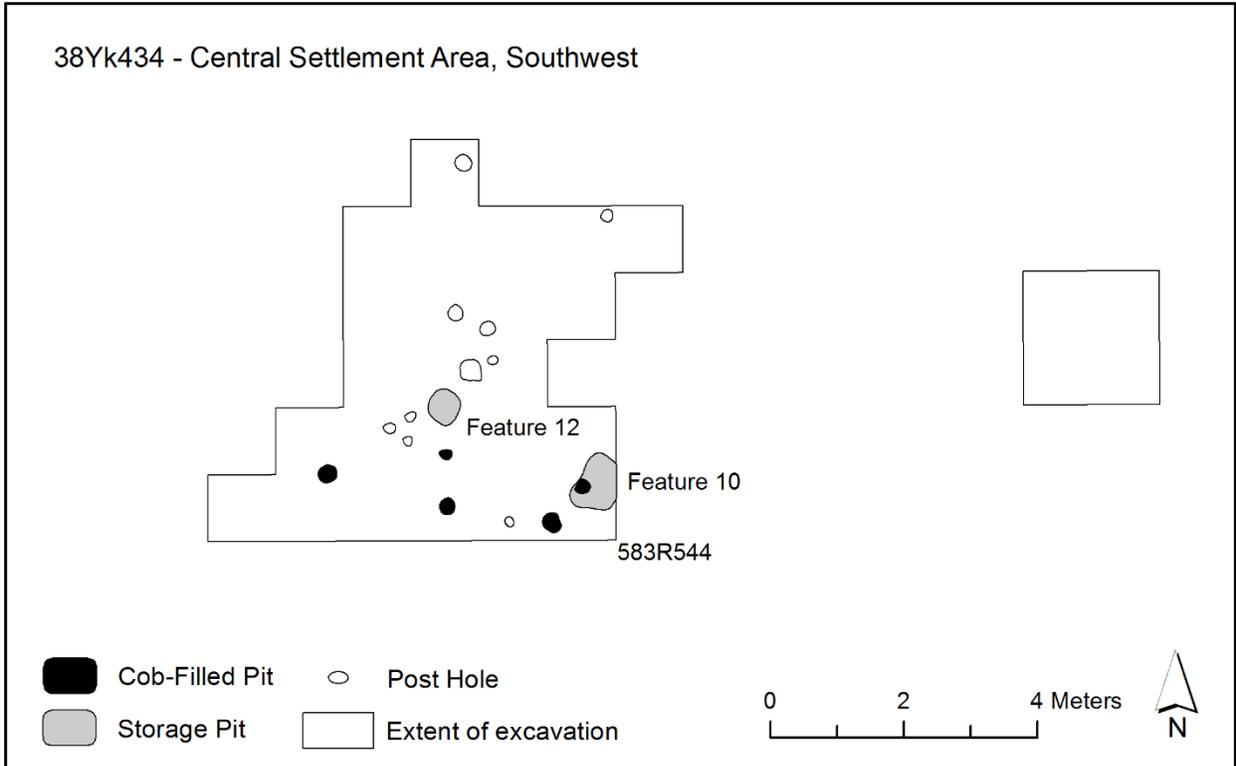


Figure 5.13. Features located in southwest portion of central Nassaw settlement area.

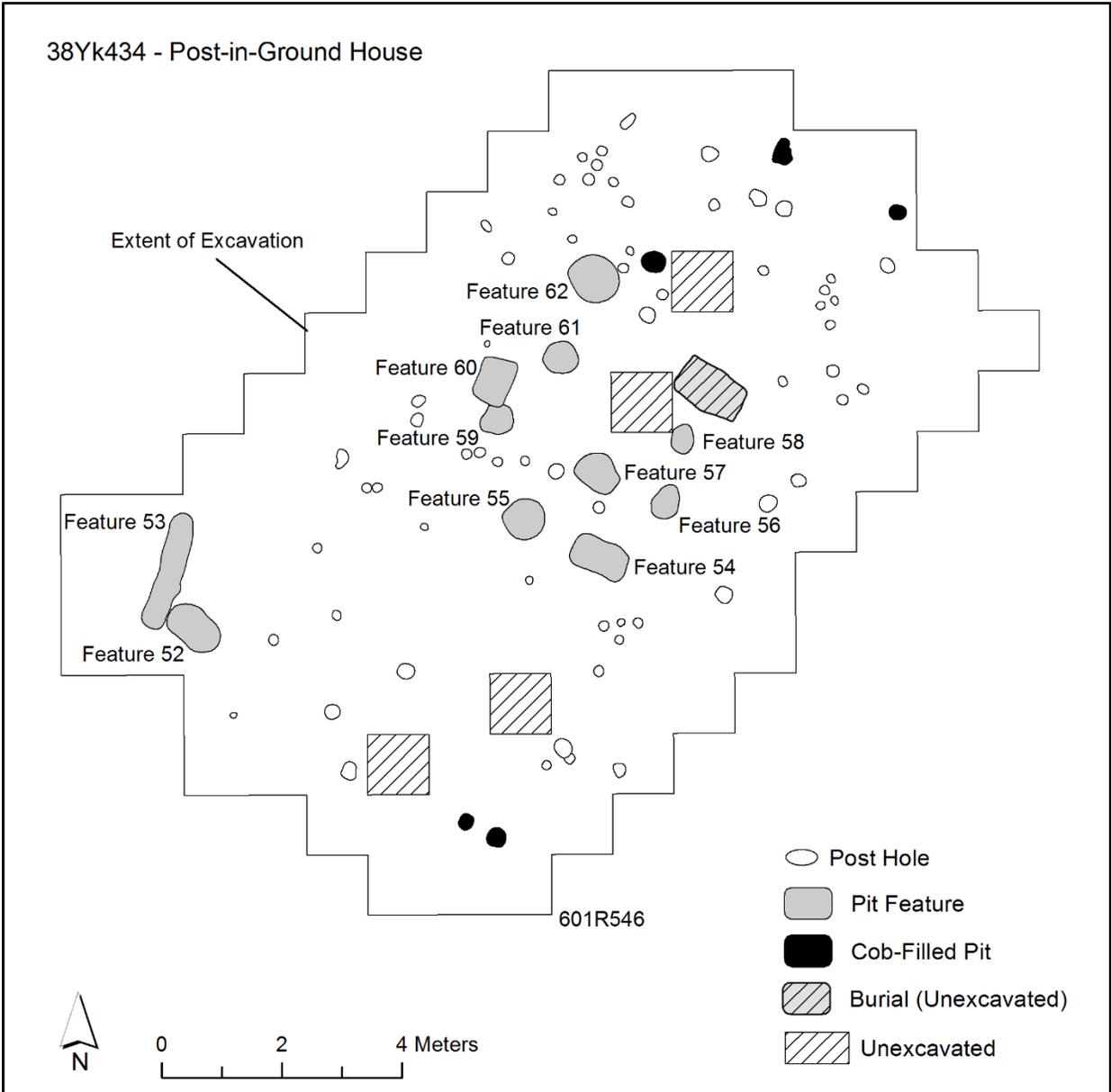


Figure 5.14. Features associated with the house pattern identified in the western portion of the central Nassaw settlement area.

The remains of a third house at Nassaw are located near the northeastern edge of settlement (Figure 5.15). Only a portion of this house was excavated and the two small pits identified do not intersect. The northernmost house at Nassaw is something of an enigma (Figure 5.16). Although the entire house area was mechanically stripped and the base of the plow zone carefully shovel-skimmed, the post holes identified in this area are not aligned in an easily-recognizable structural footprint. However, 7 pit features are present at this location. None of these pits intersect, but one sherd of a large, smoothed plain jar found in the bottom of Feature 23 joins sherds found in Feature 26.

Taken together, this evidence for the sequence in which storage pits were dug and filled indicates that features in the house at Charraw Town and in the house at the western edge of Nassaw display the most evidence of spatially-constrained refurbishing activity. Another way of assessing episodes of cleaning or restoration using pit feature characteristics is to count the number of layers of soil, or zones, present in each feature. Minor episodes of spoilage or wall failure can sometimes be solved by adding soil or clay to the bottom or sides of a storage pit rather than digging a new pit. These different “zones” of soil are distinguished during archaeological excavation of the pit fill. One third, or 9 of the 27 pit features at Nassaw-Weyapee contain more than two zones of fill, while no such pits were identified at Charraw Town (Table 5.3). The presence of multiple zones of fill is an indicator of pit-reuse, and it can be used to measure household longevity. At the early eighteenth century Cherokee Townsend site, 5 of 33 pit features (15%) contained more than two zones of fill (Marcoux 2008:224). Marcoux uses this information, along with other architectural data, to argue that the Townsend community was not long-lived in comparison to habitation sites that pre-date the Indian Slave Trade. Half of the rebuilt, multi-zone pits at Nassaw-Weyapee are associated with the western house area, where

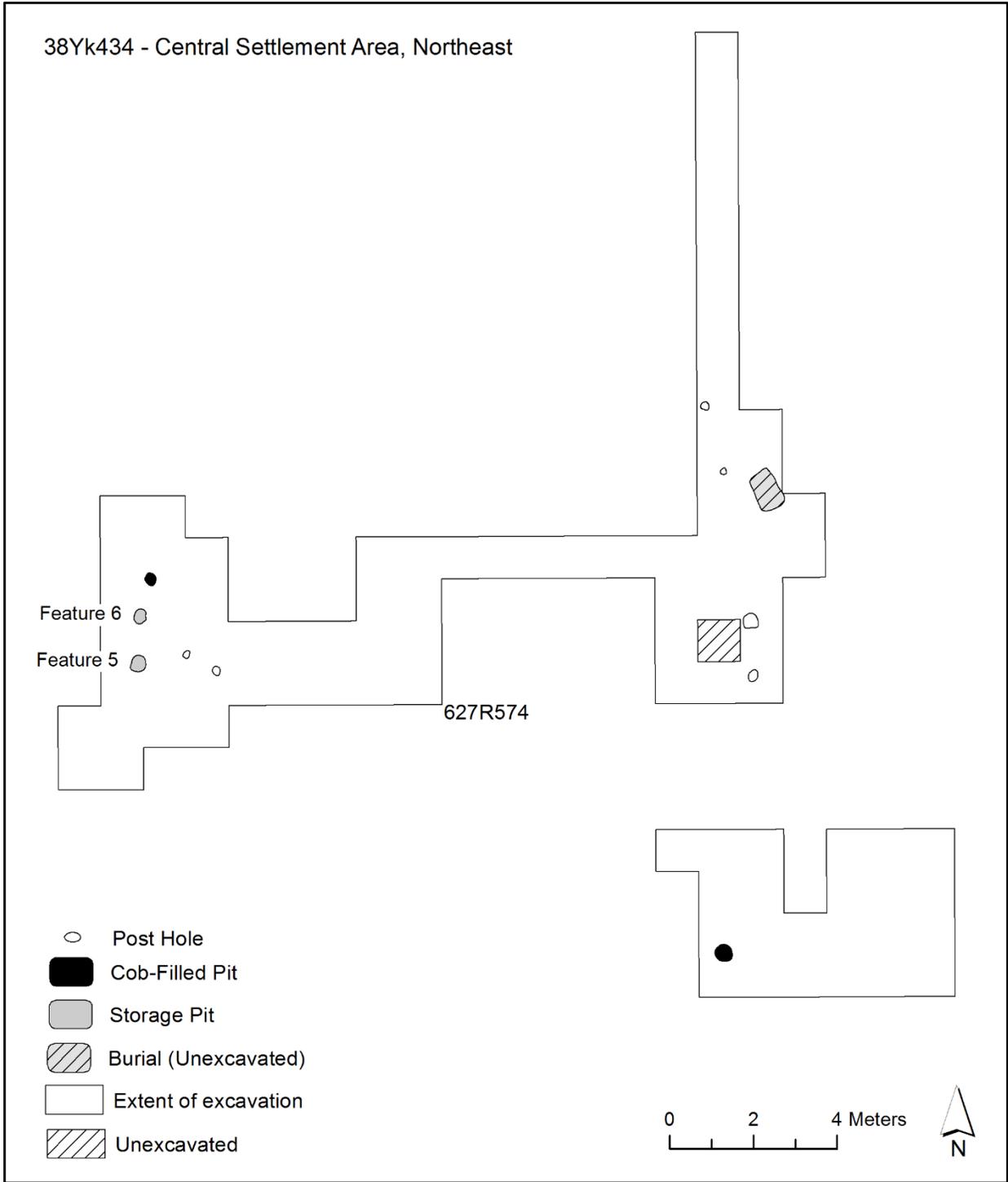


Figure 5.15. Features located in the northeast portion of the central Nassaw settlement area.

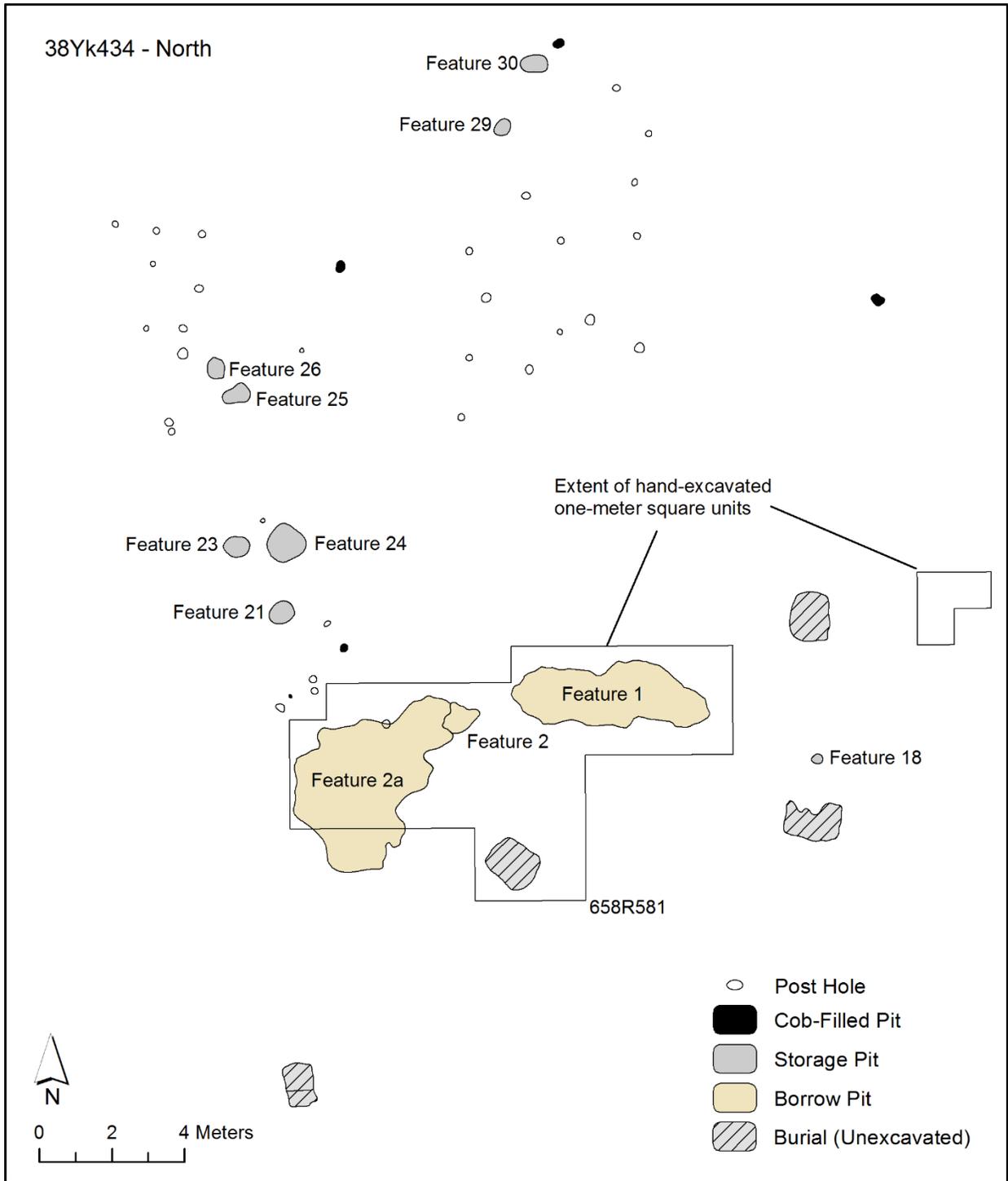


Figure 5.16. Features identified in the northern area of the Nassaw settlement.

Table 5.3. Pits with more than two zones of fill identified at 38Yk17 and 38Yk434.

Site	House Area	Storage Pits (n)	>2 zones
38Yk17	Charraw East	6	0
TOTAL		6	0
38Yk434	Weyapee	5	2
	Nassaw Southwest	2	1
	Nassaw West	11	5
	Nassaw Northeast	2	0
	Nassaw North	7	1
TOTAL		27	9

they comprise about half of the total pit assemblage. In contrast with the Charraw Town household, where several new pits were dug in the same area, residents of the western house at Nassaw appear to have preferred to repair existing storage pits rather than dig new ones.

Post holes are another source of information about multiple episodes of construction at archaeological sites. Marcoux (2008:134), for example, compares houses at the Cherokee Townsend site to local precedents, and determines that during the early eighteenth century it became more common for families to repair houses than to completely rebuild them *in situ*, as had been the practice during the late Mississippian period (Rodning 2007). While little information exists about lower Catawba valley architecture, we do know that late Mississippian communities in the upper valley built square structures with rounded corners set in semi-subterranean basins (Beck et al. 2006:68), while seventeenth-century Saratown families living along the Dan River built circular houses (Ward and Davis 1993:423). Most of the structures that have been identified in the upper Catawba valley are civic buildings, rather than houses.

However, the remains of one Burke phase domestic structure have been excavated at the Catawba Meadows site (31Bk18). It was a square structure with rounded corners set in a basin, measuring about 8 meters (26.2 feet) across (Geiger 2012:42). This suggests that upper Catawba valley late Mississippian public and household architecture differed in scale rather than form. The house built at the western edge of the Nassaw settlement area is the only complete mid-eighteenth century Catawba house pattern excavated to date (Figure 5.14). Surprisingly, it was not built like either upper Catawba valley late Mississippian or Dan River Saratown houses, instead resembling—if superficially—eighteenth-century rectangular Cherokee and Creek “summer” homes. Cherokee summer structures identified at the mid- to late-eighteenth century settlement of Chota-Tanasee have widely-set posts and average 9.3 by 5.3 meters (30.6 by 17.46 feet) (Schroedl 1986:268). However, the Nassaw example contains more interior posts than these structures, which were open-plan spaces, suggesting it is representative of a different architectural form. Excavations at the eighteenth-century Creek settlement of Fusihatchee resulted in the identification of rectangular structures with interior storage pits and benches, which more closely resemble the Nassaw structure. On average, however, the Fusihatchee summer houses measure 6.9 by 5.7 meters (22.7 by 12.1 feet) (Sheldon 2010:144), making them smaller than both the Cherokee and Catawba examples.

The Nassaw house measures approximately 11 meters by 6 meters (36 by 19.7 feet). The distribution of post hole depths indicates that more than one mode is present, as there are peaks between 5 and 10 cm, 20 and 25 cm, and 30 and 35 cm (Figure 5.17). Since post hole depth often corresponds to architectural function, such that central support posts are deeper than wall and interior posts, I mapped the post holes comprising the Nassaw house to test this expectation. Doing so reveals that this building can be conceived as two superimposed structures. The first is

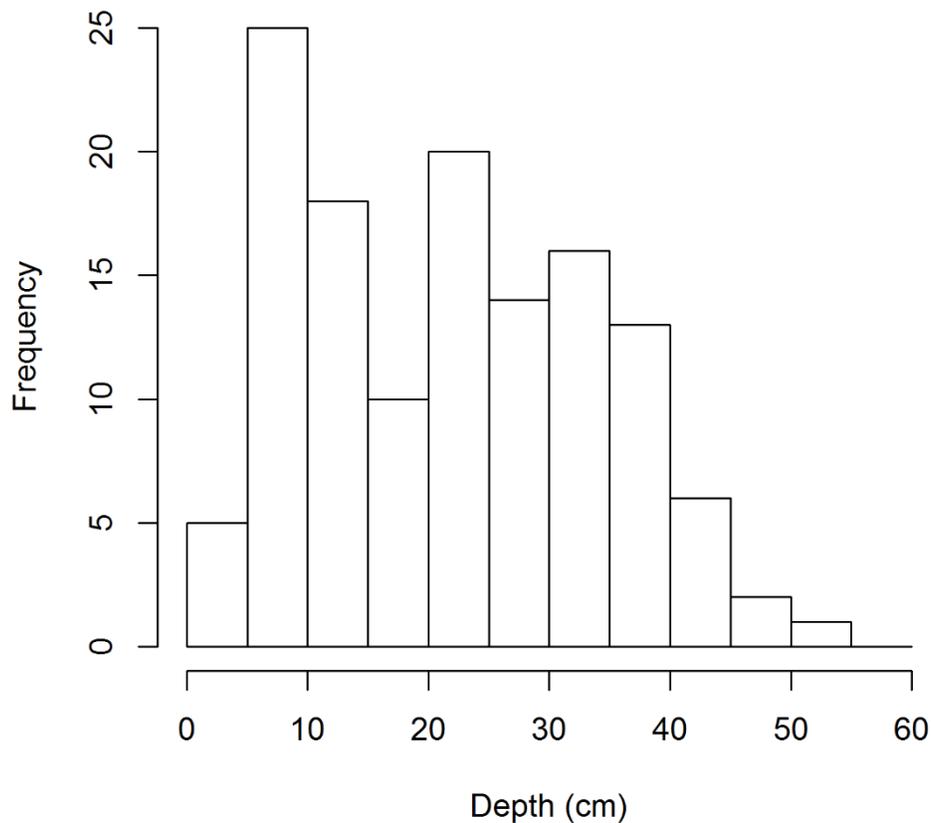


Figure 5.17. Histogram showing depth of post holes associated with the house in the western portion of the Nassaw settlement area.

roughly 6.5 by 4.3 meters (21.3 by 14 feet) and consists of post holes up to 26 cm in depth (Figure 5.18). Interior partitions or benches are present along the north and south walls, while the corners of this structure were supported by clusters of 3 or 4 posts. All of the pits located within the house, along with an unexcavated presumed burial, are positioned within this first structure. The deeper posts, ranging from 27 to 55 cm, outline the larger of the two structures (Figure 5.19). Two additional pit features are aligned with the southwest corner of this larger structure. While it is possible that these structures represent two stages of construction, a more likely explanation is that they represent different elements of a composite building that had a large, covered area located at the southern end of the structure and 1 meter- (3 foot-) wide porches

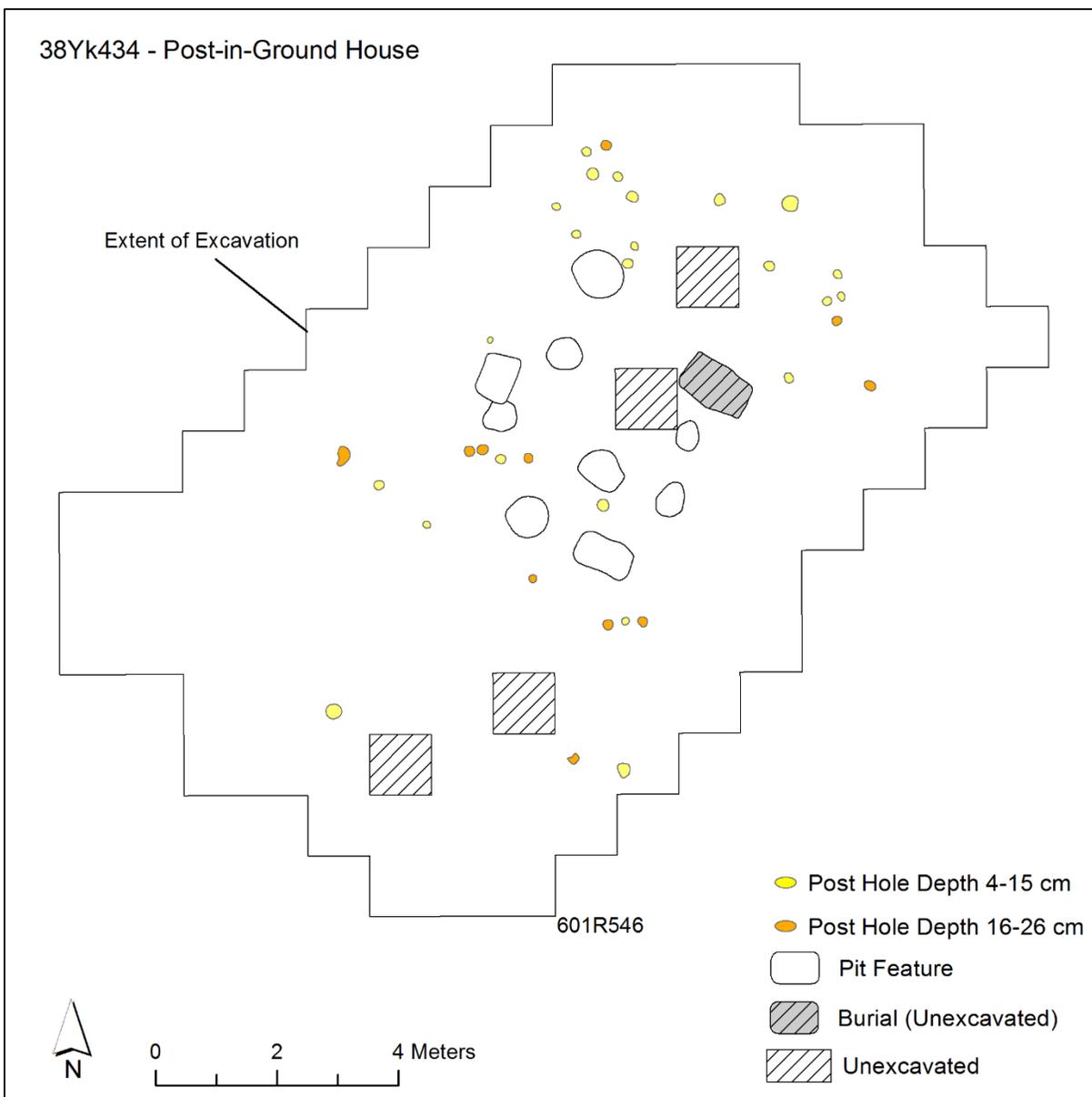


Figure 5.18. House pattern in western Nassaw settlement area showing post holes less than 26 cm deep.

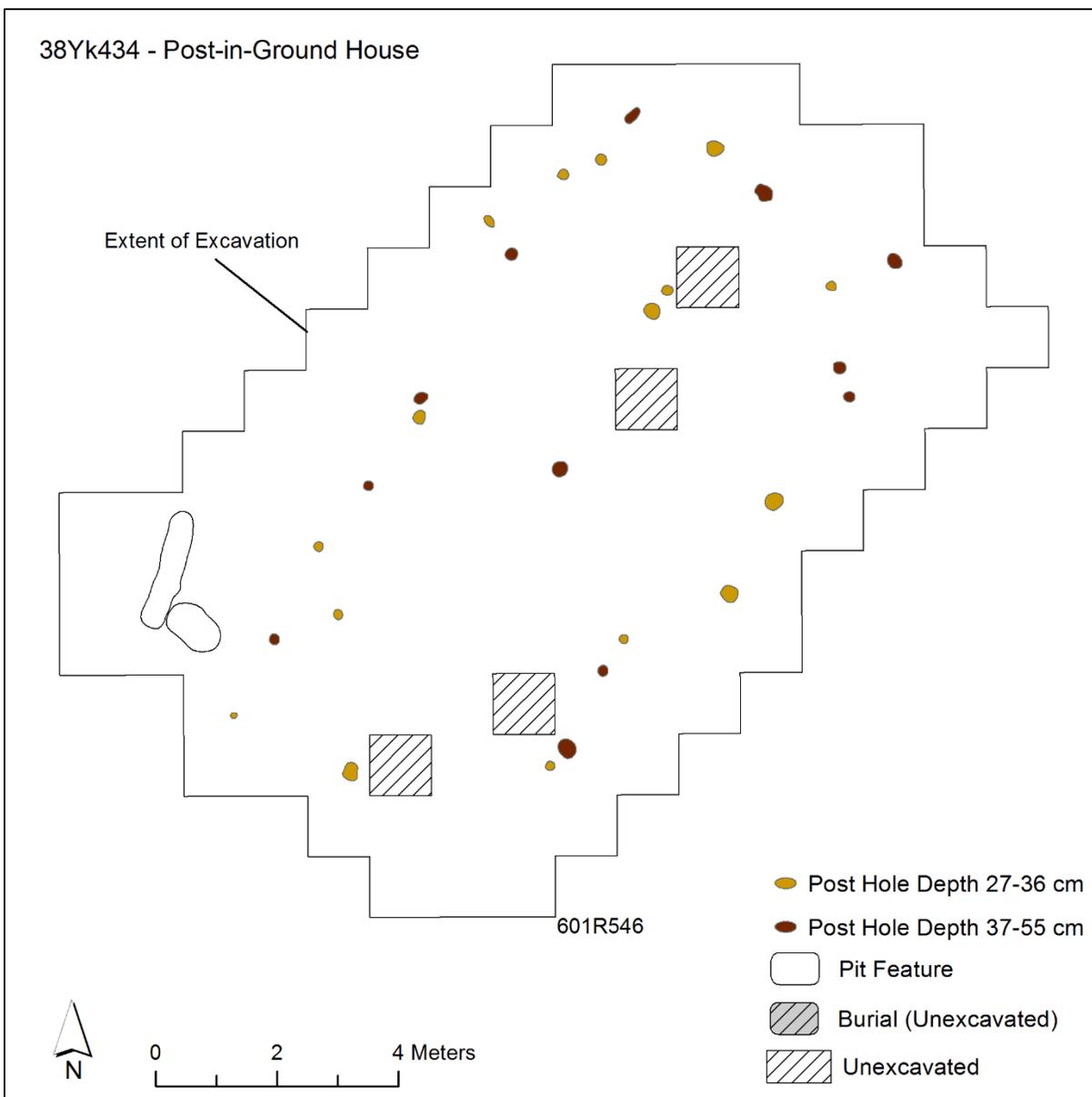


Figure 5.19. House pattern in western Nassaw settlement area showing post holes less greater than 27 cm deep.

along the east and north sides of the house (Figure 5.20). The position of the central support posts—which are located approximately 2.7 meters (8.8 feet) from the west wall and 3.5 meters (11.5 feet) from the east wall—suggests that the building had an asymmetrical roof line, with a steeper pitch to the west and more gradual fall to the east. Such a hybrid structure would function as an “all-season” house, providing a shaded, open space for the hot and stormy summers along with an enclosed space for the cooler winter months. If we take this building to be a single composite structure that was repaired over time, then it appears that the general preference of the family who lived this home site on the western edge of Nassaw was for repairing structures and pits, rather than constructing new ones.

Evidence of storage pit construction sequence and repair, along with the interpretation of the Nassaw post hole pattern as a single house, suggests that arrangements among people, architecture, and things were relatively stable during the course of settlement at both sites. In other words, drastic changes in community organization do not appear to have occurred. In addition to parsing the archaeological data to identify sequence, it is equally important to identify cases of simultaneity. In these cases, it may be determined that one or more contexts excavated separately were in fact deposited at the same time, and should be treated as a single analytical unit. There are two such mass deposits near the northernmost house area at Nassaw (Figure 5.16). At this location, Nassaw residents dug two large “borrow pits,” probably to obtain clay for chinking during house construction (the clay subsoil at both sites is not suitable for ceramic production). The fill of the borrow pit Feature 2a was excavated in two zones, but sherds from a large smoothed jar and a large complicated-stamped jar were found in each of these fills, suggesting they were the product of a single depositional event. At some point afterward, the eastern edge of Feature 2a was disturbed, probably while people were digging for clay in Feature

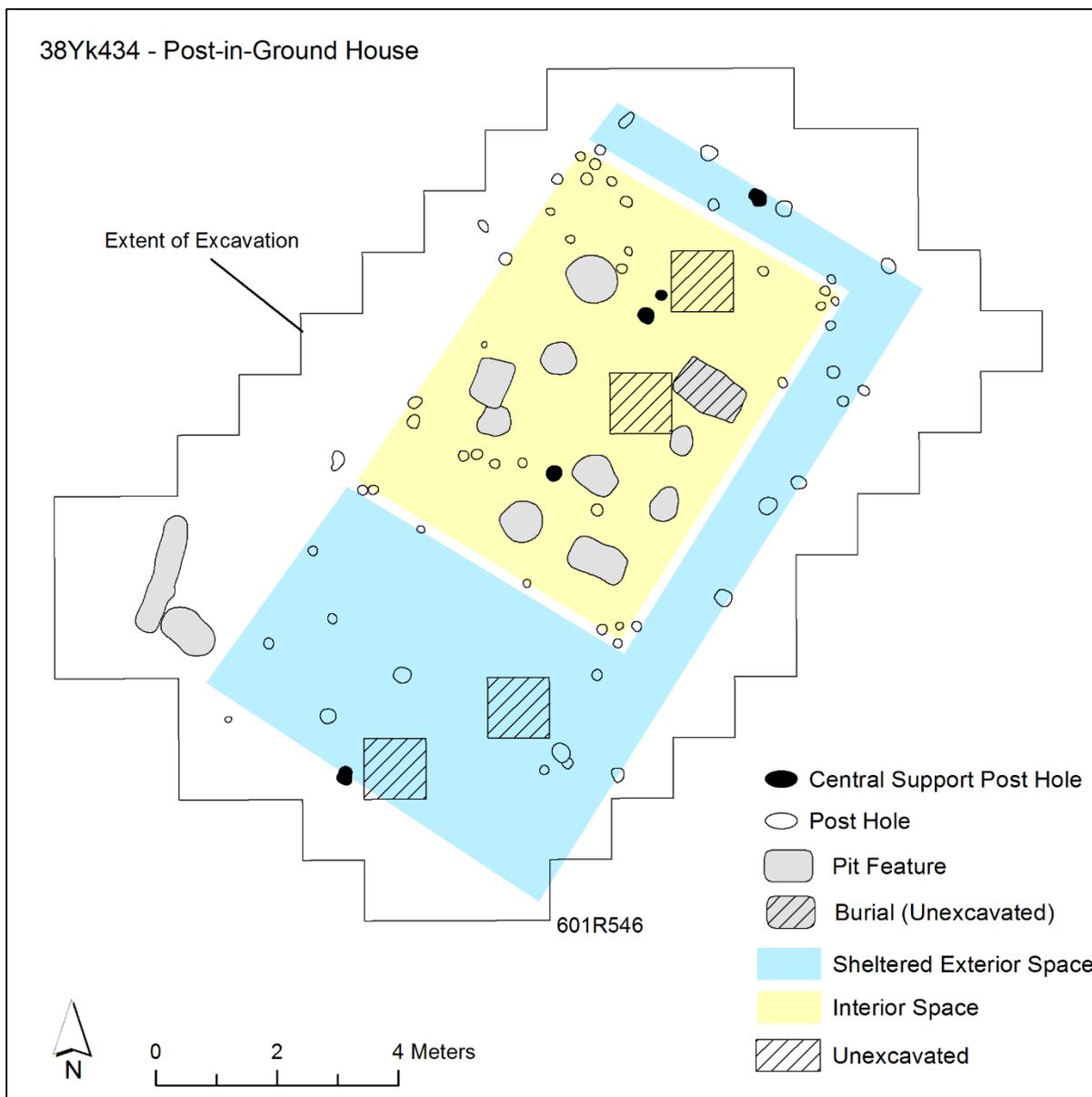


Figure 5.20. Interpretation of post hole pattern of house at western edge of Nassaw settlement area.

1. This borrow pit was also filled in rapidly, and ceramic joins between sherds from Feature 1 and a vessel in Feature 2a suggest that some of the fill disturbed in Feature 2a ended up in Feature 1.

No borrow pits were identified at Charraw Town, but a refuse-filled erosional gully was found at the eastern part of the site near the cluster of overlapping storage pits (Figure 5.11). Although this context, labeled Feature 2, was excavated in two zones, cross-mending sherds from two different vessels are present in each zone, again indicating it was rapidly filled. While it is possible that this gully formed and was filled in while Charraw Town was occupied, it is also possible that it developed when the area was farmed, prior to terracing of the landform in the twentieth century. In either case, all of the artifacts collected from Feature 2 are consistent with the mid-eighteenth century Charraw occupation.

Assessing evidence for episodes of rebuilding and mass deposition requires a perspective that foregrounds the role of time with regard to human action. The definition of analytical units using archaeological data also requires analysis of artifact distributions across space. To this end, I next present evidence for deposition and activity areas at Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town. The practice of recognizing spatial patterning in artifact distributions and relating these patterns to human activity is dependent on concepts of redundancy and accumulation. With regard to redundancy, it is useful to think in terms of Bourdieu's (1977:82-83) "habitus," or "system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a *matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions.*" This "system" makes it seem like people orchestrate their lives following an extensive set of rules and norms, but in many cases such patterning is more a result of how they learned to think and behave as they were growing up together among a specific ordering of people and things. Elements of the mid-eighteenth century

Catawba habitus that involved the use or transformation of things in the same locations—in other words, that were redundant—may be identified through spatial analysis of artifact patterns.

Accumulation is the operational mode of time from an archaeological perspective. Humans continually produce things, move them about, and dispose of them. Ranging from the infinitesimal accrual of mining dust to the mass destruction of usable materials in a ceremony of conspicuous consumption, humans are always creating archaeological deposits, often much faster than natural forces can obliterate them. While artifacts accumulate at archaeological sites, they are not always disposed in the same location where they were used. Those that do can be considered, following Schiffer (1987), as being in their “primary” context. Depending on their portability, potential for recycling, or status as hazardous waste, objects may be moved to an area specifically designated for trash disposal. These “secondary” contexts are often proximal to, but spatially discrete from, indoor living quarters and outdoor activity areas. Landscaping activities and architectural construction may re-arrange secondary deposits, creating “tertiary” deposits, such as the fill in subterranean storage pits. For these reasons, archaeologists rarely expect to encounter artifacts in “primary” context. As will be discussed below, however, small items that exist at the limits of unassisted human visual perception may escape even the most fastidious of housekeepers and be used to identify activity areas.

Some refuse disposal patterns have been found to be culturally specific, such as Kashay practices of continuous cleaning to separate household and midden space compared to Alutiiq practices of covering refuse that accumulated in houses with “new” surfaces (Lightfoot et al. 1998). In a study of spatial patterning in artifacts and soil chemistry at the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Catawba site of New Town (ca. 1790-1820), Shebalin (2011:112-113) discovered that it was common for people to dispose of trash behind their chimneys, but south-

facing yard areas were kept clean. At one household, this cleared yard area stood out from its surroundings based on higher concentrations of potassium (K), manganese (Mn), and zinc (Zn), all of which are associated with food processing: K with plant and animal products in general, Mn with fish remains, and Zn with nuts, fish, and shellfish (Shebalin 2011:134). The residents of New Town lived in cabins with chimneys, unlike the post-in ground structures with interior hearths built by their parents and grandparents in the mid-eighteenth century. However, it is possible that similar practices with regard to general house and yard maintenance persisted during this interval. New Town was a particularly good site at which to conduct soil chemistry and artifact distribution analysis because parts of it had never been subject to mechanical plowing. This is not the case for Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town, which were plowed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries before becoming successional woodland and pasture, respectively. Experiments conducted under modern tillage practices have shown artifacts can be displaced an average of 6 meters (19.7 feet) horizontally, but this displacement is affected by a variety of factors including artifact size and local topography (Diez-Martín 2010:34). If differential deposition due to redundant activities such as yard maintenance occurred at the mid-eighteenth century Catawba sites, associated artifact patterning—albeit blurred or fuzzy as a result of plowing—should be identifiable. The exception to this may be at Charraw Town, where twentieth-century terracing activity caused additional displacement.

Here I examine three sets of archaeological materials to assess depositional practices at Nassaw and Charraw Town. The distributions of large potsherds and fragments of glass bottles help differentiate maintained yard areas from places where trash was intentionally dumped. Glass beads may have accumulated in places where people spent most of their time, as they were attached to clothing, while charcoal and calcined bone are the result of cooking and trash

disposal activities. Finally, the distribution of metal artifacts not only helps identify midden areas, but also locations where specific activities took place. In making these comparisons, special attention has to be paid to screen size so that any patterns identified are more likely to reflect variation in Catawba activities rather than archaeological recovery techniques. For this reason, the data presented on potsherds and glass bottle fragments is based only on contexts that were screened through 1/4" mesh. Glass bead and charcoal data come from flotation samples for which 1/16" mesh was used for separating heavier items from soil and approximately 350 µm cloth for retaining buoyant carbon. Since soil volume is measured as part of flotation processing, these data are presented as density measures that are averaged if a spatial context was excavated in multiple levels. Carbonized bone is only considered for contexts which were passed through 1/16" mesh. Finally, metal distribution is only considered where systematic metal detection and recovery took place.

Potsherds are a good source of information about activity areas because they are ubiquitous at archaeological sites. Using potsherd size to identify activity areas is based on the premise that smaller artifacts are more likely to become primary refuse than larger items, which are picked up and deposited as secondary waste more frequently (Schiffer 1987:679). I follow Shebalin (2011:80-81) in defining potsherds less than 2 cm in diameter as "small," and examine the distribution of these small sherds in relation to larger ones using a statistical method developed by Sara Bon-Harper and Fraser Neiman (Wynia 2013:74-76). This statistic, referred to as Artifact Size Index (ASI), compares the ratio of small artifacts to large artifacts in each excavation unit to the site-wide mean proportion of small artifacts using the formula

$$ASI_i = \frac{(S_i - pN_i - 0.5)}{\sqrt{N_i p(1-p)}}$$

where S_i is the number of small artifacts in the i th test unit, N_i is the total number of artifacts in the i th test unit, and p is the site-wide mean proportion of small artifacts. The numerator quantifies the number of small artifacts actually found in a test unit in comparison to the number expected based on the site-wide mean proportion of small artifacts, corrected for continuity under a normal distribution. The denominator is a standard deviation, which takes into account the degree of spread from the mean. Calculating ASI for small sherds results in a range of positive and negative numbers, where positive numbers indicate more than expected small sherds are present in a test unit, and negative numbers indicate that fewer small sherds than expected are present, with the magnitude of the number indicating deviation from the site-wide mean. While it is possible to interpolate ASI surfaces using test unit centroids, distance between excavation blocks at Charraw Town and Nassaw-Weyapee makes it more prudent to simply review ASI potsherd data as test unit attributes.

The Nassaw ASI data was calculated from 19,572 potsherds recovered from 358 test units, which together have an average proportion of small sherds equaling 0.47. The spatial distribution of ASI values reveals that there are more small sherds than expected in the southern excavation blocks (Figure 5.21). This is also true for the area crossed by a long north-south trench in the northeastern portion of the site. Areas that have fewer small sherds than expected include the excavation blocks over the borrow pit features in the northernmost portion of the site, and areas to the north and east of the partially-exposed building in the northeastern portion of the site. The ASI values associated with the complete house pattern at the western edge of the settlement are particularly interesting, as more small sherds than expected are present in the units under the open, covered portion of the house, while more average values were calculated for test units in the enclosed space. Large sherds, on the other hand, occur just outside the house walls,

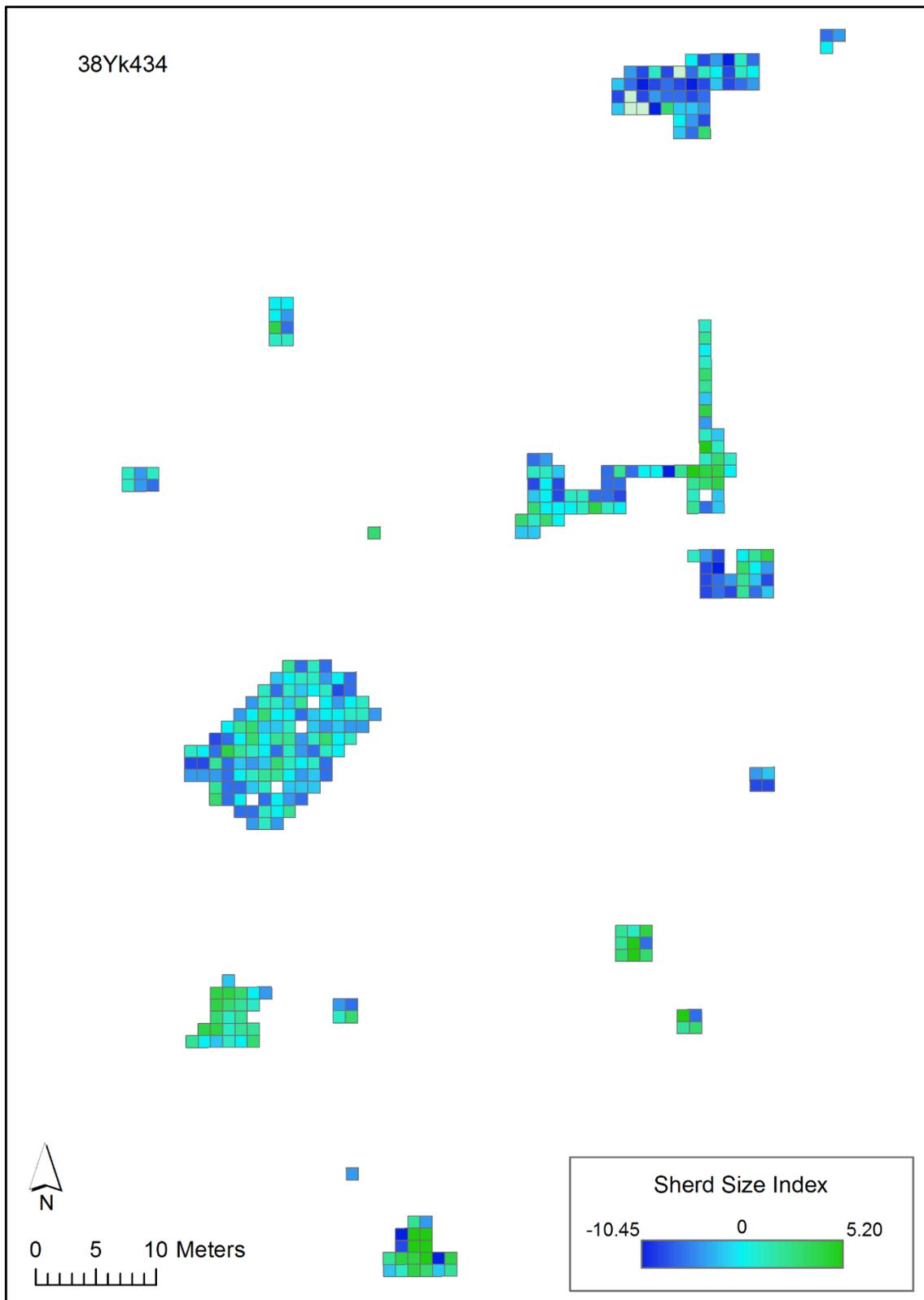


Figure 5.21. Map of showing artifacts size index values for 1/4''-screened contexts at Nassaw.

particularly at the south end of the building. Since the presence of plowed feature contents may account for more large sherds in the interior house area, it appears that in general the house floor area was kept clean, with large sherds being tossed just beyond the sheltered space. This practice is reminiscent of the disposal pattern Shebalin (2011:112-113) observed at New Town, where it was common for people to dispose of trash behind chimneys as well as at more conventional midden areas. Excavation at Weyapee was limited, which makes it difficult to identify any spatial patterning that might be present. However, 8 of the 9 test units excavated in Weyapee have positive ASI values ranging from 0.5 to 3.4. While this may indicate these units were excavated in cleared areas, this pattern may also be a result of soil loss.

A population of 10,643 potsherds from 111 test units was used to calculate the site-wide average proportion of small sherds at Charraw Town, which equals 0.60. There does not appear to be any spatial pattern with regard to the distribution of units with higher and lower ASI values in the western portion of the site, although in general they contain more large sherds, particularly the southwest block (Figure 5.22). However, the area around the clustered pits features in the eastern portion of the site contains more small sherds than expected. It is possible this may be the result of another instance of house floor maintenance. As is the case at Nassaw, there are more large sherds than expected just outside the house, suggesting it was important to keep floors clean, but not the area immediately outside the house. Since the plowed deposits in the southern portion of this excavation block were approximately 15 cm thick, but only about 10 cm thick at the northern end of the block, it is possible that plowing may have caused differential sherd breakage in this case. Excavating the northern portion of this house area might help clarify this issue.

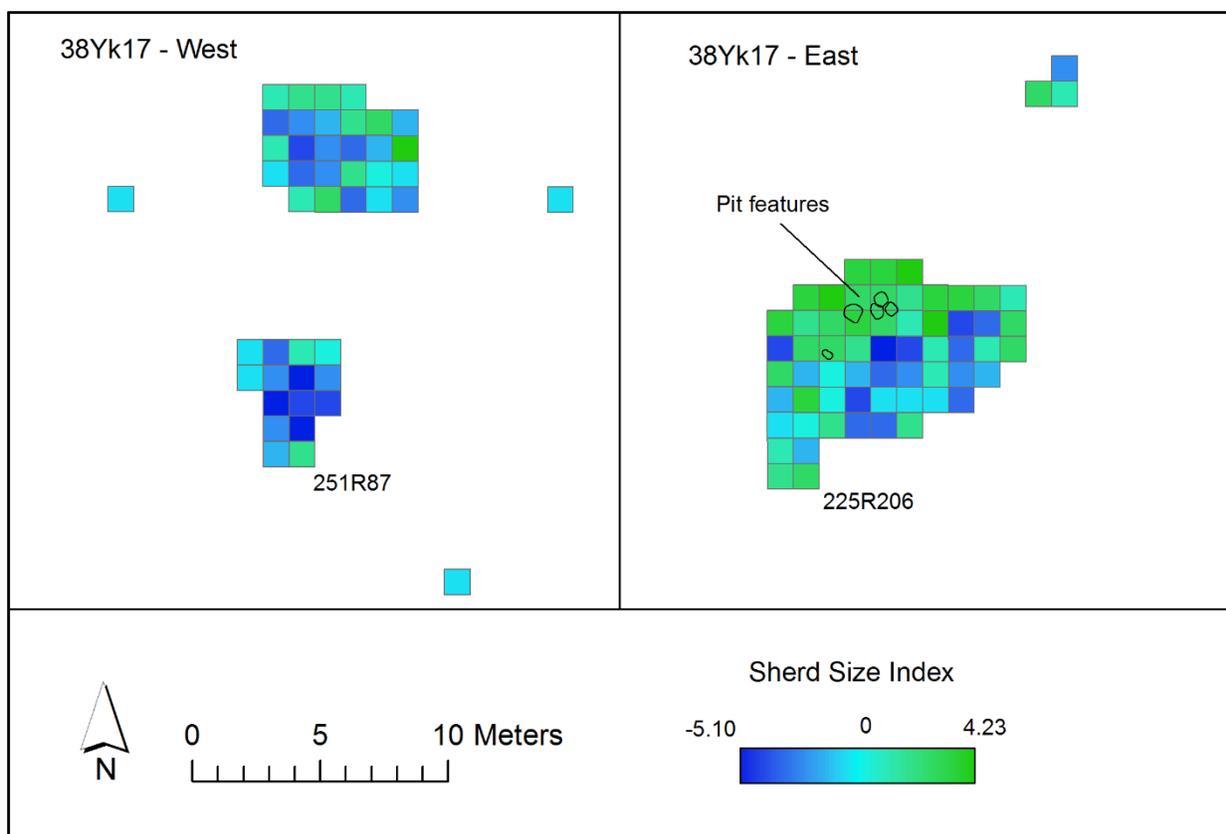


Figure 5.22. Map of showing artifacts size index values for 1/4''-screened contexts at Charraw Town.

The spatial distribution of glass bottle fragments may also help distinguish cleared spaces from disposal areas, since pieces of broken glass would presumably be considered hazardous. Bottle glass is much less common than potsherds at mid-eighteenth century Catawba sites, so it does not warrant statistical analysis. Nevertheless, counts of bottle glass recovered from contexts screened through 1/4'' mesh at Nassaw do show interesting spatial patterning. In some cases, areas that had high counts of large sherds relative to the rest of the site also have higher counts of glass fragments (Figure 5.23). This is true for the northeastern edge of the main settlement area, and the area beyond the southern wall of the western house. The excavation units over the borrow pits at the northern edge of Nassaw, on the other hand, yielded higher than expected proportions of large sherds but very few glass fragments. In general, areas that contained higher

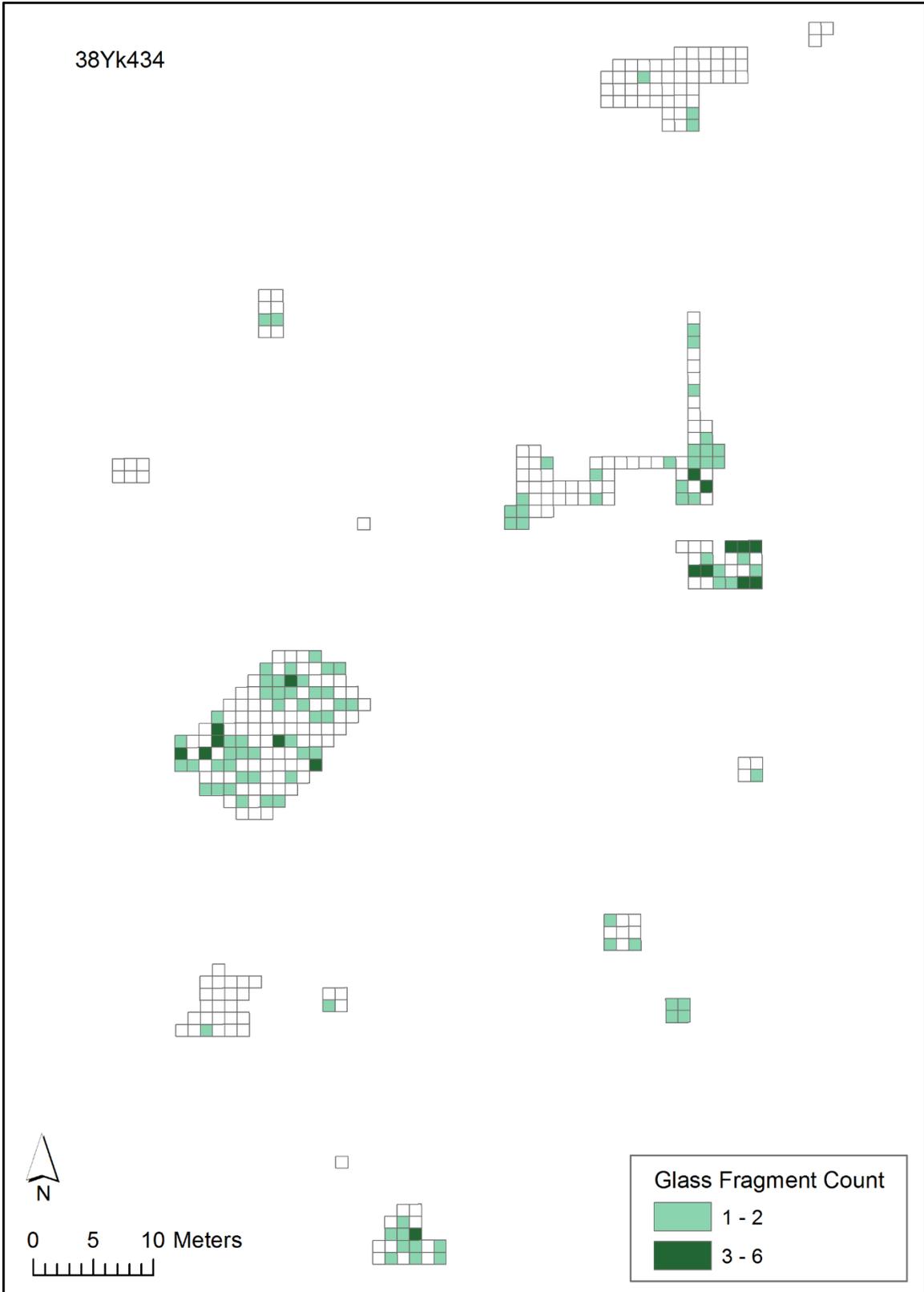


Figure 5.23. Map of bottle glass fragment distribution in 1/4''-screened contexts at Nassaw.

proportions of small sherds than expected, such as the southwestern and northeastern house areas, also yielded few glass bottle fragments. This is also true at Weyapee, where 3 of 9 test units yielded a single bottle glass fragment each. It appears that glass fragments were transported to midden areas, or in the case of the western house tossed beyond the floor area. The exception to this is the large borrow pit area, which yielded higher amounts of large sherds but not bottle glass, suggesting the materials deposited there may not be the product of everyday yard maintenance activities. In contrast to the Nassaw-Weyapee data, the distribution of bottle glass at Charraw Town does not display any apparent spatial patterning (Figure 5.24). The eastern house area, where more small sherds than expected were present, yielded glass fragments in quantities similar to test units elsewhere across the site.

The glass seed beads worn as embroidery on clothing and personal items, given their small size and ubiquity, would likely have accumulated over time as “seed bead rain” across mid-eighteenth century Catawba settlements. From this perspective, glass bead distribution should reflect how much cumulative time people spent in different site areas. Average seed bead density for flotation samples taken from test unit and borrow pit contexts at Nassaw shows clear variation in bead distribution (Figure 5.25). The borrow pit Feature 1 and the southeastern excavation blocks contain the highest average glass bead density values, while fewer beads are present in the house areas. This patterning is somewhat counter-intuitive, as one might expect house areas to be places where people spent a lot of time. Further, the northeastern block that appears to be a midden area based on large potsherd and glass distribution also has relatively high glass bead densities, and it is difficult to imagine people spending most of their time in a trash disposal area. One possible explanation for these discrepancies is sweeping. If house areas were swept clean, and the accumulated debris deposited away from houses, then it is possible

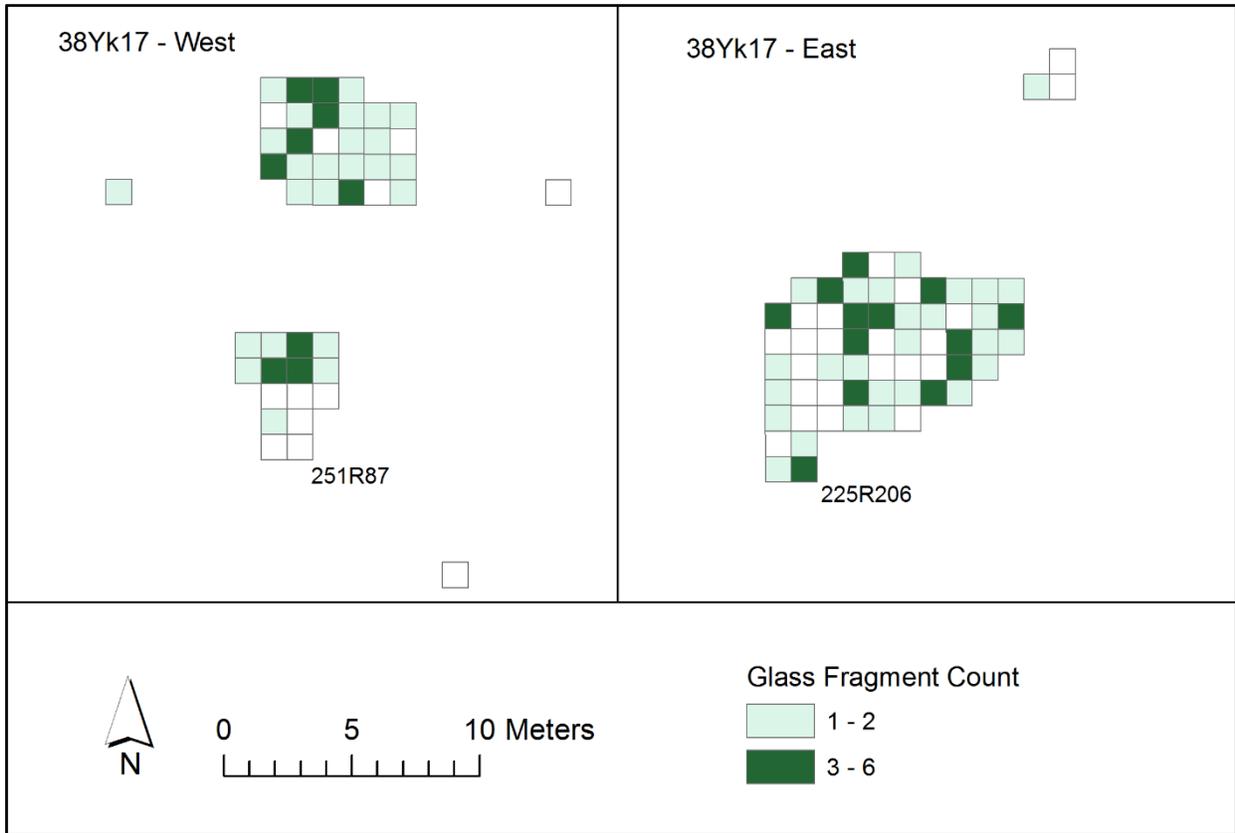


Figure 5.24. Map of bottle glass fragment distribution in 1/4"-screened contexts at Charraw Town.

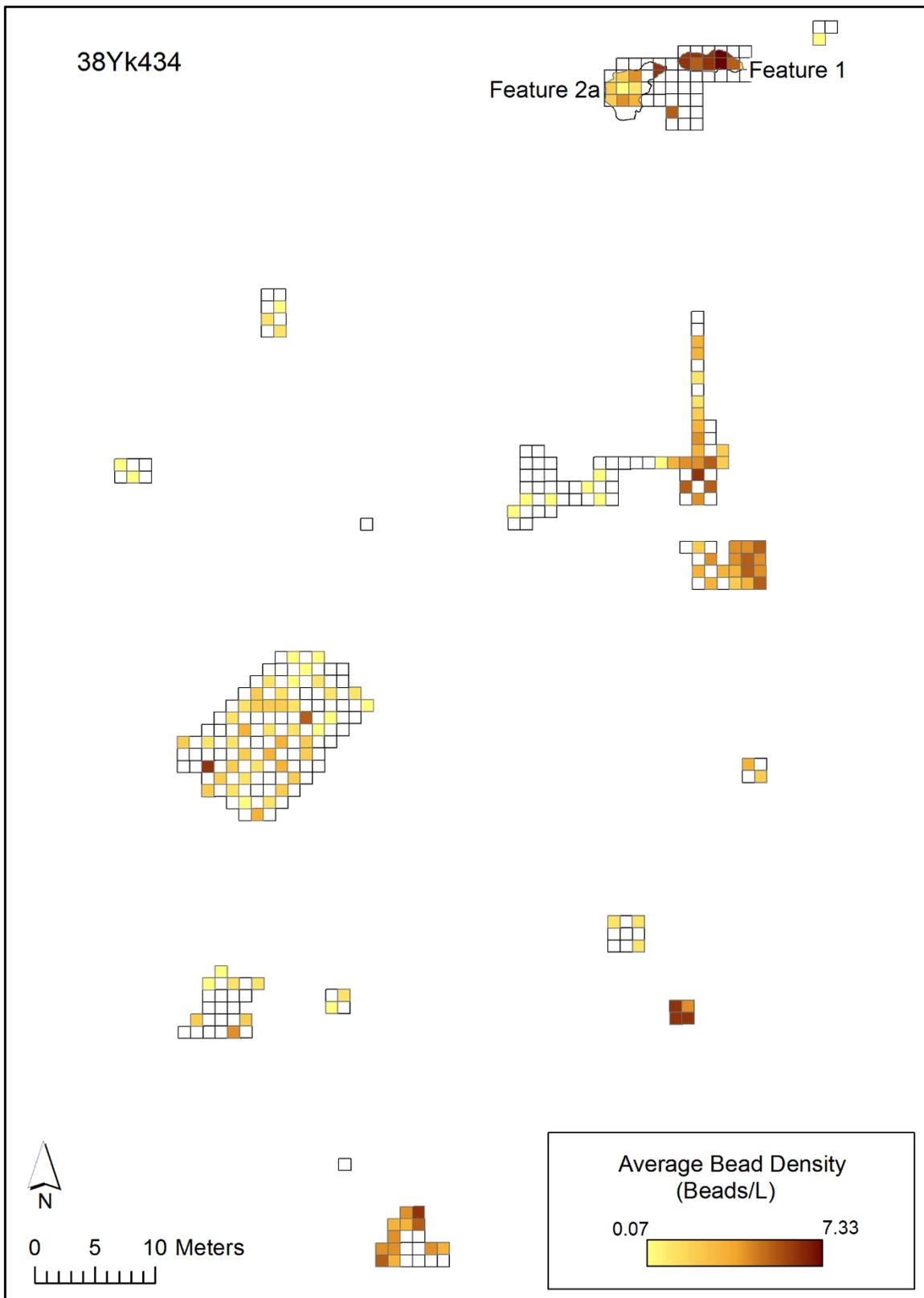


Figure 5.25. Map of average glass bead density in flotation samples from Nassaw.

that areas which were indeed heavily frequented would end up with less beads than expected. The only place where this seems an unlikely proposition is the western house area, as large sherds and bottle glass—which would in theory be collected with sweepings—were found just outside the house walls. Weyapee contexts—pit features included—have low average bead densities, ranging from 0.1 to 2.9 beads per liter. At Charraw Town, bead density more closely resembles expectations based on the “seed bead rain” model (Figure 5.26). The excavation units to the west, where no evidence of a house or activity area has been identified, are moderate and low, while the pit features and fill from the erosional gully all have high bead density values.

Carbonized plant materials and calcined animal bone are both products of food processing that have been exposed to fire, although they differ with regard to the burning conditions necessary for their production. Plant materials, such as seeds and wood, become carbon-rich through exposure to heat with a limited supply of air. If they are exposed to high heat in an oxygenated environment, they turn to ash. Experimental studies suggest that plant materials buried up to 5 cm (about 2 inches) below camp fires become carbonized (Sievers and Wadley 2008). Calcined animal bone, on the other hand, is produced by hot (450 to 500°C) or prolonged fires under oxygenated conditions (Lyman 1994:388-389). Calcined bone is thus more likely to be the product of intentional burning for trash disposal purposes, while carbonized plant remains have escaped such attempts by becoming incorporated into the soil under fires due to hearth maintenance activities such as ash removal. Hearth-cleaning activities also lead to the presence of carbonized plant materials and calcined bone away from hearth locations in specified trash disposal areas. While hearths themselves did not survive soil loss and plowing at Charraw Town and Nassaw-Weyapee, concentrations of thermally-altered materials may be the product of hearths as well as hearth-cleaning activities. The distribution of carbonized plant materials at

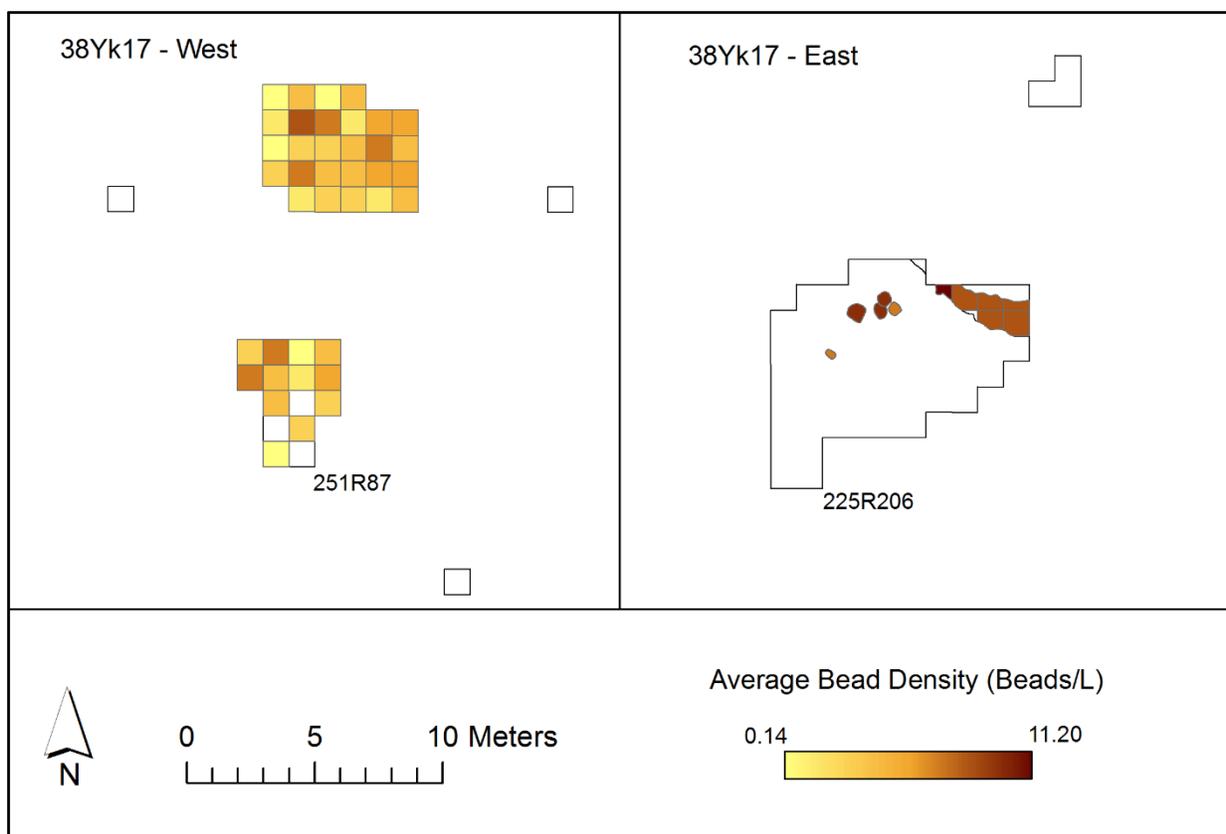


Figure 5.26. Map of average glass bead density in flotation samples from Charraw Town.

these sites is examined by comparing average densities of carbonized plant materials by spatial context, as calculated from all carbonized material >2cm along with carbonized plant materials <2 cm identified to family or genera in analyzed flotation samples. As the ASI calculation used to examine variation in potsherd size is based on the binomial distribution—cases where one of two options is possible—it can also be applied to examine the distribution of calcined bone in comparison to non-calcined bone. I used the computational process described above for ASI to devise a calcined bone index (CBI) for all contexts in which soil was screened through 1/16” mesh and subject to faunal analysis. The statistic is calculated such that positive CBI values correspond to contexts with more calcined bone than expected. While the ratio of burned to unburned bone may be affected by the scavenging activities of dogs and other animals (Whyte

2011), examining carbonized plant material densities in combination with CBI helps clarify whether differing regimes of burning are represented.

The distribution of carbonized plant materials at Nassaw shows higher densities in the southern and eastern portions of the site (Figure 5.27). Like glass beads, high densities of carbonized plant materials occur not in house areas but in trash disposal areas. The one exception is the southwestern house area, where flotation samples from test units contain carbon densities comparable to those from the eastern midden areas. Carbonized plant materials also exist in greater densities in the Feature 1 borrow pit as compared to the Feature 2a borrow pit. The CBI for Nassaw was calculated from 785 bone fragments collected from 66 contexts, yielding a site-wide mean calcined bone proportion of 0.65. One finding that is immediately apparent from the distribution of bone at Nassaw is that all identified house areas are devoid of animal bone, regardless of its burned condition (Figure 5.28). In areas where animal bone is present, there is considerable variation with regard to the amount of calcined bone present. The two exceptions to this disposal pattern are a 2 by 2-meter block with the southeast corner 584R580 and Feature 1, which together yielded about half of the animal bone fragments identified at the site. These contexts both have negative CBI values, indicating the presence of less calcined bone than expected according to the site-wide mean. Both of these locations also have very high carbonized plant material densities, suggesting that these deposits may represent special depositional events involving the use of low temperature or short duration fires. The northeastern midden area, along with Feature 2a, contain less carbonized plant material as well as contexts with more calcined bone than expected, suggesting they contain hearth cleanings from a variety of firing events. No animal bone fragments, calcined or otherwise, were found in Weyapee pit features or sampled plow zone contexts. Average carbonized plant material densities ranged from 0.09 to 0.48 grams

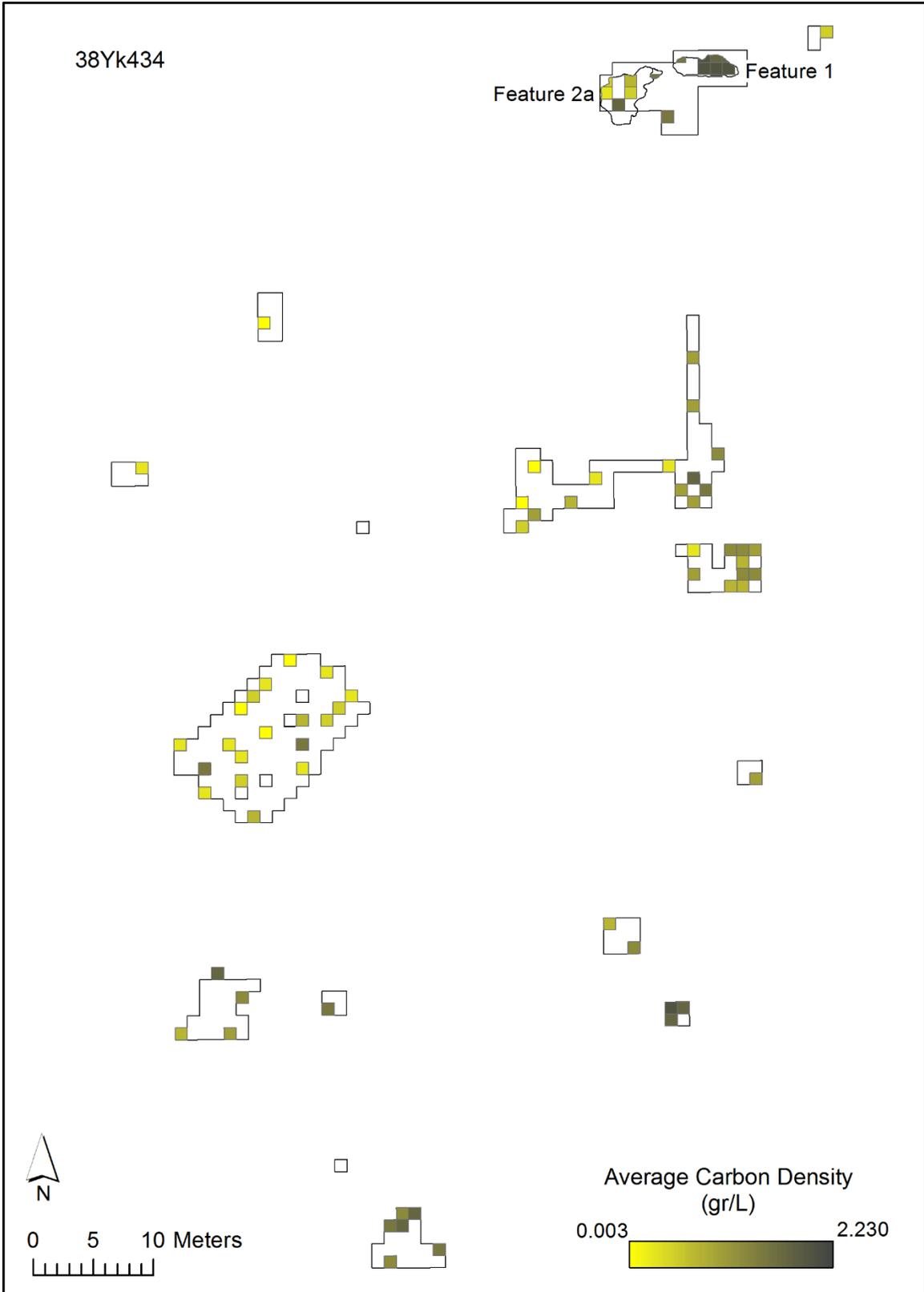


Figure 5.27. Average carbonized plant material density from Nassaw flotation samples.

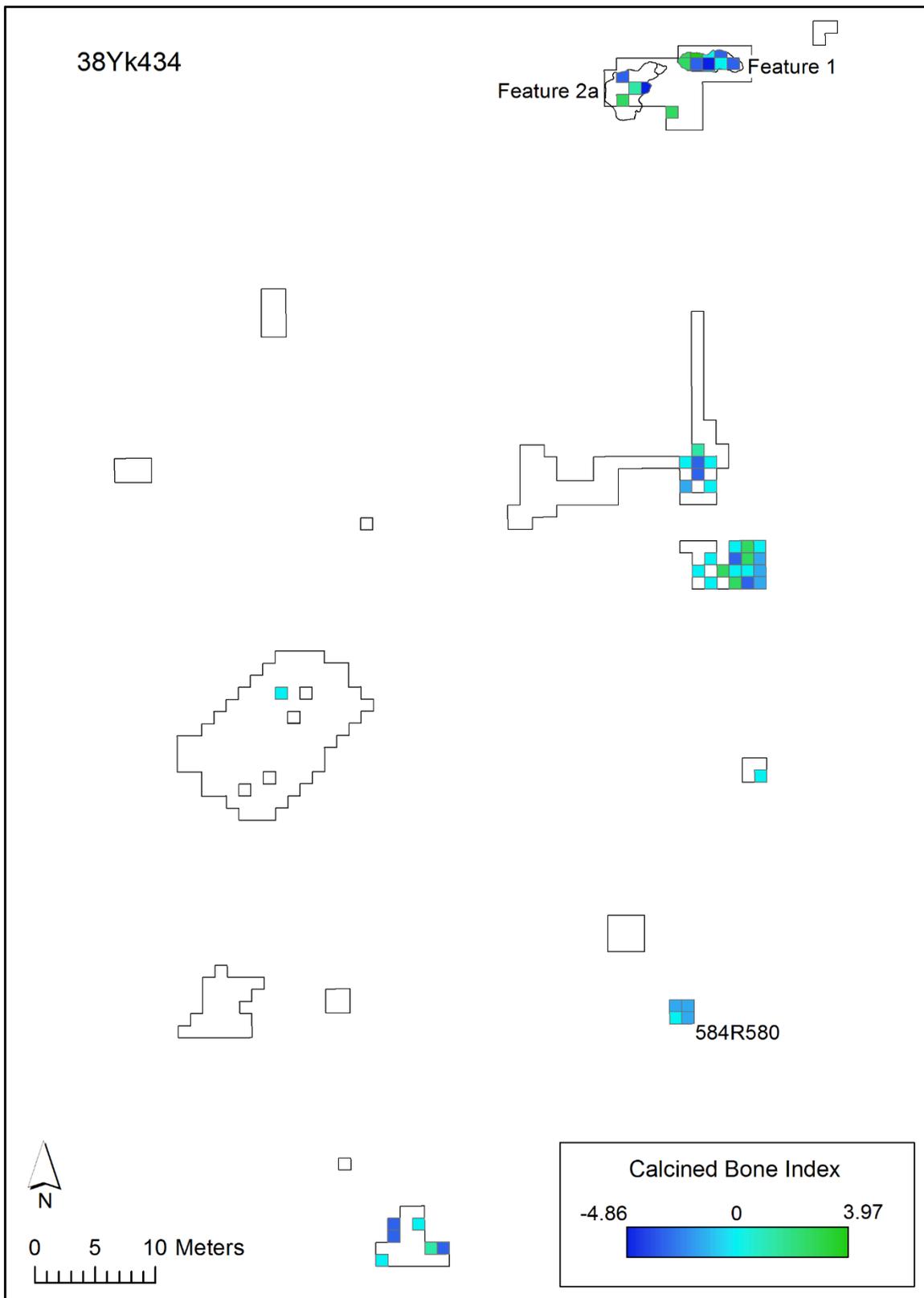


Figure 5.28. Map of calcined bone index values from 1/16''-screened contexts at Nassaw.

per liter, similar to the low values observed in the western and northeastern house areas at Nassaw.

At Charraw Town, high densities of carbonized plant remains occur primarily in pit features and the erosional gully fill, Feature 2 (Figure 5.29). Flotation samples taken from contexts in the western portion of the site generally have lower carbon densities. The calcined bone index values for Charraw Town show a pattern that is consistent with the carbonized plant densities (Figure 5.30). These values were calculated from 40 contexts that together yielded 2,402 bone fragments. The mean calcined bone ratio for Charraw Town contexts is 0.73. Lower than expected amounts of calcined bone are present in the eastern pit features and erosional gully fill, but higher than expected amounts of calcined bone are present in the western part of the site. This is consistent with the eastern contexts representing lower intensity or shorter duration fires than the western midden area. One outlying context, Feature 3, produced a CBI value of -31.87 due to its high sample size of 970 animal bone fragments, which represents 40% of the Charraw Town bone assemblage. At both Nassaw and Charraw Town, then, it appears that dumping areas—as defined by potsherd size values and glass bottle fragments—also contain calcined bone from high intensity fires. While intentional burning of animal bone took place at these sites, in certain locations deposits from low intensity fires were created, which have higher amounts of carbonized plants and non-calcined bone.

The last category of artifacts I examine for the purpose of identifying mid-eighteenth century Catawba activity areas and disposal practices are metal objects. Since systematic metal detecting was limited in extent at Charraw Town, only data from Nassaw-Weyapee are presented here (Figure 5.31). Metal artifacts occur across the site, although clusters of these items were found in the northeast and southeast portions of the main Nassaw settlement area. While a wide

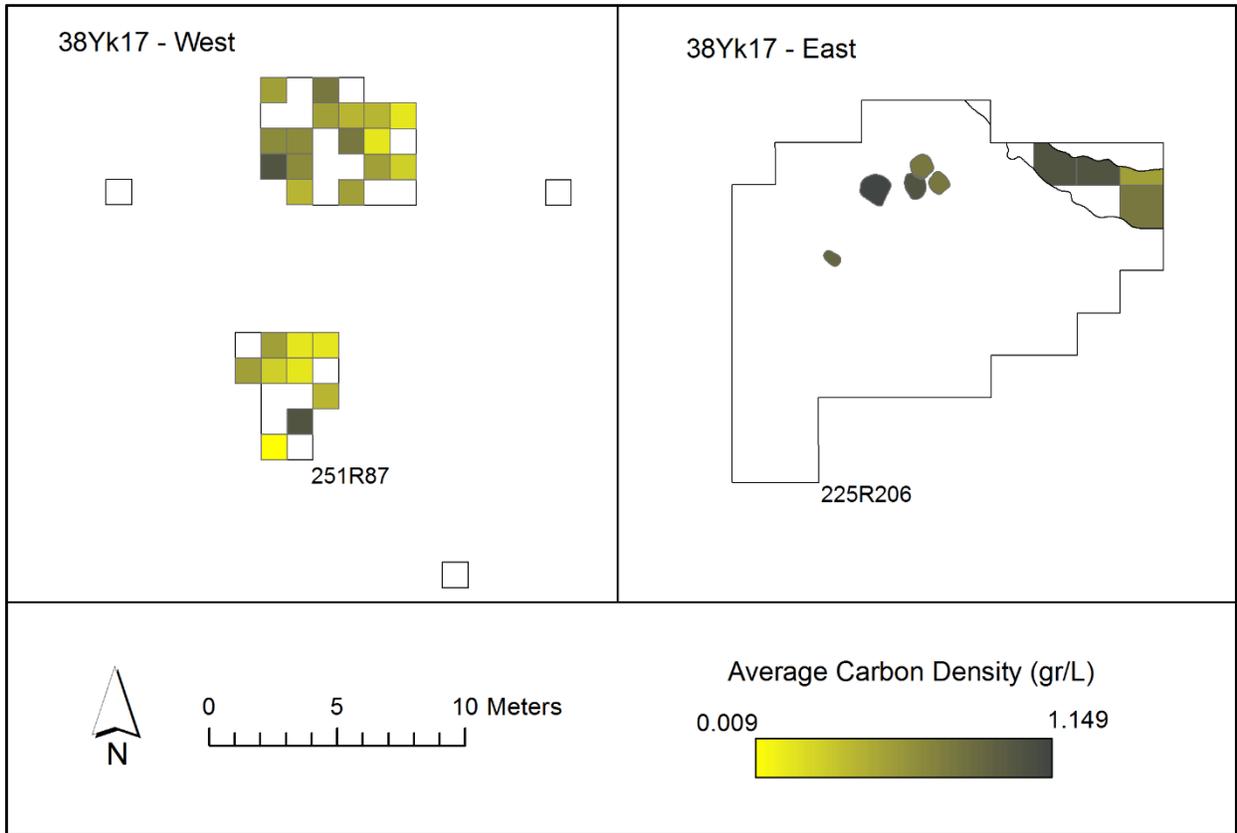


Figure 5.29. Average carbonized plant material density from Charraw Town flotation samples.

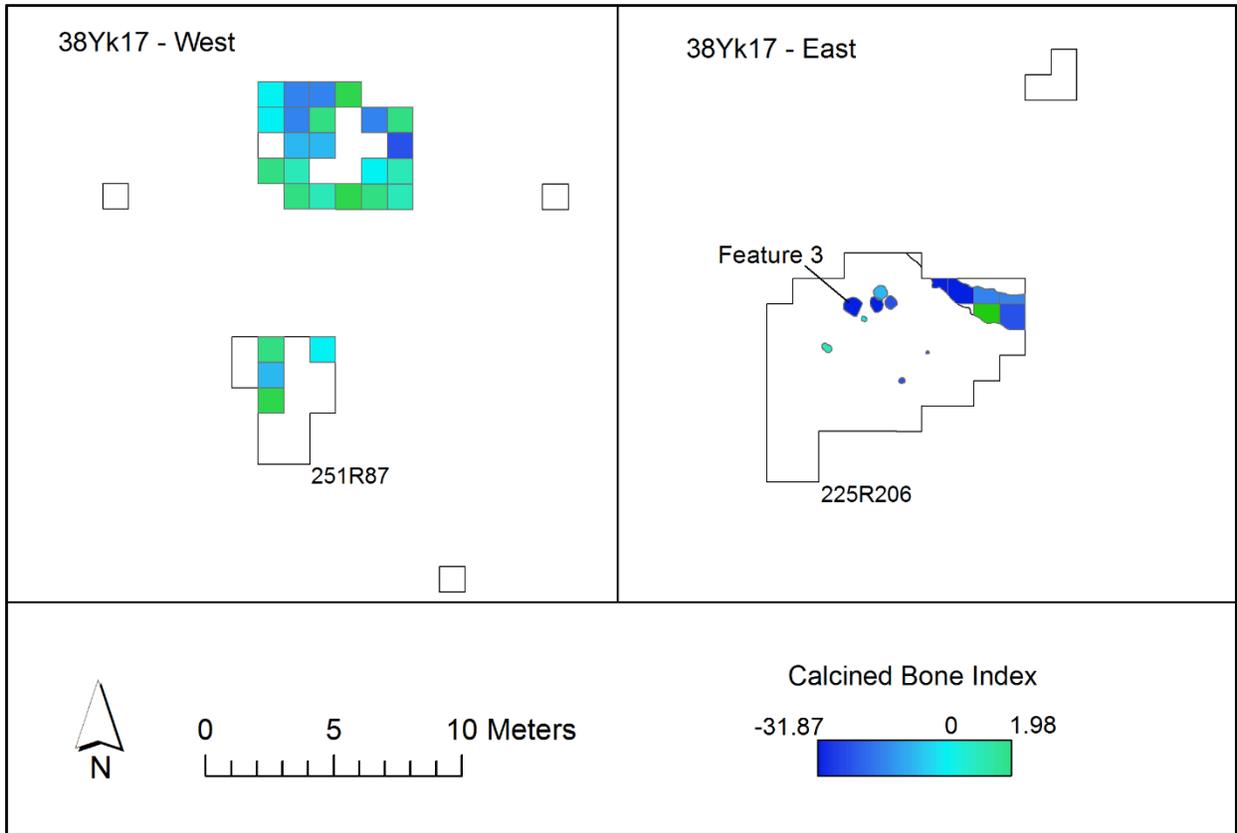


Figure 5.30. Map of calcined bone index values from 1/16''-screened contexts at Charraw Town.

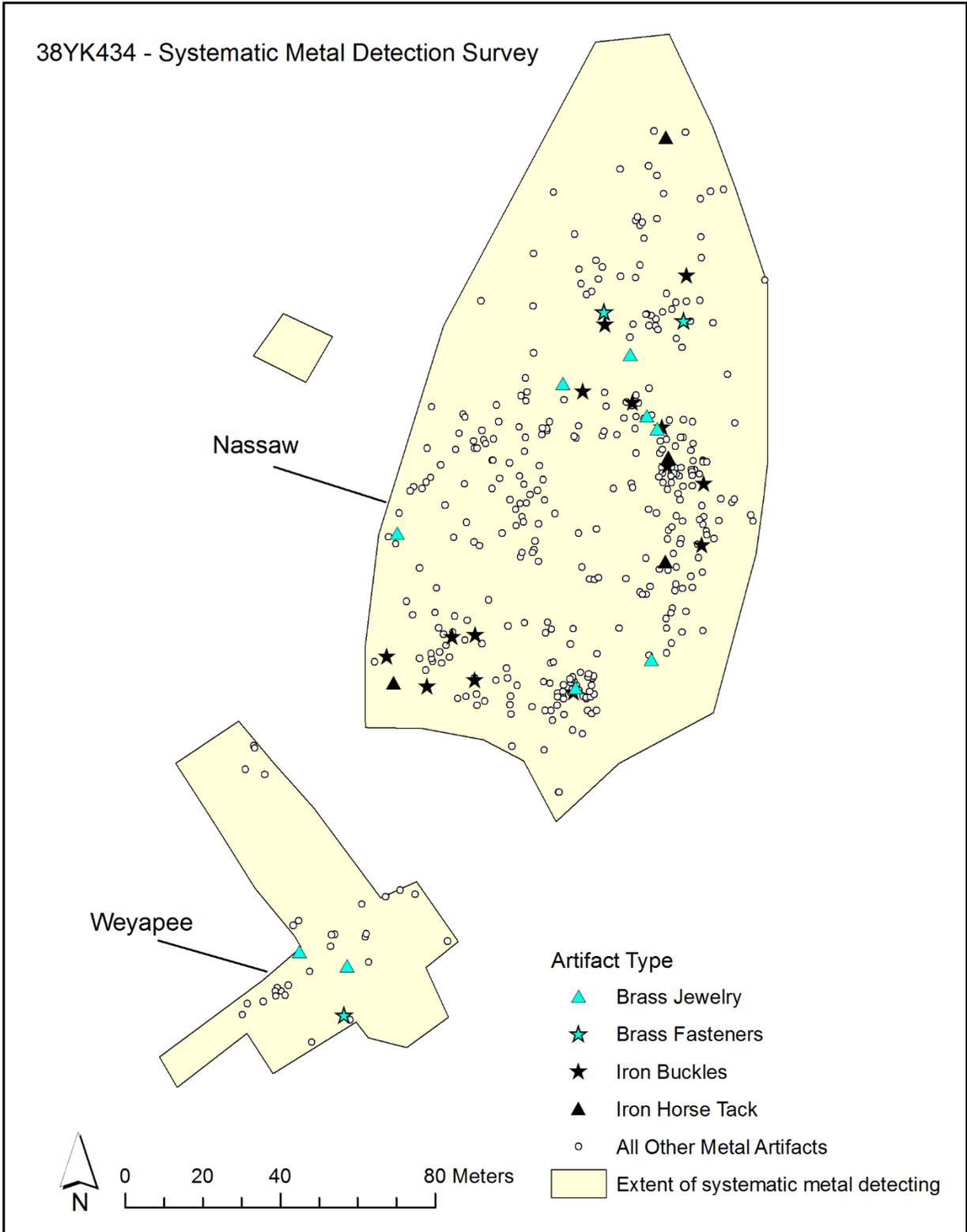


Figure 5.31. Map of metal artifact distribution at Nassaw and Weyapee.

variety of metal objects were found, ranging from nails and gun parts to fragments of folding knives and scissors, no pattern to the distribution of most items was observed. However, there does seem to be some spatial distinction with regard to where brass items of personal adornment, iron buckles, and horse tack were found. Most notably, these items are absent from the main settlement area of Nassaw. Items of brass jewelry were found around the periphery of the main settlement area and in Weyapee, while brass fasteners—also likely elements of Catawba wardrobe—were found at Weyapee and north of the main Nassaw settlement. Horse tack and iron buckles, which are likely to be components of harnesses and saddles, were found primarily at the southwestern and northeastern edges of Nassaw. While the distribution of brass items is hard to interpret, the clusters of horse tack and harness buckles suggest that horses may have been habitually saddled in these two areas.

Many varied activities undoubtedly took place in Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town, but only a subset of these can be inferred from things. Routines involved with trash disposal and the maintenance of appropriately ordered living spaces are among the most straightforward activities that can be inferred from the spatial patterning of artifacts. Identifying these areas ensures that inferences about other elements of mid-eighteenth century life are based on appropriate comparisons. The patterns of disposal and accumulation considered here can be used to define three general types of spatial contexts at Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town: extramural work areas, middens, and houses. Work areas have more small potsherds than expected based on the site-wide average mean proportion of small sherds, along with high densities of materials likely to accumulate over time, such as beads and carbonized plant materials. These deposits are present in the southeast and northeast excavation blocks at Nassaw. Midden locations, on the other hand, have higher than expected numbers of large sherds, more

bottle glass and metal, and high densities of accumulating artifacts because they are locations where sweepings and hearth cleanings were dumped. Such deposits are present in the northeastern corner of Nassaw and the excavation blocks excavated in the western portion of Charraw Town. A subset of midden deposits are distinctive in that they have few bottle glass fragments and do not appear to contain waste from trash disposal fires, instead yielding high quantities non-calcined animal bone fragments and high average densities of carbonized plant materials. Examples include the fill in the Feature 1 borrow pit and 2 by 2-meter excavation block with southeastern corner 584R580 at Nassaw, and Feature 3 at Charraw Town. Finally, the presence of post holes and pit features indicate the locations of house areas, which in general show higher than expected counts of small potsherds and low densities of accumulating artifacts. This may indicate that these locations were swept regularly. It appears that in some cases, larger items like potsherds and bottle glass were tossed just beyond the covered house space, as appears to be the case for the house at the western edge of Nassaw.

The analysis of mid-eighteenth century Catawba economic activities that follows will use these depositional categories to structure comparisons and interpret patterns in other sources of archaeological data, such as ceramic attributes and taxonomic categories of identified plants and animals. At both sites, pit features will be treated as distinct analytical units. Excavation squares, on the other hand, will be grouped according to depositional category. At Charraw Town, the eastern excavation squares will be treated as a single analytical unit associated with the house area. The excavation blocks in the western portion of the site will also be grouped together, as they yielded artifacts consistent with a general midden deposit. Two instances of conjoining sherds from excavation units 10 meters apart were also identified in this area, further indicating that the western Charraw midden can be treated as a single analytical unit. The few test units

associated with Weyapee will be considered as a single analytical context. At Nassaw, excavation units will be grouped according to depositional category and geographic position (Figure 5.32). The units of analysis defined here are clearly hybrid products of Catawba thing-management in the past and archaeological thing-management in the present, with artifacts themselves serving as mediators between the two. The resulting mosaic of inferred “ordered” spaces and “disposal” spaces, while being of analytical utility, also makes tangible the routines that were part of everyday life in mid-eighteenth century Catawba communities.

There are many caveats to keep in mind when making comparisons with archaeological data. Contexts like middens and features may represent different units of time, while features themselves may contain items associated with very specific subsets of past undertakings. Differences in extent of excavation and post-depositional disturbance, as is the case for Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town, also complicate efforts to compare the daily lives of people living in these two communities. On the other hand, it is clear that the materials obtained from Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town are the direct products of past Catawba activities, and thus provide a means to investigate the subsistence and economic networks of these two communities. These sites contain evidence of glass bead embroidery, the use of smudge pits, and the production of earthenware paddle-stamped pottery, all common practices among Southeastern Indians. Their presence in the lower Catawba valley, along with characteristics of the ceramic assemblages, makes these sites likely candidates for Catawba settlements. Yet not only can Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town be identified as the remains of Catawba towns—we can also make a strong case that they are in fact the remains of Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town, specific settlements mapped by John Evans in 1756. They contain glass beans, gun parts, and kaolin

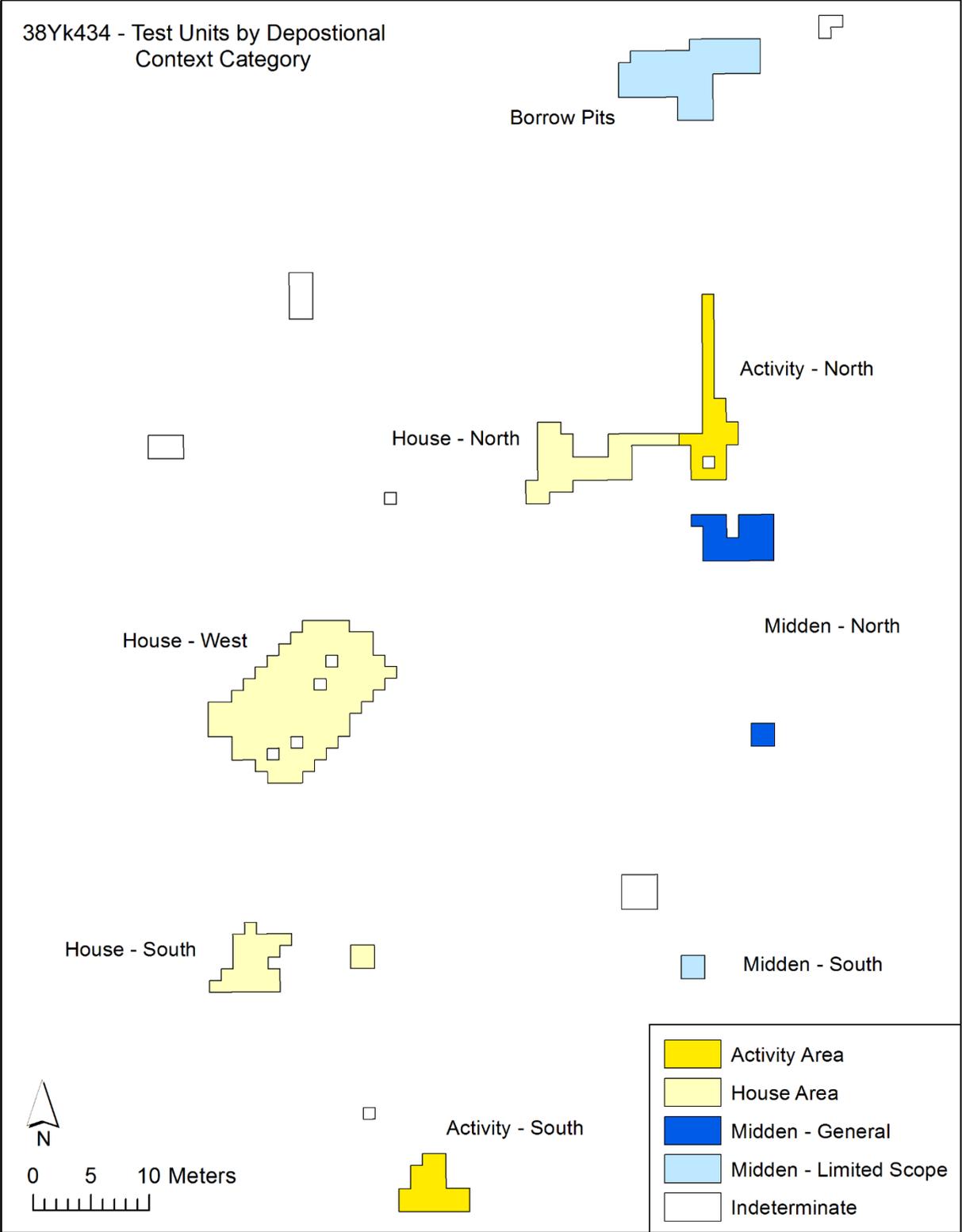


Figure 5.32. Nassaw test units classified by depositional context category and geographic position.

pipes that date to the mid-eighteenth century, and are topologically positioned in a manner consistent with Evan's map. This alignment between Evan's map and the modern landscape is made possible by recognizing the ford Evans depicts on his map as "Old Nation Ford," a landscape feature mapped by Mills in 1825. Equating Nassaw-Weyapee with the twin towns Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town with Charraw Town is an integral component of the present study, because these communities have distinctive histories that enable a systematic study of the effects of the settlement aggregation strategy adopted by lower Catawba valley polities in the late seventeenth century. It allows for comparisons of the subsistence and economic activities of people who were "of the river" with those who were not.

Much of this chapter has focused on sites Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town themselves. However, these places where people built their homes, slept, saddled horses, cooked and shared meals, slept, and undertook a variety of other tasks were only one component of a much larger landscape in which they dwelt. It was this wider landscape, with its destinations and paths, which connected mid-eighteenth century Catawba communities to each other and the broader colonial period Southeast. This landscape was also full of organisms and things which Catawba families cultivated, hunted, and collected. It is the products of these activities to which we now turn in order to examine how the strategy of serving as an auxiliary force and the precarity of the mid-eighteenth-century politics and environment were negotiated by Catawba men, women, and children during the course of their daily lives.

CHAPTER 6

WORKING GROUPS AND FASHION SIGNALS

The stomp grounds of twentieth century Oklahoma are somewhat removed from the eighteenth-century Catawba Valley. However, ethnographic analysis of inter-tribal social dances demonstrates a reciprocal relationship between local identities and inter-tribal exchanges which is salient to the study of coalescence and identity transformation in the mid-eighteenth century Catawba Nation. In their analysis of the Garfish Dance, Jackson and Levine (2002:302) show that the visiting arrangements associated with inter-tribal dance events “establish webs of reciprocity that sustain not only an overarching regional system, but most importantly support local communities in the work of preserving their own distinct ceremonial traditions.” This position challenges those who suggest that the dissolution of social boundaries is the logical outcome of cultural hybridity. Rather, on the stomp grounds interaction between communities serves as a framework for the recognition and appreciation of cultural difference. Dance singers from Eastern Oklahoma, for example, “can tell the difference between a performance of the Yuchi Garfish Dance and the Chickasaw Hardfish Dance, just as they can recognize that it is, at another level, the same song” (Jackson and Levine 2002:302). This notion of cultivated variation within genres that are sustained by interacting communities will be a recurring theme in the following analysis of pottery and artifacts of personal adornment from Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town. Assessing similarities and differences in practices and preferences will provide a rough measure of social boundary maintenance within the mid-eighteenth century Catawba

Nation. Variation in ceramic attributes, in particular, will be used to estimate the scale of the networks implicated in the production of pottery. Estimating the size of these working groups informs our understanding of Catawba coalescence, providing critical information about the organization of the productive activities which I will use to interpret foodways data in the following chapter.

The concepts of coalescence and ethnogenesis are useful for framing expectations regarding the scale of production and boundary maintenance in the mid-eighteenth century Catawba Nation. As discussed in Chapter 4, population aggregation associated with militarization and the arrival of refugees in the lower Catawba valley may have led to the development of novel social identities. The process of coalescence involves the establishment of a new polity from previously independent groups, requiring an emphasis on integration that may have led to the development of supra-household task groups (Kowalewski 2006:103, 107). Such interactions may, over time, have encouraged ethnogenesis, or the development of a new ethnicity based on “ideologies of shared ancestry, territory, language, history, and/or tradition” (Voss 2008a:407). These processes likely began in the lower Catawba valley during the early eighteenth century. Many distinct entities are depicted on the 1721 deerskin map, suggesting that one’s local community still took priority over any emergent pan-Catawba identity. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, centralization through the eractasswa had led to a politically unified Catawba Nation. How refugees fit into this emergent polity depended on the number of people involved. The larger the group, the more likely they were to establish their own settlement, either as a “twin town” like Weyapee or an independent community like Charraw Town.

Other circumstances that contributed to the transformation of networks and identities in the mid-eighteenth century Catawba Nation can be classified according to whether they were

likely to foster inclusion and integration, or encourage the maintenance of social boundaries. Integration of Catawba communities was likely fostered by the interaction of warriors during military campaigns and in the processes used to achieve political consensus. Further, all Catawba communities were part of the colonial marketplace. By 1750, over two generations of Southeastern Indians, lower Catawba valley polities included, had been exchanging deerskins for a variety of commodities that quickly became indispensable, such as iron knives, copper kettles, and imported cloth. The length of time refugees lived in the lower Catawba valley may also have been associated with integration, with second- and third-generation residents more likely to embrace a “pan-Catawba” identity. Possible forces of differentiation, on the other hand, include the matrilineal emphasis of Southeastern kinship and economic organization, which may have fostered another source of boundary maintenance—linguistic diversity. James Adair reported that as late as 1743, over twenty different “dialects” were spoken in the Catawba Nation. Finally, memories and stories of the slave trade may have led to mistrust between communities (Kusimba 2006:225-226). An episode of captive-taking that occurred 25 years earlier hindered Catawba-Iroquois peace talks in 1751 (McDowell 1958:95), and similar historical factors may have led to social boundary maintenance in the lower Catawba valley. For example, when the allied Esaw towns attacked the Waxhaw—who refused to make peace with Carolina during the Yamasee War—survivors fled to the Charraw settlements on the Pee Dee River (Salley 1928, VI:241). Such historical events may have been glossed over for the sake of political pragmatism, but were not forgotten; the Waxhaw attack, in particular, became an event of legend (Schoolcraft 1853:294). Based on all these factors, we might expect residents of Weyapee, a “twin town” of Nassaw as early as 1720, to have had more extensive networks within the Nation Ford locale than members of the Charraw Town community. The latter not only arrived in the lower

Catawba valley almost two decades later, but also had a complicated historical relationship with the Catawba valley towns. In addition, the Charraw—as descendants of the Dan River Saratown villagers—were familiar with but not heir to the ideologies and practices associated with Mississippian society. Differences clearly did arise between the Charraw and their Catawba valley hosts, for in 1746 they were planning to leave the lower Catawba valley and move to Virginia (Brown 1966:224). While the Charraw remained in the lower Catawba valley and ultimately became indistinguishable from other members of the Catawba Nation to outside observers, this outcome was not a foregone conclusion in the mid-eighteenth century. Political and economic interactions may have fostered coalescence and ethnogenesis in the lower Catawba valley, but factors such as linguistic difference, distrust, and matrilineal residence may have encouraged the persistence of a distinct Charraw identity.

The task at hand, given these differing expectations regarding the character of social boundary maintenance in the mid-eighteenth century Catawba Nation, is to map out networks of interaction using material objects. The two categories of materials I examine here—pottery and items of personal adornment—differ with regard to how they are used in everyday life, and therefore how they can be enlisted to study matters of interaction and identity. Pottery is used primarily for producing and serving food on a daily basis, and rarely as an explicit marker of social identity. Dress, on the other hand, is often carefully constructed to meet cultural expectations and convey a desired social status. While pottery may only be used to communicate identity in the most oblique of ways, it is very useful for understanding how people prepared and served food, activities which tend to be among the most resilient aspects of ethnicity (Holtzman 2006:366). Further, analysis of pottery can reveal details of its manufacture that implicate networks of potters, tools, and clays. Delineating these constellations of craft production at

Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town provides information about the size of work groups making pottery in Nation Ford, as well as the character of interaction between them. Based on patterns of variation in both ceramic production and personal adornment, it appears that residents of Nation Ford were cultivating variation within shared genres of practice.

Mid-Eighteenth Century Catawba Pottery

Pottery was first produced in Southeastern North America about 4,500 years ago, a significant technological innovation within a cuisine for which boiling was a significant food-preparation technique (Saunders and Hays 2004). This not only marked a turning point in cooking technology, but also entailed the creation of a new genre of craft production. The plasticity of clay along with the brittle character of fired ceramics are two factors that make this particular craft tradition useful for examining networks of potters, tools, and clays over time. In other words, there are numerous ways to make and decorate pots, and pots are likely to shatter, thereby becoming a record of their own production. As discussed in Chapter 3, late Mississippian period pottery from the Catawba valley can be classified as a local variety of the widespread Lamar tradition, while Sara potters on the Dan River were producing “Oldtown” ceramics during the same time frame. One obvious question that can be asked of the pottery assemblages from the mid-eighteenth century Nation Ford sites, therefore, is how did pragmatic concerns and ideological transformations associated with Charraw re-location affect craft production? Further, how did the presence of refugees in the lower Catawba valley affect the craft production of “host” communities like Nassaw? Answering these questions requires understanding pots both as tools and as products of artistry. To this end, I first consider the roles pottery played in Southeastern Indian foodways, and review characteristics of pots that can be used to infer vessel

function. Understanding ceramic production, on the other hand, requires consideration of a variety of factors ranging from the technical limitations of clay itself to how people learn to make pottery. Historic accounts concerning Catawba pottery making are useful in this regard, although they need to be used cautiously because a transformation from domestic to market production of pottery in the third quarter of the eighteenth century did lead to new developments in Catawba ceramics. Analyzing characteristics of mid-eighteenth century Catawba pottery not only provides information about working groups, therefore, but also documents a set of skills and practices “on the eve of change” (Fitts et al. 2007).

In an influential article, David Braun (1983:107) observes that for all the ink archaeologists had spilled on the topic of pottery, few paid systematic attention to the fact that most pottery vessels are in fact implements “made to be used as containers.” Further, certain aspects of a vessel’s design make it more useful for some containing tasks than others. A review of ethnographic information about Southeastern Indian meals and cooking practices indicates the use of large volumes of water to process foods, both with and without the application of heat (Hally 1986:268, 270). Soups, stews, and spoonmeat are common dishes which often have broth thickened with maize and nut meal (Hally 1986:269). Another common dish is hominy, produced by soaking dried maize in a lye solution, pounding it with a mortar and pestle, rinsing the cracked kernels to remove the hulls, and then boiling them for several hours to produce a soup-like food (Hudson 1976:304-305). Oils rendered from animal flesh, nuts, and sunflower seeds are also used both as seasoning for vegetable dishes and as condiments. One example of a nut oil-based dish is *ku-nu-che*, Cherokee hickory nut soup (Fritz et al. 2001). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, ceramic vessels were used not only for boiling foods and rendering oil, but also for parching, and less frequently frying. Some foods were processed in large quantities

and stored for future use in baskets, gourds, animal skins, and pottery vessels. Large, covered storage jars, in particular, were used to keep oils on hand (Hally 1986:270). Norms for serving and eating food also play a role in the types of vessels used in Southeastern Indian cuisine.

During the eighteenth century, individual serving vessels were not common. Rather, people took turns eating from large vessels with their fingers or ladles, depending on the type of food (Hally 1986:271). Finally, some pots were used for purposes other than processing food—they served as drums, a means of transporting fire, and possibly for soaking materials used in the production of leather, baskets, and dyes. Based on this general overview, it is clear that a range of pottery vessel types with different characteristics were needed to process, serve, and store foods and other items in mid-eighteenth century Catawba communities.

Operating only with the pots themselves—or in most cases fragments of pots—requires reverse-engineering design characteristics of ceramic vessels in order to infer their intended function. These “mechanical performance characteristics” fall into two general categories (Braun 1983:108, Hally 1986:278-281). Some are associated with mobility requirements, while others attend to the dynamic relationship between access and conservation of vessel contents. Vessel size, bottom shape, handles, and orifice constriction can all be related to movement and positioning. The larger the vessel, the less likely it was intended to be moved frequently. This is true for storage vessels of staple foods, which would be designed to have large capacities while minimizing the amount horizontal space they utilized. Vessels with broad bases are relatively stable and can be placed on any flat surface, while vessels with parabolic or conical bases would require a prepared support system to prevent loss of vessel contents. The former characteristic is advantageous for vessels that are moved frequently, and the latter for those designed for storage or cooking. Attachments such as handles enable both the manipulation of vessels—particularly

hot ones—and suspending pots over fire. Finally, orifice diameter is an important consideration associated with vessel movement, especially for those intended to transport liquids. The smaller the diameter of a vessel's opening, the less likely contents are to spill in transport. Orifice diameter is also a significant factor for getting materials in and out of vessels, and in manipulating them while they are inside. It is easier to manipulate the contents of shallow vessels with relatively large orifices. However, when it is important to limit evaporation or retain heat, smaller orifice diameters are beneficial. Pronounced outward flaring of vessel rims makes it easier to tie coverings over orifices when it is desirable to completely seal off a pot's contents. While it is difficult to infer whether or not a vessel was intended to be used for heating contents from its shape, evidence in the form of carbon accumulation, or sooting, on vessel surfaces provides direct evidence of exposure to fire (Hally 1983). Using these considerations, the fragmentary vessels in the Nation Ford Catawba pottery assemblages can be classified with regard to their likely functions.

Production-focused approaches, on the other hand, treat vessels not only as implements but also as craftworks produced by potters operating in specific contexts. Although the process of making pottery can be studied on its own, potters are of course embedded in larger social and cultural settings that may have some bearing on how they practice their craft. While critics have argued that potsherds “reflect political life from vast distances, no more strongly than when we faintly hear the dynastic conflicts of medieval France in Provençal poetry” (Kubler 1962:57), this distance can be a virtue in that potsherds are not subject to the editorial practices that color historical narratives. In order to bridge this divide, it is first necessary to develop a familiarity with the process of making pottery, since some aspects of production are tied directly to the observable attributes of potsherds. In order to make a pot, it is first necessary to obtain and

prepare workable clay. Preparations include removing particles that are considered too coarse either by hand, drying and sieving, or adding water to the clay so larger particles settle to the bottom. The preferred particle size threshold is determined by the type of vessels to be made, with thinner-walled vessels requiring finer particles (Rye 1981:17). Clay must then be kneaded to a consistency suitable for forming a vessel. This may require adding water—workable clay ranges from 20 to 35% water by volume (Rye 1981:21). Depending on the number of vessels to be made, kneading may be done by foot or with a mortar on a prepared flat surface, as well as by hand. Particles used as parting agents, such as sand, may be used to keep the clay from sticking to surfaces during this process and may thereby be incorporated into the clay body. Other particles can be deliberately added to the clay to impart desirable characteristics. When the clay body has reached proper consistency, a potter will begin forming vessels. Some forming techniques—particularly those that do not use a potter’s wheel—are multi-stage processes that take into account the firmness of the clay as it dries. For example, coils may be used to form the bottom and lower walls of a vessel, with additional coils added after this initial portion of the vessel has dried enough to support their weight. Using an anvil and paddle to shape and thin vessel walls also requires that the clay be sufficiently dry to hold its shape and not stick to the tools. Once a vessel has been formed, it must be allowed to dry completely before firing, since any residual water particles will turn to steam and cause the vessel walls to crack or spall. Most decorative processes are done when the clay dries enough to lose its plasticity, but retains enough water to present “a consistency similar to stiff cheese” (Rye 1981:21). In this “leather-hard” state, the clay can be incised, scraped, and burnished. When vessels are completely “bone” dry, they are fired to temperatures at least 500° to 700°C. Doing so destroys the crystal structure of the clay minerals, such that they can no longer become rehydrated. Characteristics of a vessel’s

firing environment are visible in cross-section or on unglazed surfaces, with darker surfaces indicating a reduced—or oxygen poor—atmosphere.

A vessel retains evidence of certain stages of this process, even if it later shatters, in potsherd attributes such as incorporated particle size and composition, wall thickness, and decorative treatments. While it is possible to identify variation in ceramic production practices by comparing these attributes, the significance of such patterns is dependent on having some idea about the scale of production and economic setting within which a potter is working. An important distinction exists between household ceramic production and what Van der Leeuw (1977) terms “workshop” production (Sinopoli 1991:99-100). In the former, members of a household make pottery for their own use, with little investment in raw materials, tools, or facilities. Production in such cases is periodic, since a household’s needs could be met with minimal effort. Workshops, on the other hand, employ specialists who earn their living as potters and create wares that are distributed as trade items in a market economy or to an elite class through patron-client relationships. Their vessels are often wheel or mold made, and are produced year-round. While the scale of ceramic production is perhaps best conceptualized as a continuum between these two ideal types, it is important to recognize which form of production best approximates the circumstances in which potters operated. This is because in contexts where household production was the norm, it is less likely that pottery was transported across the landscape; in general, vessels were created and used within the same settlement. Thus variation in ceramic patterning between sites can be attributed to differences in the craft production of resident potters, rather than trade relations and consumer choice, as is the case in workshop contexts.

Consideration of the learning process also provides a framework for evaluating the significance of ceramic attributes. As already noted, pottery can be considered a product of constellations of practice linking teachers, learners, materials, and tools. These networks are animated by the learning process through which non-potters acquire the skills necessary to make ceramic vessels. Archaeologists studying ceramic education have worked to develop criteria for the identification of vessels produced by children, as well as identify conditions that foster conservatism and change in different aspects of ceramic production (Minar and Crown 2001). After practicing ceramic production techniques, children are often encouraged to produce small-sized, but functional vessels (Kamp 2001). Pots decorated by children may also retain indicators of undeveloped motor skills, such as decorations in which “linework is tentative” and “symmetries and proportions are lacking” (Crown 2001:454). Studies that examine conservatism and change in ceramic production have focused on two aspects of learning: the neurophysiological process of motor learning and regimes of instruction. Motor learning has been characterized as a source of conservatism in craft production. While the early stages of motor learning involve “the direct conscious control and attention of the learner,” with practice a student becomes proficient and the task no longer requires conscious thought (Minar and Crown 2001:373). The expression “just like riding a bike” succinctly communicates this phenomenon to late twentieth century English-speakers. Regimes of instruction, on the other hand, can introduce change into craft traditions by fostering “open abilities” that encourage experimentation (Wallert-Pêtre 2001). Learning contexts in which verbal instruction are used are more likely to foster such abilities. In 48% of the non-state societies for which ceramic education information is available in the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) (n=25), children learned to make pottery by observation and imitation alone, while verbal instruction from adults in domestic contexts was

provided in 24% of these societies (Crown 2001:456). The remaining 28% had formal apprenticeship arrangements. Taking into account motor learning and this apparent prevalence of non-verbal instruction in domestic contexts of ceramic production, it is perhaps not surprising that constellations of practice, as defined by similarity in pottery attributes, can extend for hundreds of years and across large regions.

The precise nature of the entities that produce such constellations of ceramic attributes, even when domestic production can be inferred, is not immediately apparent. While some cultural or social affinity among the members of a potting constellation is often assumed by archaeologists, Gosselain (2000) argues that only certain kinds of attributes may be useful in this regard. Characteristics of ceramics that are easily discernable in the finished product, such as surface decoration, are likely “to be ascribed aesthetic, economic, or symbolic values and thus consciously borrowed and manipulated” (Gosselain 2000:191). For example, in western and central sub-Saharan Africa roulette-decorated ceramics are made by potters who speak different languages and are members of different social groups. These potters do, however, live in proximity to each other, leading Gosselain (2000:201) to observe that the patterning of rouletted ceramics “is the material manifestation of mostly incidental relationships” at the local level. The distribution of complicated-stamped pottery production in the Southeast appears to be a comparable situation, as we know that Cherokee-, Muskogean-, and Catawban-speaking potters have all used this decorative technique. Methods of fashioning vessels, on the other hand, may be more likely to correspond to language and kinship groupings because they are not overtly visible in the final product. Using ethnohistoric data, Gosselain (2000:208) identified such a correlation, with fashioning methods such as pounding in a concave mold, coiling, drawing up large rings, and drawing up a lump of clay corresponding with major cultural and linguistic groupings. This

finding is somewhat confounding for archaeological approaches to ceramic analysis, as forming methods—short of the distinction between wheel and non-wheel thrown vessels—are difficult to discern from potsherds. Attributes such as vessel wall thickness, however, may correspond in part to forming techniques, thereby providing access to the routinized skills potters learned in their youth.

This brief overview of issues in ceramic analysis has provided information necessary to understand the rationale behind the following discussion of Catawba pottery from the Nation Ford sites. While I will be considering pots as tools, most of my analysis focuses on variation in ceramic attributes in an effort to delineate the constellations of potters who were operating in the mid-eighteenth century Catawba Nation. Expectations regarding the organization of labor in these networks can be formed in part from historic and ethnographic information about Catawba potters. Doing so requires caution, however, because a significant development in Catawba ceramic production took place in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. By 1772, Catawba potters had switched from household to workshop ceramic production, selling their wares from the lower Catawba valley to Charles Town (Merrell 1989:211). Catawba workshop production during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was unusual because potters not only produced vessels at home, but also took the “workshop” on the road, making pottery at different locations as they traveled through the low country (Plane 2011). When Catawba potters began to produce pottery for the market, they smartly adjusted their ceramic practice to emulate qualities of the glazed European-produced ceramics with which their customers were familiar (Riggs 2010). They did so by producing only vessels with highly burnished, shiny surfaces that resembled glazes, and by creating a wide variety of vessel forms that displayed a familiarity with Anglo-American foodways, such as plates and tea cups. Since all known historic references to

Catawba ceramic production post-date this transition, it is possible that observations regarding the scale and organization of Catawba ceramic production may not accurately reflect the practices of mid-eighteenth century Catawba potters. Certain aspects of production, such as gender- and age-related divisions of labor, nevertheless may have bridged this divide, particularly during the early phases of workshop production. For this reason it is worth examining accounts that provide information about the process and participants of Catawba ceramic production in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Using the term “potter” implies that a single individual is responsible for making ceramic vessels. However, in many cases pots may actually be collaborative products made with the work of multiple people (Crown 2007). An ethnographic account of Catawba ceramic production published by M. R. Harrington entitled “Catawba Potters and Their Work” suggests that such collaboration was common at the end of the nineteenth century. Harrington visited the Catawba reservation in 1908 and recorded the ceramic production process as executed by the family of John Brown (Harrington 1908). Harrington describes not only the process itself but also which tasks were completed by Mr. Brown, his wife, and their eldest daughter. Working together, Mr. and Mrs. Brown prepared the clay body, with Mr. Brown pounding the clay with a wooden pestle on top of a pile of boards while Mrs. Brown removed debris and folded the clay back to the center of the boards as it spread to the edges (Harrington 1908:403). Mrs. Brown was responsible for forming the vessels themselves. That Catawba women were responsible for this task earlier in the nineteenth century as well is suggested by the observations of Calvin Jones, a physician who visited the lower Catawba valley in 1815. Jones noted “Women making pans—Clay from the river—shape them with their hands and burn them with bark which makes the exposed side a glossy black” (Jones 1815). Mrs. Brown formed vessels using coils, which she

blended with upward motion using a mussel shell. After the completed vessels had dried, her husband used iron and cane knives to scrape the vessel walls to a uniform thickness. It was the task of their eldest daughter to burnish the vessels using a “waterworn pebble kept for that purpose” and decorate them with geometric patterns using a knife blade (Harrington 1908:404). At the time of Harrington’s visit, he noted that pots were fired in house hearths, but the Browns “arranged an old style out-door burning for my benefit” (Harrington 1908:404). While Mr. Brown supervised the fire in this instance, Calvin Jones’ observation suggests Catawba women may have previously been in charge of this activity as well. Based on these observations, it seems likely that Catawba women and their daughters were responsible for forming and decorating the pottery made at Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town, with men assisting in the acquisition and processing of the clay itself.

Recognizing pottery as a collaborative craft is significant for understanding *who* participates in ceramic production; equally important is tracking *what* objects and materials are enlisted in this undertaking. Thankfully, Harrington also keeps track of these items, noting the pestle, mussel shells, pebbles, knives, and other implements used by the Brown family to make pottery. Following Latour (2005:71), these implements can be considered “participants” in the course of action that results in an event—in this case a finished vessel. Thus pots are not just collaborative crafts made by the work of multiple people, but also the products of human-tool collectives. While some of the implements used by the Brown family were also part of mid-eighteenth century Catawba ceramic production, such as burnishing pebbles and knives, a variety of additional implements were enlisted by eighteenth-century Catawba potters. Carved and cord-wrapped wooden paddles, in particular, distinguish these earlier collectives from descendant constellations. As stated in Chapter 5, it also appears that mid-eighteenth century potters used

different clays than the communities who established new settlements downriver after evacuating their Nation Ford settlements during the 1759 small pox epidemic (Semon et al. 2012). While clay sources and certain tools may distinguish the potter-tool collectives of Nation Ford from later iterations, the ceramic production process itself, along with gender- and age-related divisions of labor observed by Harrington, may have been quite similar. With these distinctions in mind, I now turn to potsherds themselves as a source of information about the networks involved in their production.

Attribute analysis of the potsherds from Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town was conducted for sherds larger than 2 cm (0.8 inch) in diameter. Sherds smaller than 2 cm were counted and weighed, but not subject to further analysis. Sorting and coding of sherds was conducted by myself and three undergraduate laboratory assistants under my supervision—Janice Tse, Bouran Mozayen, and Lauren Crist. A total of 12,756 sherds greater than 2 cm from site Nassaw-Weyapee were examined, 12,549 of which are attributable to Nassaw and 207 to Weyapee. While this disparity in sample size limits what can be argued with regard to variation in the Weyapee assemblage, this division is maintained in the following comparisons given the historical distinction between these two communities. The Charraw Town ceramic assemblage contains 5,484 potsherds that are larger than 2 cm. As ceramic analysis progressed, it became apparent that differences in the characteristics of surface treatments made some easier to identify than others. Shallow complicated-stamping, for example, is much harder to discern on small sherds than burnishing or fine cord-marking. This observation led me to further subset the assemblages with regard to sherd size. When examining patterns in surface treatment, I only consider sherds larger than 3 cm (1.2 in) in diameter. The Nassaw assemblage contains 4,595 sherds larger than 3 cm, while Weyapee yielded 100 and Charraw Town 3,425. After the initial

ceramic analysis was completed, I re-examined all rim sherds larger than 3 cm (Appendices A, B). As part of this process, I sought to identify cross-mending sherds in an effort to provide the most conservative vessel estimate possible and to develop larger vessel sections for analysis. Sherds that did not conjoin but were clearly part of the same vessel were also grouped together. This process yielded vessel estimates of 383 for Nassaw, 5 for Weyapee, and 261 for Charraw Town.

The first step in examining ceramic variation at Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town involves identifying the types of vessels that were made and used in these settlements. Doing so provides an overview of cooking and serving practices within Nation Ford communities, thereby outlining the “universe” of mid-eighteenth century ceramics within which networks of potters and tools may be differentiated. Both vessel form and vessel size are considered in this analysis, and terminology for vessel forms is adapted from conventions used to describe late prehistoric Dan River and Catawba Valley Mississippian ceramics. In the Oldtown ceramic series from the Kluttz Site on the Dan River, Ward and Davis (1993:281) identify inverted, plain, and flared-rim bowls along with cups, jars, and cazuelas—carinated bowls with inward-sloping walls named after similarly-shaped Spanish vessels. In the assemblage of the upper Catawba valley Berry Site, Moore (2002:75) identifies carinated bowls, hemispherical bowls, everted-rim jars, and straight-sided jars. While the Nation Ford assemblages contain many of these forms, the system of designation I employ has been devised to take into account both the range of vessels present and the partial character of most vessel profiles. At the broadest scale, the vessel assemblages can be divided into jars and bowls. Jars, which by definition are taller than they are wide, have constricted openings and globular bodies. Most jars in the mid-eighteenth century Catawba assemblages have everted rims that flare outward and are thickened on the exterior with a strip or

band of clay between 1 and 3 cm (0.4 to 1.2 in) wide and less than 5 mm (0.2 in) thick (Figure 6.1). These “rim strips” appear to have been produced in most cases by adding a coil of clay around the opening of the jar, carefully flattening and blending it with the existing vessel lip but leaving a pronounced ridge at the bottom that is often segmented with punctations. Such rim strips are common in upper Catawba valley Lamar assemblages, but are absent from the Oldtown jar assemblages (Moore 2002:80, Ward and Davis 1993:190-195, 290-299). The presence of jars with rim strips at Charraw Town suggests that Sara potters adopted this technique during the two or three generations that separate Oldtown from Charraw Town ceramic production.

At least three distinct types of bowls are present in the Nation Ford assemblages. These are classified according to the angle and shape of the bowl walls. Some bowls have walls that are vertical, while others were made to angle inward, creating a constricted orifice. I refer to these as unrestricted and restricted bowls, respectively. Some unrestricted bowls are hemispherical in shape, while others have a distinct carination, or ridge where vertical walls have been added to a curved base. The third type of bowl, cazuelas, are prominently carinated and have inward-sloping walls. While jars and bowls constitute the bulk of the vessel assemblages, evidence that at least two other vessel types were made by mid-eighteenth century Catawba potters comes in the form of a single pan rim sherd from Nassaw, as well as 5 podes from Nassaw and 2 from Charraw Town. Podes served as “feet” for vessels. While the Nation Ford podes do not conjoin any vessel sections, reconstruction of a vessel from Catawba New Town (ca. 1790 to 1820) shows that some of these podes were part of footed “beakers” (Riggs et al. 2006:76) that resemble eighteenth century coffee pots (Goss 2005:10). It is likely that podes were put to a different use by mid-eighteenth century Catawba potters, as they are larger than those attached to the New Town beaker.



Figure 6.1. Examples of jar rim sherds with rim strips from Nassaw.

Size is also an important attribute of vessel classification, since the same form may be created in different sizes according to expected vessel function. Jar size, for example, may differentiate cooking jars from storage jars. Since only partial vessel profiles are present in the Nation Ford assemblages, orifice diameter is used as a proxy for vessel size. In addition to being relatively easy to estimate—since a rim sherd can be treated as an arc of a circle—orifice diameter is strongly correlated with maximum height and diameter for most vessel shapes (Hally 1986:272). For this study, orifice diameter was measured at the exterior lip edge of each vessel using a template of concentric circles drawn at 1 cm intervals. The following analysis only includes rims which account for 5% or more of a vessel's orifice circumference according to its estimated diameter. This criterion limits the Nation Ford assemblage to 55 estimated vessels,

including 38 from Nassaw, 1 from Weyapee, and 16 from Charraw Town. Orifice diameter estimates for these vessels range from 6 to 34 cm (2.4 to 13.4 in). A histogram of all 55 diameters shows a slightly right-skewed distribution, with most measurements falling in the 15 to 20 cm range (Figure 6.2). When jars are considered separately, however, there appear to be multiple modes in the orifice size distribution, suggesting that different categories of jars may have been produced by mid-eighteenth century Catawba potters (Figure 6.3). At Nassaw there are three breaks in the distribution, possibly indicating the production of small jars with openings between 12 and 14 cm, medium-sized jars with orifices between 17 and 25 cm, and large jars with orifices between 30 and 34 cm in diameter. The only Weyapee vessel section which met the criteria for this analysis is a jar with an orifice diameter of 27 cm, placing it in the medium-sized jar category. Only small and medium jars are present in the Charraw Town assemblage. Small Charraw Town jars range from 13 to 20 cm, and medium jars have orifice diameters of 25 cm. While the absence of large jars may reflect a difference in culinary practice at Charraw Town, the presence of only 3 such vessels in the larger Nassaw assemblage suggests that this difference may simply be a result of sample size. More significantly, these patterns suggest that mid-eighteenth century Catawba households produced and utilized three different kinds of jars.

The bowl assemblages, while exhibiting more diversity in form than the jars, do not appear to have been created with multiple size classes in mind (Figure 6.4). The Nassaw assemblage of 21 bowls shows a continuous, slightly right-skewed distribution, with most orifice diameter measurements falling in the 15 to 20 cm range. As might be expected, the diameter estimates for restricted orifice bowls are shifted to the right relative to those of unrestricted bowls, since a restricted orifice bowl will by definition have a smaller orifice than an unrestricted bowl of the same maximum diameter. A single small vessel with an estimated diameter of 6 cm

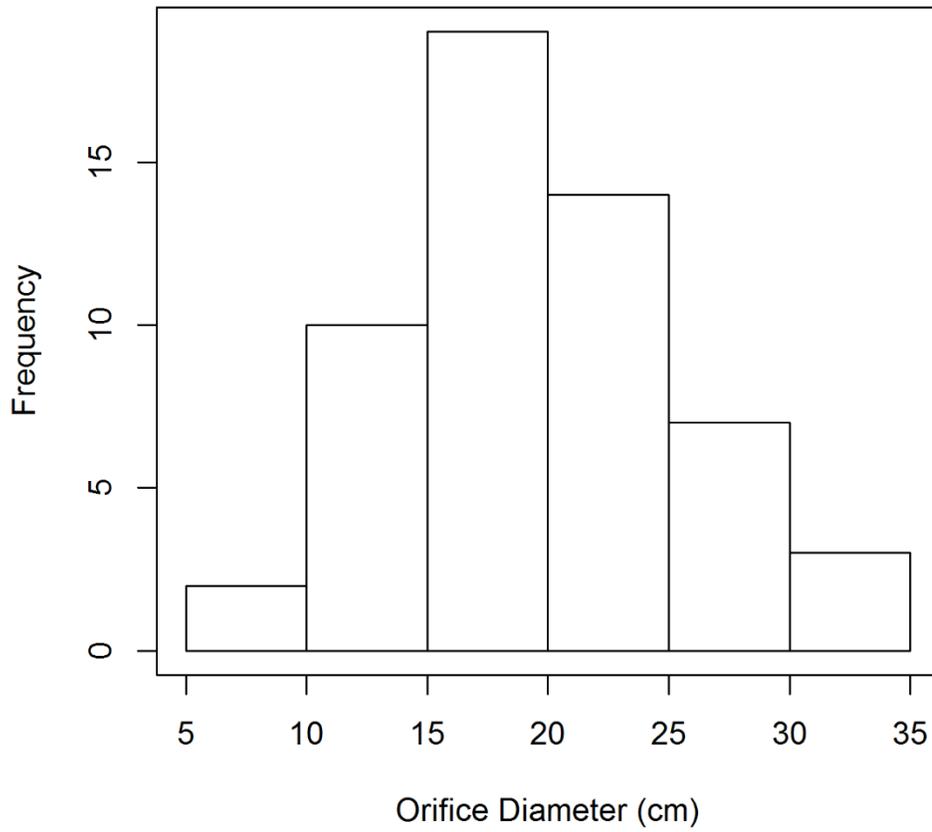


Figure 6.2. Histogram of orifice diameter measurements from 55 Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town vessels.

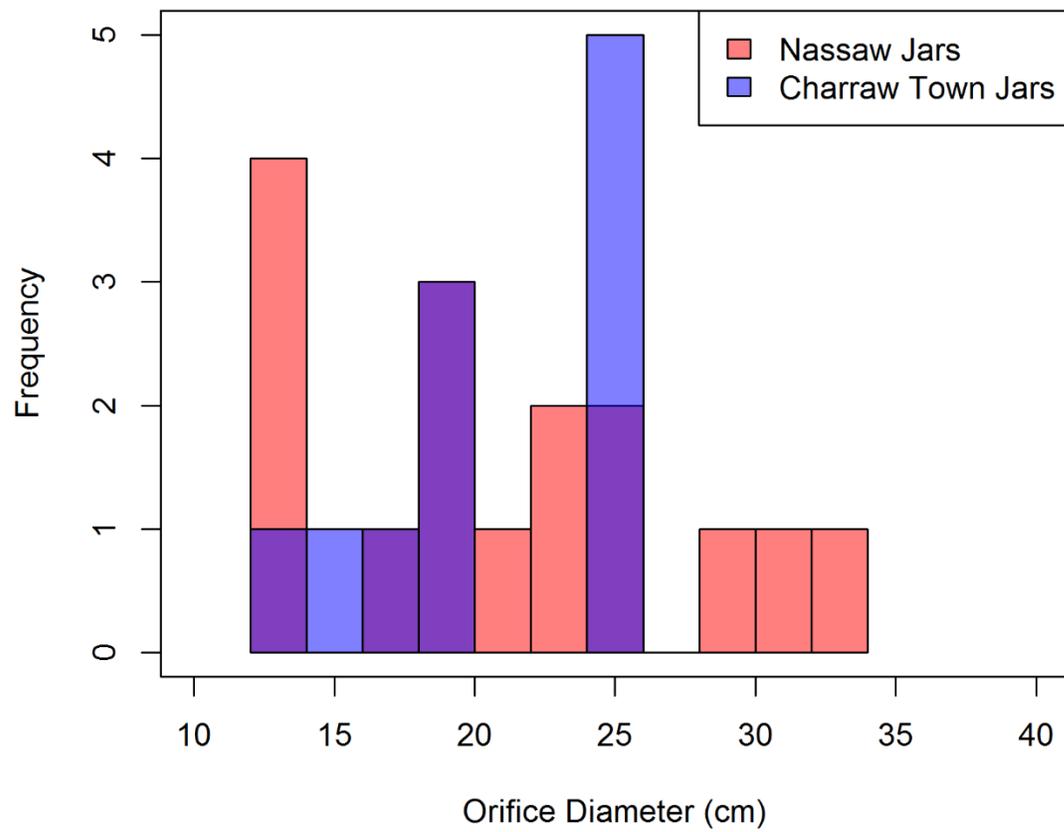


Figure 6.3. Histogram of orifice diameter estimates of 16 jars from Nassaw and 11 jars from Charraw Town.

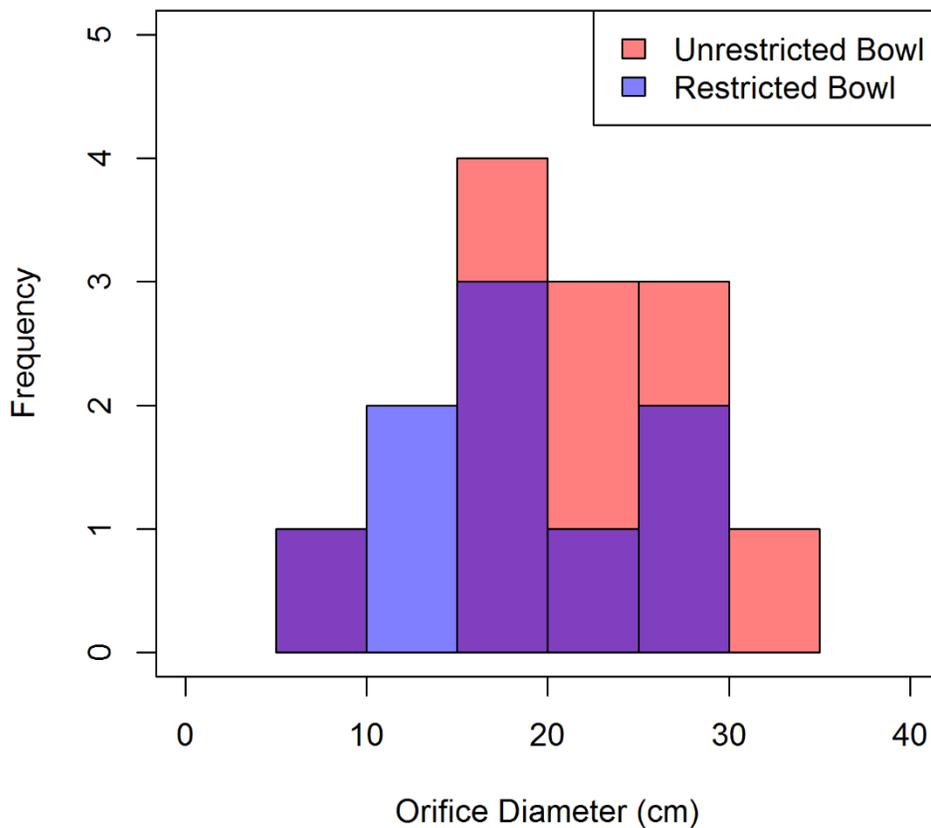


Figure 6.4. Histogram of 12 unrestricted and 9 restricted bowls from Nassaw.

appears as an outlier compared to the rest of the unrestricted bowl assemblage, which ranges from 18 to 33 cm. The restricted orifice bowls have a bimodal distribution, with some having orifice diameters between 6 and 20 cm, and others between 25 and 30 cm. The 4 bowls from Charraw Town included in this analysis have orifice diameters that range from 14 to 20 cm, putting them within the modal range of the Nassaw assemblage.

The classification of Nation Ford vessels by type and size yields 12 vessel categories (Tables 6.1 and 6.2). These can be attributed to six different functional classes: small jars, medium jars, large jars, restricted bowls, unrestricted bowls, and pans (Figures 6.5-6.7).

Table 6.1. Vessel categories identified at Nassaw.

Category	Size Class	Orifice Diameter	Count
Unrestricted Bowl	Small	6 cm	1
		18 – 33 cm	4
Unrestricted Carinated Bowl		18 – 30 cm	5
Unrestricted Hemispherical Bowl		21 – 25 cm	2
Restricted Bowl	Small	6 – 20 cm	4
	Large	30 cm	1
Cazuela	Small	14 – 20 cm	2
	Large	25 – 28 cm	2
Jar	Small	12 – 14 cm	4
	Medium	17 – 25 cm	9
	Large	30 – 34 cm	3
Pan		18 cm	1
TOTAL			38

Table 6.2. Vessel categories identified at Charraw Town.

Category	Size Class	Orifice Diameter	Count
Unrestricted Bowl		14 – 16 cm	4
Restricted Bowl		20 cm	1
Jars	Small	13 – 20 cm	6
	Medium	25 cm	5
TOTAL			16

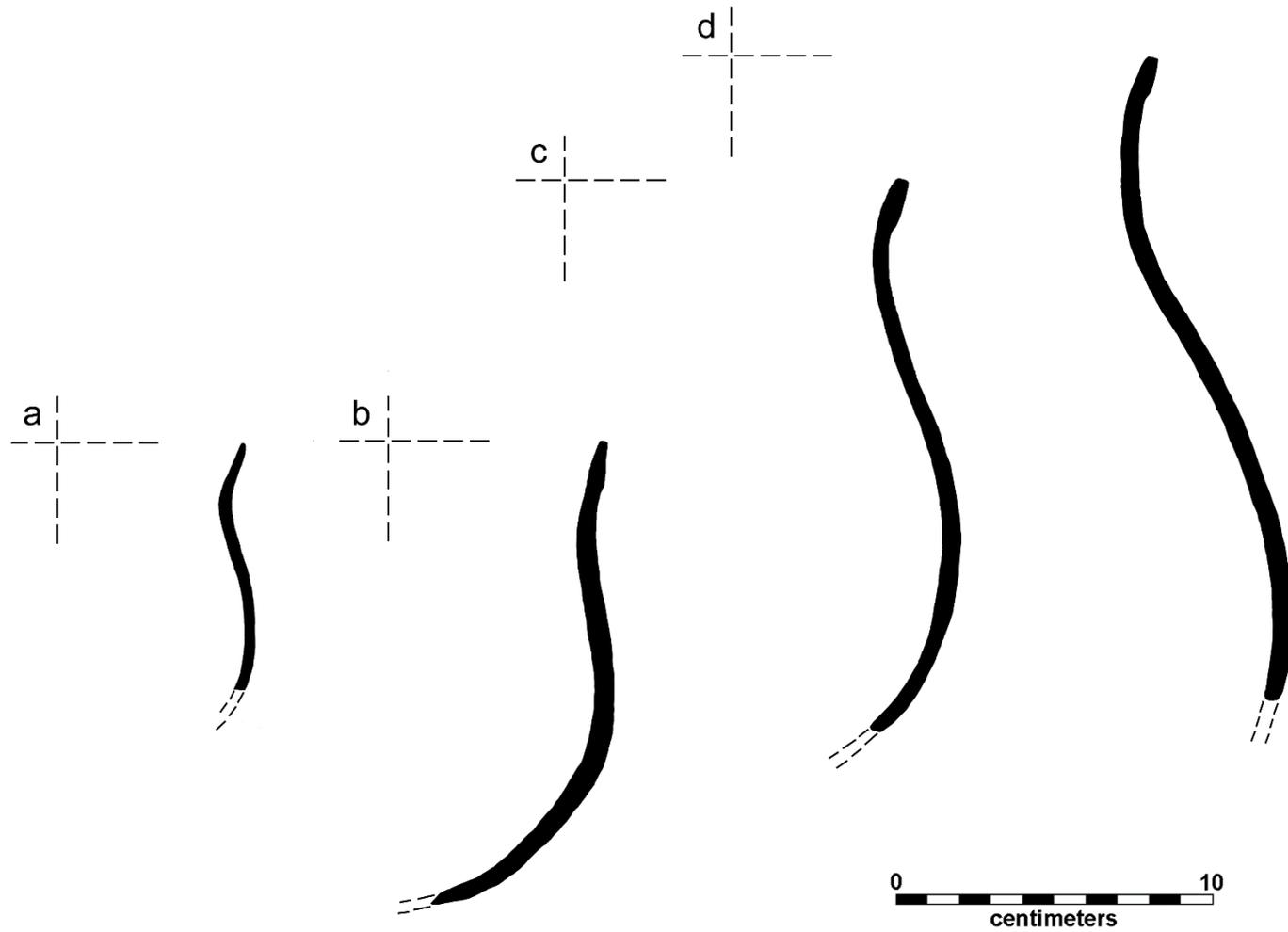


Figure 6.5. Profiles of small (a,b) and medium (c,d) jars from Nassaw-Weyapee. Accession numbers 2521p2310 (a), 2521p3987 (b), 2521p4072 (c), and 2521p3777 (d).

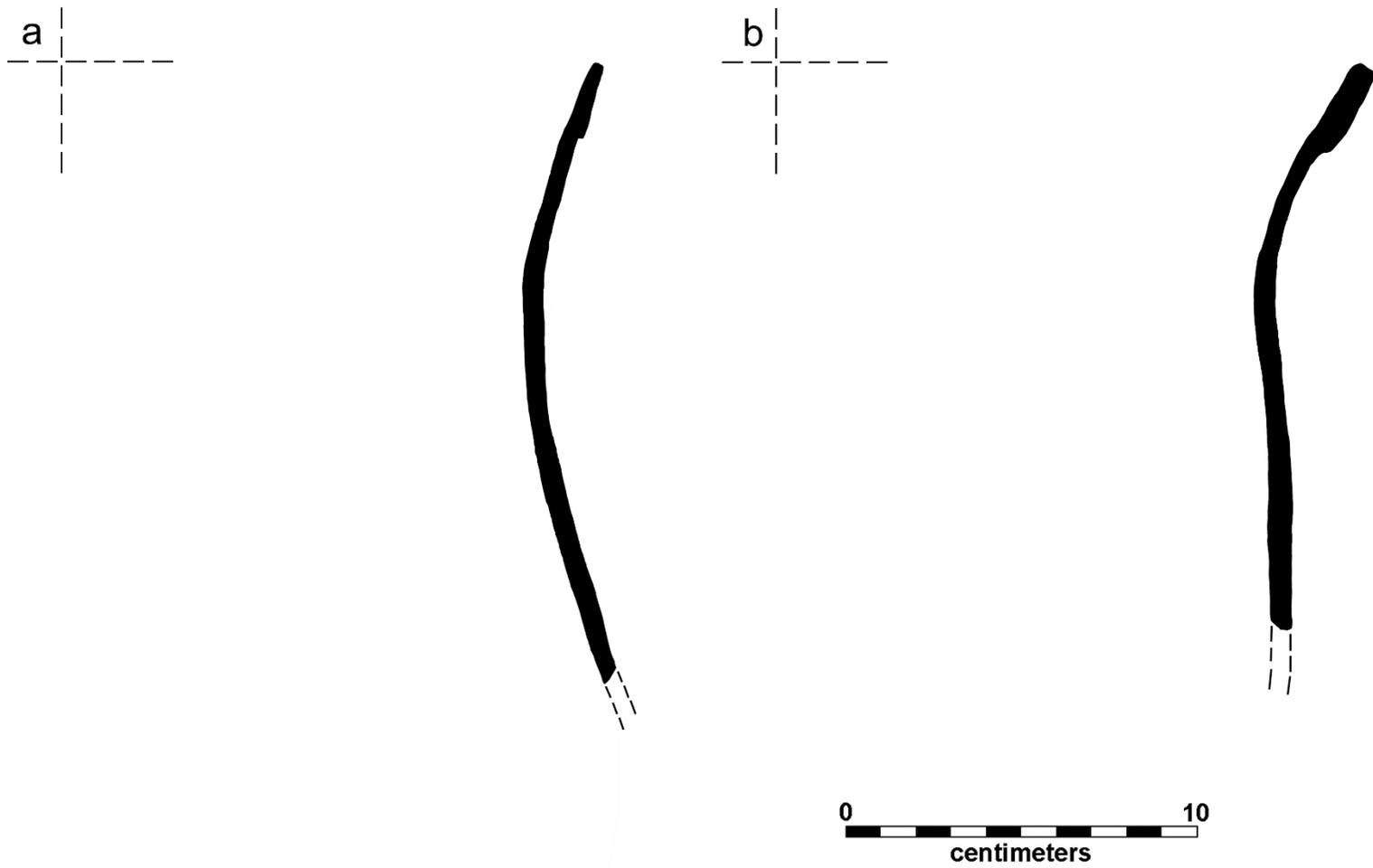


Figure 6.6. Profiles of large jars from Nassaw. Accession numbers 2521p4039 (a) and 2521p3003 (b).

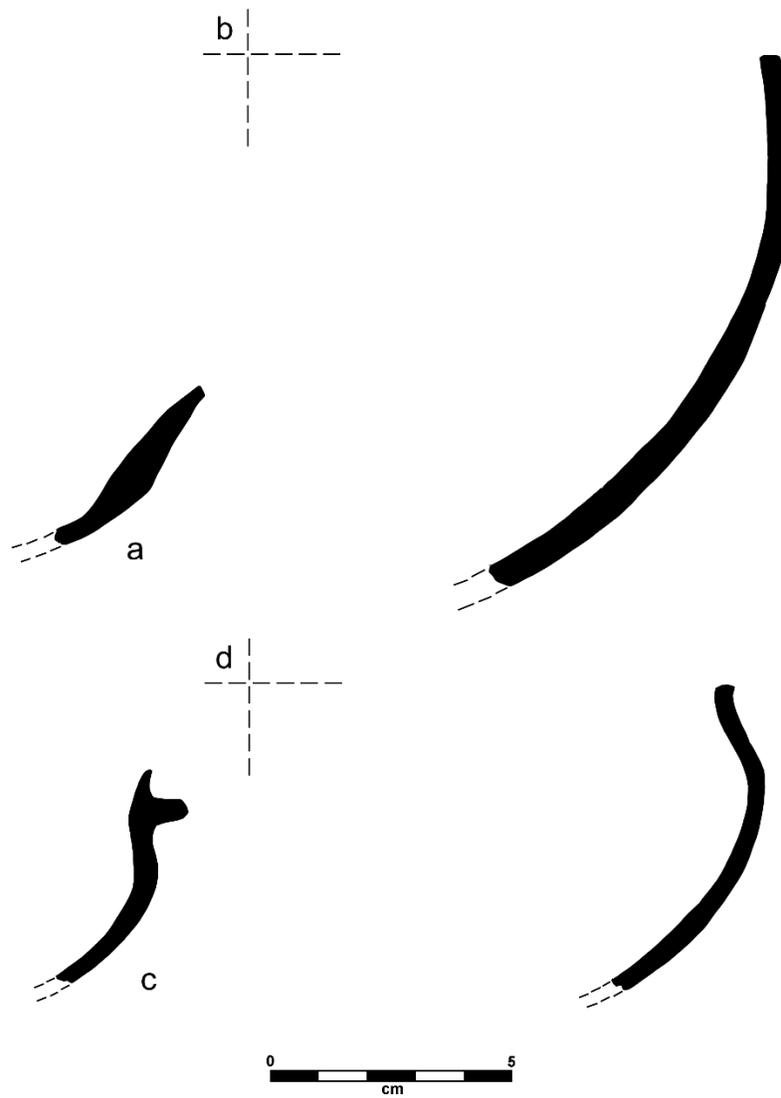


Figure 6.7. Profiles of restricted bowl (d), unrestricted bowls (b,c), and pan (a) from Nassaw. Accession nos. 2521p2197 (a), 2521p2023 (b), 2521p1824 (c), 2521p1788 (d).

Following Hally (1986), the likely use of these vessels can be inferred from mechanical attributes that affect their suitability as containers for different tasks. Small jars, given their orifice constriction and height-to-diameter ratio, were likely used to cook foods that either did not keep well or were only consumed in small quantities (Hally 1986:287). Medium jars possess similar characteristics, but enable the cooking of larger volumes at once and probably were used as general purpose cooking vessels. Large jars, given their efficient use of horizontal space and weight when full, likely were used to store liquid staples such as oils as well as fermenting foods such as hominy (Hally 1986:285-286). Families required fewer of these pots than other vessels, and since they were not moved very often, they were less likely to break than cooking and serving vessels (Arthur 2009:45). For these reasons, large jars should be less common in archaeological assemblages, which is the case for the Nation Ford assemblages. Restricted bowls provide better access to their contents than jars, but have orifices designed to prevent the loss of fluids. They are also more stable than jars, but have lower heat absorption efficiency. Therefore, these bowls may have been used to reheat precooked foods immediately prior to serving (Hally 1986:288). Unrestricted bowls, on the other hand, are not as well-designed to protect liquid contents, and may have been used to heat or serve viscous and solid foods. Finally, pans are designed to facilitate evaporation and cooling of liquids. Catawba potters later made and sold milk pans, which were used to separate cream from milk in butter production (Riggs et al. 2006:70, Beaudry et al. 1983:35). These had straight sides and flat bottoms, may have been modeled after copper kettles. The single pan in the Nassaw vessel assemblage—which is represented only by a rim sherd, so the shape of its base is unknown—may not necessarily have been used for that purpose, as pans were also used to make salt or, if inverted, used to cover corn cakes or other baked goods as they were cooking in the fire (Brown 1980:29-30, Hudson

1976:305). They also may have been used to soak materials used in craft production, such as plant fibers for weaving mats, as they provide easy access to vessel contents. The presence of only one pan in the Nation Ford assemblages suggests such vessels were not considered necessary tools for daily food preparation activities.

General comparability in the vessel forms identified at Nassaw and Charraw Town suggests mid-eighteenth century Catawba families practiced similar food processing and serving techniques. This is perhaps not surprising, given the broad similarity in Southeastern foodways noted by Hally (1986:268). However, such general comparability does not preclude the possibility of variation within this broader genre. One possible measure of such variation is the ratio of bowls to jars in a given assemblage. Given their inherent stability relative to jars, bowls can be easily placed down without risk of spilling their contents, which makes them better serving vessels. This mobility increases their likelihood of breakage relative to jars, although variation in function can also affect jar “use-life” (Varien and Mills 1997:152). However, the ratio of bowls to jars in an accumulating assemblage should remain constant if similar processing, serving, and storage techniques are practiced over time. Thus, any differences in bowl-to-jar ratios from the Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town assemblages may be the result of variation in serving activities relative to those associated with cooking and storage. Calculations of bowl-to-jar ratios for these mid-eighteenth century assemblages were made using all rim sherds greater than 3 cm for which vessel form could be determined (Table 6.3). When considered by site, Weyapee has the highest ratio—1.25 bowls to 1 jar—followed by Nassaw with a ratio of 1.2 bowls to 1 jar, and Charraw Town with a ratio of 0.7 bowls to 1 jar. While the Weyapee value is based on only 9 sherds and may not be a good representation of what people were doing at this settlement, the difference between Nassaw and Charraw Town is more

Table 6.3. Bowl and jar rim sherds >3 cm from Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town.

Context	Bowl	Jar	Bowl/Jar
Nassaw, Total Assemblage	307	275	1.12
Nassaw, Borrow Pit Assemblage	132	78	1.69
Nassaw, Non-Borrow Pit Assemblage	175	197	0.89
Charraw Town	93	133	0.70
Weyapee	5	4	1.25

intriguing. The presence of more bowls than jars in the Nassaw assemblage, while the reverse is true for Charraw Town, may correspond to the practice of more formalized dining at Nassaw, with more meals being re-heated and otherwise served in bowls instead of being eaten directly out of the jars in which they were cooked. There is reason to be suspicious of this distinction, however, because when the rim sherds associated with the borrow pit contexts at Nassaw are considered separately from the rest of the assemblage the bowl-to-jar ratio for the borrow pit contexts is 1.69:1, while the ratio for the rest of the Nassaw assemblage is 0.89:1. As noted in Chapter 5, the borrow pit contexts at Nassaw have more large sherds than expected, but no bottle glass, suggesting they are not the product of everyday yard maintenance activities. The Feature 1 borrow pit was further distinguished by having very high densities of glass beads and carbonized plant materials, along with non-calcined animal bone. The bowl-to-jar ratio of 1.69:1 further distinguishes the Nassaw borrow pits as deposits that may represent special events rather than the material residue of daily meals. Otherwise, people living in Nassaw and Charraw Town appear to

have had similar cooking and serving practices based the number of bowls relative to jars in these assemblages.

Mid-eighteenth century Catawba families may have used the same kinds of ceramic vessels to cook and serve food, but this situation does not provide any information about the process of ceramic production itself. To examine the working groups that produced these vessels, I first consider attributes that may be associated with forming vessels, as discussed by Gosselain (2000:208), or routinized through repetitive practice, as highlighted by neurophysiological approaches to motor learning (Minar and Crown 2001:373). Gosselain (2000:192) notes that secondary treatments often obscure whatever traces may have been produced by a given forming method. Potsherd thickness, however, may be linked to forming practices and therefore provides a way to identify variation in the basic methods used to create pots, even when the forming practices potters used in the process of creating this variation are themselves unknown. During the analysis of Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town potsherd assemblages, sherd thickness was recorded in 2 mm intervals, resulting in four categories: sherds less than 4 mm thick, sherds between 4 and 6 mm thick, sherds between 6 and 8 mm thick, and sherds greater than 8 mm thick. Plotting the thickness of potsherds greater than 3 cm in size shows that the vast majority are between 4 and 8 mm thick (Figure 6.8). Further, at Nassaw 55% of sherds are between 4 and 6 mm thick, while potsherds between 6 mm and 8 mm thick account for 63% and 59% of the Weyapee and Charraw Town assemblages, respectively. While this difference may be taken to indicate the existence of variation in forming practices, it is important to consider the fact that sherd thickness may also be affected by vessel type. For example, the sherds less than 4 mm thick can be attributed to small bowls, while sherds greater than 8 mm thick probably came from the bottoms of cooking jars. For this reason, I also examine the thickness of burnished sherds and

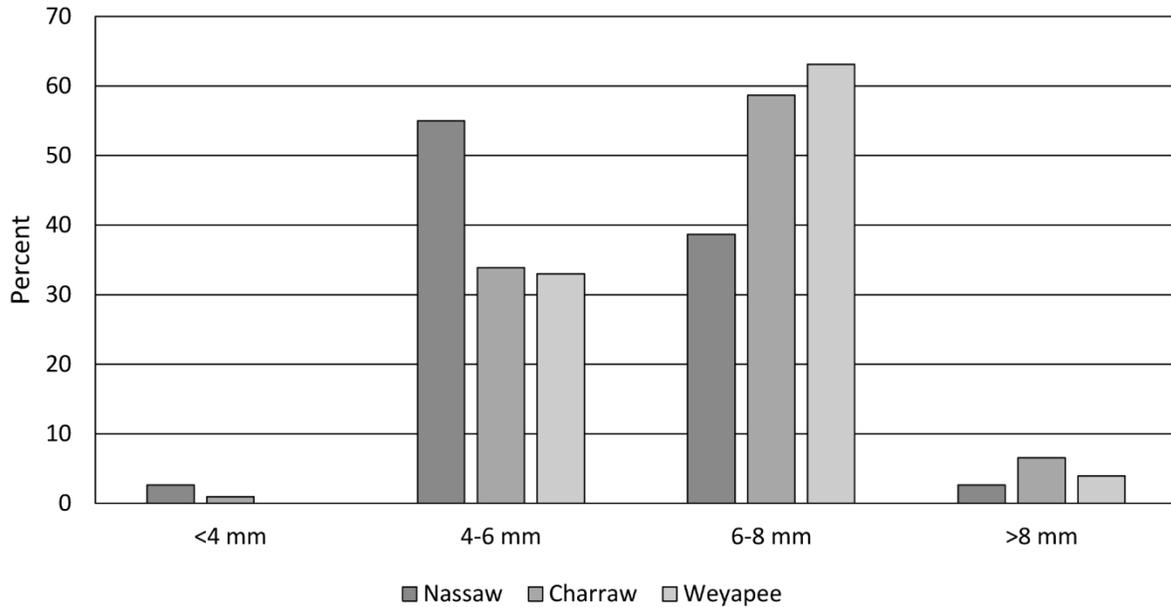


Figure 6.8. Sherds greater than 3 cm in the Nassaw (n=4,547), Charraw Town (n=3,379), and Weyapee (n=103) assemblages by thickness category.

stamped sherds. Since burnishing is a surface treatment found exclusively on bowls in the Nation Ford assemblages, this comparison should ensure that only bowls are being considered.

Similarly, stamping occurs primarily on jars, although bowls with cord marked bases and smoothed sides are present in the Nassaw assemblage. Since there are no burnished sherds larger than 3 cm in the Weyapee assemblage, only thickness data from Nassaw and Charraw Town can be considered with regard to this surface treatment. The burnished sherds display the same general pattern with regard to thickness as the larger assemblage as a whole, suggesting that vessel type is not the only source of this variation in thickness (Figure 6.9). However, 67% of the burnished Nassaw sherds are between 4 mm and 6 mm thick, as opposed to 55% of general assemblage, suggesting that vessel type does play a role in shaping the magnitude of this pattern. The thickness distribution of stamped sherds points to a similar conclusion (Figure 6.10). In this case, sherds between 6 and 8 mm thick account for 45% of the Nassaw assemblage, 61% of the

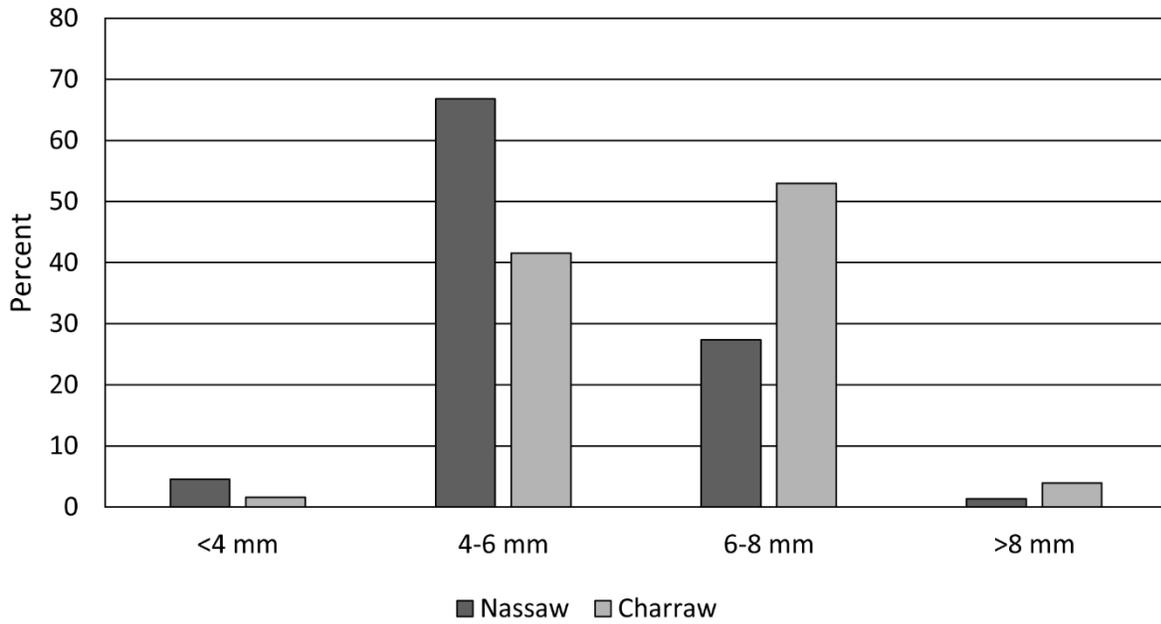


Figure 6.9. Burnished sherds greater than 3 cm in the Nassaw (n=593) and Charraw Town (n=255) assemblages by thickness category.

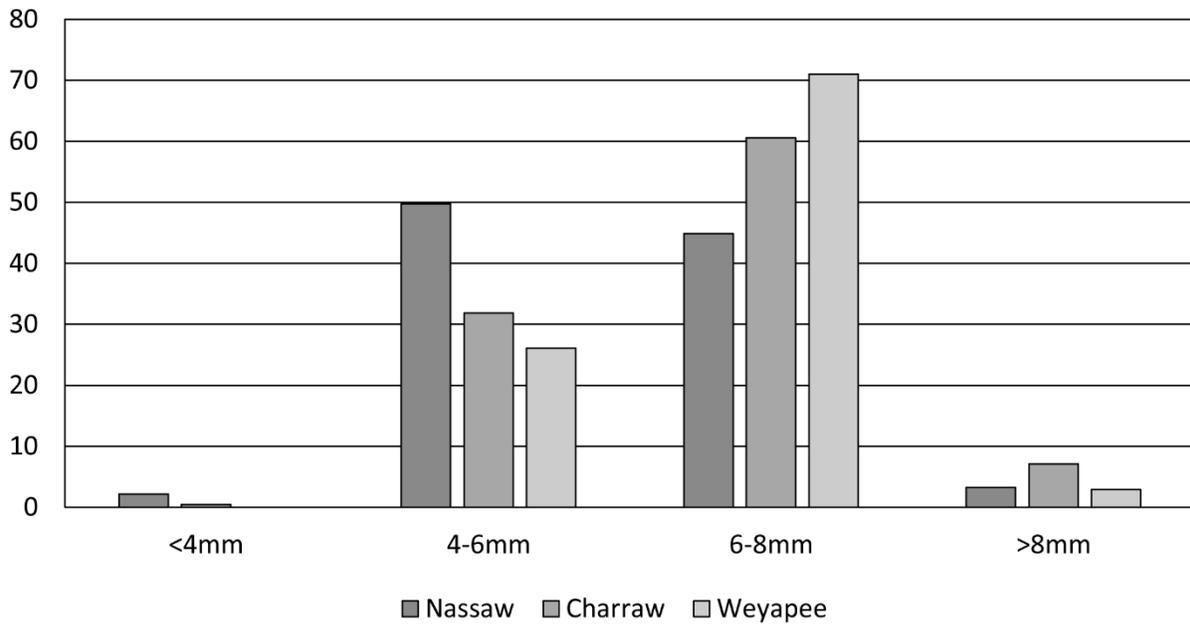


Figure 6.10. Stamped sherds greater than 3 cm in the Nassaw (n=1,433), Charraw Town (n=703), and Weyapee (n=69) assemblages by thickness category.

Charraw Town assemblage, and 71% of the Weyapee assemblage. Given these distributions, it appears that different forming practices may have been used by mid-eighteenth century Catawba potters, regardless of the overall similarity of types of vessels produced. These methods of forming pots, which were likely learned in matrilineal contexts, resulted in the production of vessels with thinner walls at Nassaw and thicker walls in Weyapee and Charraw Town.

Another potential measure of routinized practice is rim strip height. The proper size and application of a rim strip to a jar, once learned, may have become a consistent element of a potter's practice, just like vessel forming techniques. During ceramic analysis, rim strip heights were measured with calipers, with the median of three measurements taken as the recorded value. Measurements were obtained for 136 estimated vessels from Nassaw, 123 from Charraw Town, and 3 from Weyapee. A box plot comparison of the Nassaw and Charraw Town measurements shows that there is considerable similarity in the span of values (Figure 6.11). This is particularly true for the central 50% of values in each assemblage, which range from 15 to 19.7 mm for the Nassaw assemblage and 15.4 to 20.1 mm for the Charraw Town assemblage. The three Weyapee values—15, 17.1, and 20.5 mm—are consistent with these distributions. Further, the medians of the Nassaw and Charraw Town measurements—17 and 18.1 mm, respectively—differ only by a millimeter. Interestingly, the 95% confidence intervals around the median as indicated by the box plot notches suggest that this difference approaches statistical significance. However, the fact that the notches do overlap slightly, along with the 1 mm difference between the mean measurements of rim strip height, suggest that this attribute was a carefully standardized jar characteristic rather than a routinized element of ceramic production. This standardization is also strong evidence that these assemblages were produced over a short time period, as Lamar potters' expectations regarding how wide jar rims should be appear to

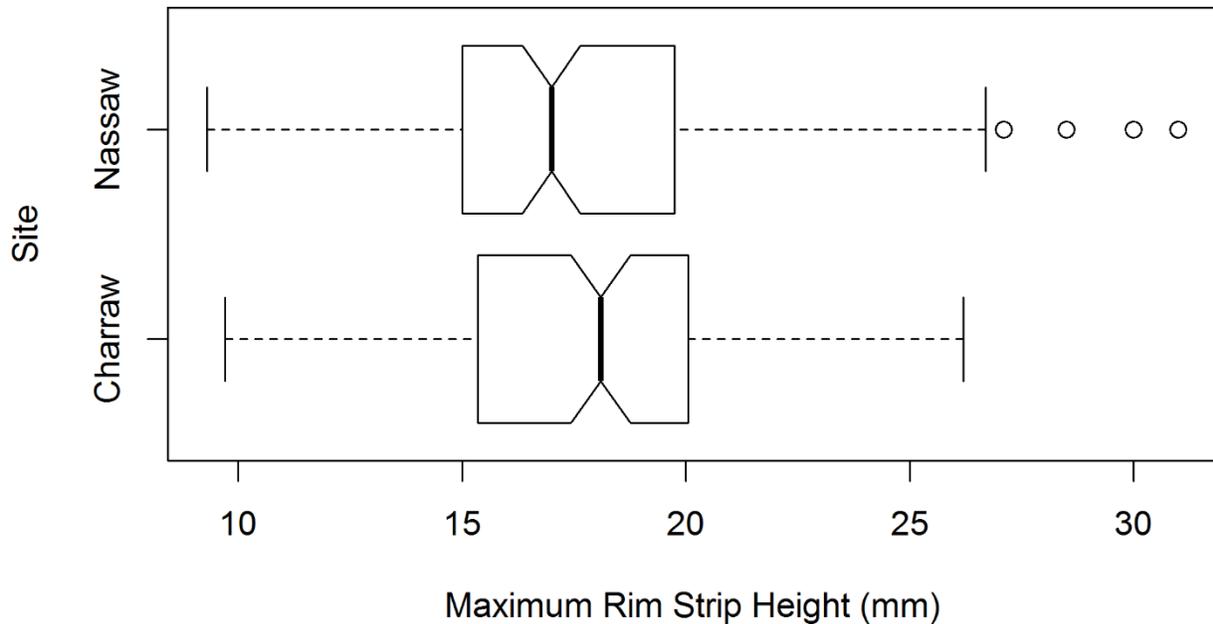


Figure 6.11. Box plot of rim strip height measurements for jars from Nassaw (n=136) and Charraw Town (n=123).

have changed through time (Hally 1994:147). Taken together, the sherd thickness and rim strip height data point to distinct constellations of practice associated with vessel forming techniques on the one hand, and carefully maintained inter-community standards on the other.

Characteristics of the prepared clay body used by mid-eighteenth century potters provides another means of assessing variation in Nation Ford ceramic production. Unlike vessel forming practices, which are skills learned by potters that can be manifest at will, the acquisition and preparation of clay body is affected by geological and sociopolitical factors as well as a potter's preferences. The local geology determines the location and quality of clays. As discussed in Chapter 5, the clay sources used by Nation Ford potters have yet to be identified, but clay-rich terraces created around 50 thousand years ago occur about 9 to 12 meters (roughly 30 to 40 feet) above the present flood plain (Layzell et al. 2012). Given the difficulty of locating clays suitable for making pottery, viable sources would have been revisited (Herbert and McReynolds

2008:55), with allocation and access possibly determined through corporate group membership. Ethnoarchaeological research has documented the effect of such sociopolitical factors on clay acquisition within a community of workshop potters in the Philippines (Neupert 2000). While forming ceramic vessels is women's work, male relatives are responsible for conducting negotiations with local elite families to access clay sources, for digging the clay, and for preparing the clay body at one of the community pounding boards located throughout the village (Neupert 2000:253). Refugee potters, upon moving to the lower Catawba valley, may also have had to negotiate access to known clay resources. While clay itself is difficult to differentiate without elemental analysis, aplastic materials added to clay, either as parting agents during pounding or to achieve some desirable quality, are a hybrid product of local geology and potters' preferences. They can be examined with regard to their composition, size, and density. These qualities of aplastic materials, or temper, are typically used to define ceramic series. The upper Catawba valley Burke series, for example, is distinguished from other late Mississippian wares by the presence of soapstone temper (Moore 2002:258). Previous research has assigned the ceramics from Nassaw-Weyapee to the Cowans Ford series based on the presence of sand- and fine quartz-tempered sherds from smoothed, burnished, complicated-stamped, and cord-marked vessels (Riggs 2010:34-35). In defining the Cowans Ford series for the Lake Norman region, Moore (2002:265-266) describes Cowans Ford ware as containing "fine, medium, or coarse sand, with grains to 1mm," along with "fine crushed quartz to 2mm." The density of these materials ranges from "low to medium." The following examination of aplastic materials in mid-eighteenth century Catawba pottery confirms that many households prepared clay in a manner that is consistent with the Cowans Ford series. However, some households incorporated

materials other than quartz into their clay, again indicating the presence of distinct networks of ceramic production in the lower Catawba valley.

Two sets of materials can provide information about the aplastic materials used to temper mid-eighteenth century Catawba pottery: potsherds themselves, and lumps of unfired potter's clay recovered from feature contexts. The latter, only found at Nassaw, were identified during excavation, placed in plastic bags, and subsequently allowed to dry. A variety of generalized temper descriptions were used during ceramic analysis, with new categories added as needed to avoid pigeonholing. However, when analysis was completed, it became clear that most sherds could be attributed to one of two variable categories. The majority of potsherds from all sites contain quartz in the form of sand and angular particles up to 2 mm in size, as expected for sherds from Cowans Ford vessels. However, feldspar temper was also common in the Charraw Town assemblage. For the following descriptions, particle size was estimated using calipers to measure the largest visible particles, and temper density was determined using comparison charts designed for that purpose (Mathew et al. 1991:215-263, Orton and Hughes 2013:282).

The potter's clay found at Nassaw provides a rare opportunity to compare the "raw" material of ceramic production with potsherds found at the same site. While we do not know how thoroughly the clay was processed before being incorporated into the feature fill, analysis of the aplastic materials present in three samples suggests they had undergone at least some processing prior to deposition (Table 6.4). The presence of grog, or fired clay particles, is particularly diagnostic in this regard, as such material would not be present in unprocessed clays. Mica was likely incorporated into the clay source deposit by geologic processes, while quartz sand less than 0.5 mm may have been deposited either geologically or incorporated while the clay was being dug and processed. The larger quartz particles, however, were likely added as

Table 6.4. Attributes of potters' clay from Nassaw-Weyapee.

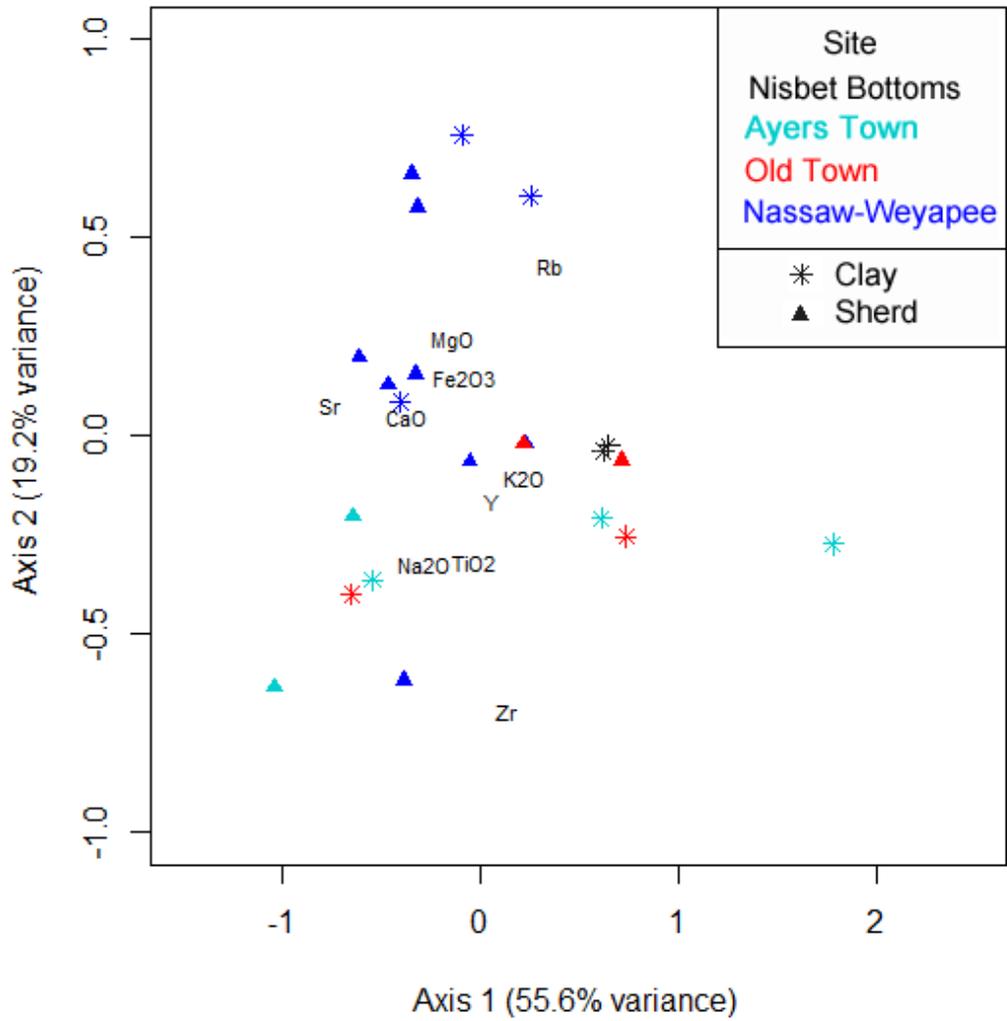
Acc No.	Munsell (2000, dry)	Inclusions	Total Wt	Processed Wt
2521m2415	2.5 Y 7/3 "pale yellow"	3% 1-2mm angular quartz 10% <0.5mm quartz <3% <0.5mm mica <3% <0.5mm unid (black)	16.3g	10.9g
2521m2944	2.5 Y 8/4 "pale yellow"	3% 1-2mm angular quartz 3% <0.5mm quartz <3% 1-2 mm grog/clay* <3% <0.5mm mica <3% <0.5mm unid (black)	9.6g	7.7g
2521m4078	GLE Y 1 8/1 (10Y) "light greenish gray"	3% <0.5mm quartz <3% <0.5mm mica <3% <0.5mm unid (black)	14.1g	9.3g

*5 YR 7/8 "reddish yellow"

temper that had been produced for that purpose by crushing and sieving locally-occurring stone. It seems likely that these unfired clays are samples of the material used by Nassaw potters to produce the pottery found at the site, and this assumption is supported by the results of a pilot characterization study in which the elemental composition of the three clay samples listed in Table 6.4 and 8 sherds from Nassaw were examined using X-ray fluorescence (XRF) (Semon et al. 2012). This is a "bulk" method, meaning that both the clay itself and any aplastic materials present in the clay were included in the analysis. When these data are considered in combination with other XRF data previously obtained from Catawba pottery and potters' clays found at Old Town (ca. 1761–1800) and Ayers Town (ca. 1781–1800), along with a clay source still in use at Nisbet Bottoms (Crow 2011), it is clear that the Nassaw potters' clay samples and sherds share

the same elemental signature (Figure 6.12). While the horizontal axis of this principal components analysis separates samples based on their calcium (Ca), sodium (Na), and potassium (K) content—which may be associated with the type of feldspar present—the vertical axis separates samples that have higher rubidium (Rb), manganese (Mg), and iron (Fe) from those that have more zirconium (Zr) and titanium (Ti). The Nassaw samples have higher Rb, Mg, and Fe, indicating that their chemistry is consistent with the metamorphosed granite parent material of the Nation Ford area. Granite contains alkali feldspar (K-feldspar), which is high in Rb content (Faure 2001:3). The later Catawba sites, on the other hand, are situated on phyllonite deposits, resulting in higher Zr and Ti concentrations in potters' clays (Prochaska 1992:201). This influence of local geology on the chemistry of potters' clays is surprising because the clay deposits accessed by Catawba potters likely were fluvial deposits. However, it appears that enough local materials were incorporated during clay processing, or perhaps by biotic means beforehand, to render them distinguishable through compositional analysis.

Characterization data for Charraw Town ceramics are not available because initial analysis was still underway while the characterization study was being conducted. Examination of aplastic patterns, however, suggest that some Charraw potters were using different temper, if not different clay, from those living at Nassaw and Weyapee. At Nassaw, 94.3 % of 4,596 sherds larger than 3 cm have sand and quartz temper, as do all of the sherds greater than 3 cm from Weyapee (n=99). At Charraw Town, only 70.9% of the sherds larger than 3 cm (n=2,395) are quartz tempered. Of the remaining sherds, 25.4% contain 3-5% subangular feldspar particles that range in size from 0.5 to 3 mm (n=858), and the remaining 3.7% contain both quartz and feldspar (n=126). If obtained from local stone, this feldspar is likely plagioclase, as Charraw Town is located on metamorphosed quartz diorite to diorite (Wright and Dicken 2001). A comparison of



this temper variation with respect to sherd thickness shows that a slightly larger percentage of the sherds tempered with both quartz and feldspar tend to be thicker than 6 mm in comparison to the other temper categories (Figure 6.13). Overall, however, the distribution is similar regardless of temper type, suggesting that this variation is a result of potters using the same vessel forming practices but working clays prepared with different aplastic materials. Several possibilities may account for this situation. It is possible that Charraw Town households used whatever materials were at hand for the production of aplastic material, and some of the stone obtained for this purpose was diorite. It should be noted that the Oldtown series of the Dan River Sara is either untempered or contains very fine sand (Ward and Davis 1993:421, Wilson 1983:386-413), so the incorporation of any temper is perhaps a reminder of the adaptability required of refugee potters who needed not only to acquire clay but also—since clays vary in their characteristics—needed to learn how to work and prepare this new material. It is also possible that about two-thirds of the clay used at Charraw Town was obtained and processed by working or trading with other Catawba potters, such as Nassaw-Weyapee residents. When additional clay was needed, some families may have obtained it on their own and used local stone for temper. While it may be difficult to determine whether the quartz-tempered wares from Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town are the result of interacting potters or convergent tempering practices, the presence of multiple tempers in the Charraw Town assemblage suggests that problems of access to and knowledge of local resources played a role in clay preparation practices. At Nassaw and Weyapee, matters of clay procurement and processing were systematic and well-established, resulting in little variation in temper.

Thus far I have examined evidence of vessel forming practices, which may change little over a potter's lifetime and can thereby be used to infer networks of teachers and learners, and

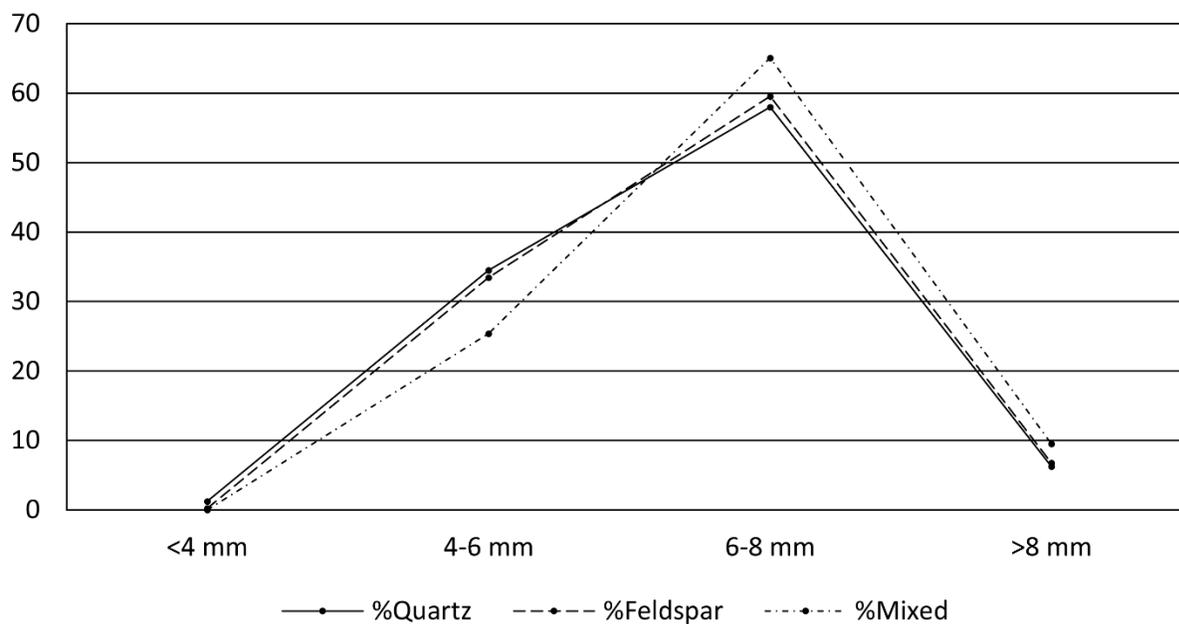


Figure 6.11. Charraw Town sherds larger than 3 cm, percentage of quartz-tempered (n=2,395), feldspar-tempered (n=858), and both quartz- and feldspar-tempered sherds (n=126) by size class.

clay processing activities, which are affected by a host of environmental, political, and logistical parameters. Neither of these activities marks a vessel in a manner readily apparent to the casual observer. This is not the case for the remaining attributes I examine, which all involve the use of tools to transform vessel surfaces with the end of creating aesthetically appropriate pots. Given their visibility on finished vessels, these practices are more likely to be altered by a potter as a result of interaction with other craftspeople, either in person or through observation of their work. Following Gell (1998:74), I consider the decoration of pots to be a “technology of enchantment” that encourages and sustains culturally-patterned motivations in daily life. In other words, “decorative patterns applied to artifacts attach people to things, and to the social projects those things entail” (Gell 1998:74). Decorated items may also be used as markers of ethnic identity in coalescent societies, since these contexts bring previously distinct constellations of practice into communication. The first decorative attribute I examine, vessel surface treatment, is

a function not only of aesthetic intent, but also secondary forming practices. As already mentioned, the use of an anvil and paddle to shape vessel walls is a common practice throughout the Southeast, and characteristics of the paddles used during this process produced many of the surface treatments present in ceramic assemblages. This is true for all but three of the surface treatments identified in the Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town assemblages of sherds larger than 3 cm (Tables 6.5 and 6.6). Unlike cord-marking, complicated-stamping, and other patterns that reproduce the inverse of paddle surfaces, burnishing and smoothing are both motivated by the desire to obliterate marks created during the forming process. In some cases this process left partially obscured stamp marks that were still recognizable with regard to the tool that produced them—such examples as listed as “obscured complicated stamped” and “obscured cord marked.” Cob marking, which involves rolling de-kernelled maize cobs along a vessel’s surface, is the only surface treatment technique used by Catawba potters for the purpose of creating a uniformly patterned surface that does not involve the use of a paddle. This was not a common practice, however, with cob marking occurring on 16 of 4,595 sherds from Nassaw and 6 of 3,425 sherds from Charraw Town.

Surface treatments show some variation with regard to temper type at Charraw Town, in that more stamped sherds than smoothed and burnished sherds are feldspar-tempered (Table 6.7). Of the 2,420 Charraw Town sherds greater than 3 cm that could be attributed to a specific surface treatment, 33% of the feldspar-tempered sherds are cord marked compared with 20.8% of the quartz-tempered sherds. On the other hand, burnished and smoothed sherds make up 12.6% and 61.3% of the quartz-tempered sherds, respectively, but only 5.3% and 57% of the feldspar-tempered sherds. This difference may indicate that some Charraw Town potters considered feldspar-tempering more appropriate for jars than bowls. Such a distinction with

Table 6.5. Surface treatments recorded for lower Catawba River valley sherds and the practices associated with their production.

Surface treatment	Description
Burnished ^a	Hard, smooth tool like a stone used to "polish" vessel surfaces, often after they have dried to "leather hard" state
Cord marked ^b	Wooden paddle wrapped in cord was used to shape exterior surface of vessel; in Nations Ford assemblages cord thickness is approximately 1 mm
Obscured cord marked	Cord-wrapped paddle was used to shape vessel, but cord marks are partly "erased" by burnishing or smoothing
Simple stamped ^b	Parallel lines have been carved into wooden paddle used to shape the vessel
Fabric marked	Surface of vessel is impressed with cloth or mat-like material
Cob marked	Corn cobs used to make impressions on surface of vessel
Check stamped	Use of a wooden paddle that has been carved with two sets of intersecting parallel lines, producing similar-sized rectangular or diamond-shaped indentations
Complicated stamped	Wooden paddle was used to shape vessel was carved with design; in Nations Ford assemblages these consist primarily of curved lines
Obscured complicated stamped	Wooden paddle carved with curvilinear design was used to shape vessel, impressions are partly "erased" by burnishing or smoothing
Smoothed	Surface of vessel rubbed with hands and/or soft tools, obscuring fashioning method

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

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

Table 6.6. Surface treatment of sherds larger than 3cm from Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town.

Site	Surface Treatment	N	%
Nassaw (38Yk434)			
	Burnished	596	13
	Check stamped	2	< 0.05
	Cob marked	16	0.3
	Curvilinear complicated stamped	751	16.3
	Cord marked	545	11.9
	Cord marked over complicated stamped	2	< 0.05
	Fabric marked	1	< 0.05
	Indeterminate	614	13.4
	Obscured complicated stamped	5	0.1
	Obscured cord marked	17	0.4
	Simple stamped	3	0.1
	Smoothed	2,043	44.5
	TOTAL	4,595	100
Weyapee (38Yk434)			
	Burnished	1	1
	Curvilinear complicated stamped	43	43
	Cord marked	20	20
	Indeterminate	13	13
	Obscured complicated stamped	2	2
	Obscured cord marked	1	1
	Smoothed	20	20
	TOTAL	100	100
Charraw Town (38Yk17)			
	Burnished	256	7.5
	Check stamped	5	0.2
	Cob marked	6	0.2
	Curvilinear complicated stamped	53	1.5
	Cord marked	577	16.8
	Fabric marked	10	0.3
	Indeterminate	1,034	30.2
	Obscured cord marked	21	0.6
	Smoothed	1,463	42.7
	TOTAL	3,425	100

Table 6.7. Surface treatment of Charraw Town sherds larger than 3 cm and attributable to specific surface treatment category by temper type.

Surface Treatment	Quartz		Feldspar		Quartz and Feldspar	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Burnished	225	12.6	30	5.3	1	1.5
Check stamped	2	0.1	2	0.4	1	1.5
Cob marked	6	0.3				
Curvilinear complicated stamped	40	2.2	9	1.6	4	5.9
Cord marked	373	20.8	186	33	18	26.5
Fabric marked	7	0.4	3	0.5		
Obscured cord marked	18	1	3	0.5		
Obscured stamped	21	1.2	8	1.4		
Smoothed	1,097	61.3	322	57.2	44	64.7
TOTAL	1,789	100	563	100	68	100

regard to vessel form may also underlie some of the differences between the Nassaw and Charraw Town assemblages, since the borrow pit contexts at Nassaw contain an unusually large proportion of bowls relative to jars. In the Nation Ford assemblages, bowls were commonly smoothed and burnished, while jars were more likely to be stamped. Since this means surface treatment proportions may vary by context, I conducted a correspondence analysis (CA) of the most common surface treatment types using the contexts defined through spatial analysis in Chapter 5 (Figure 6.14). Correspondence analysis converts abundances, in this case sherd counts, into standardized chi-square residuals that are subjected to multidimensional scaling. The two dimensions that contain the greatest range of variation, or inertia, can then be graphed, showing which surface treatment types occur in frequencies greater or less than expected if they were present in equal amounts in each context. The CA package for R was used to conduct this analysis (Nenadić and Greenacre 2007), and only contexts with 20 or more sherds larger than 3 cm were included, resulting in 21 cases.

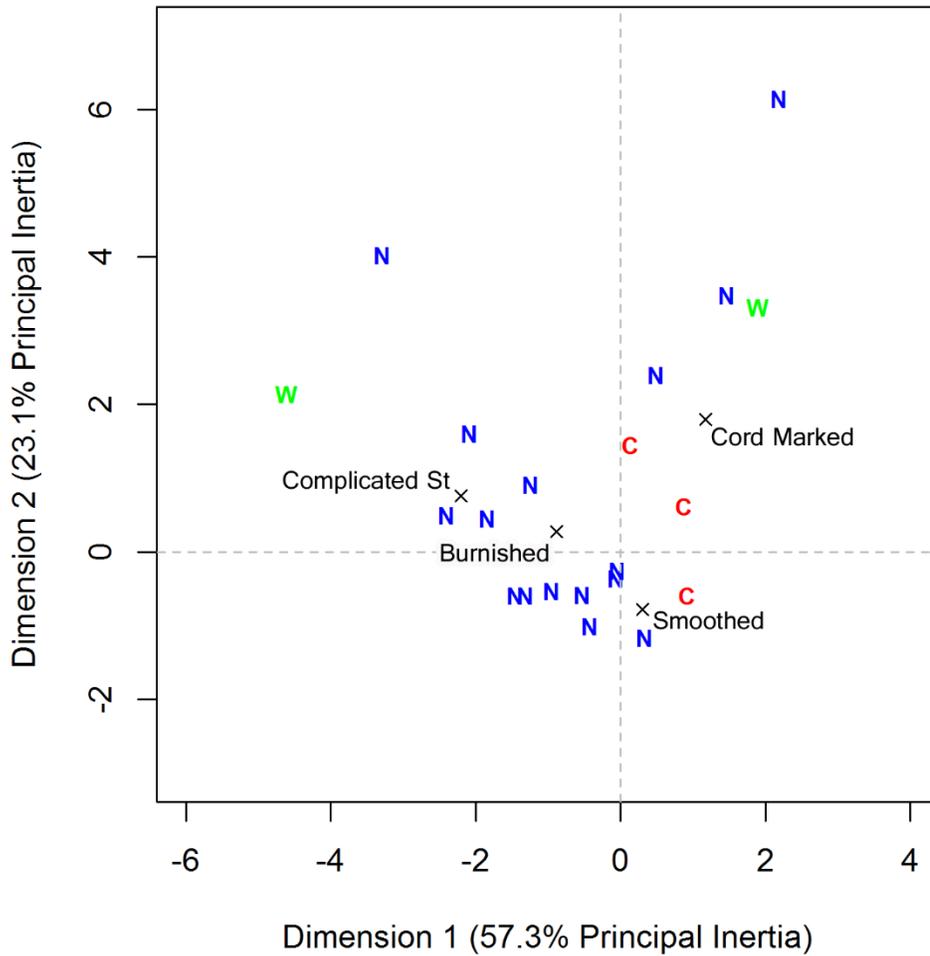


Figure 6.14. Plot of correspondence analysis of ceramic assemblages from 31 mid-eighteenth century Catwaba contexts; N = Nassaw, C = Charraw Town, and W =Weyapee.

The first two dimensions of the CA account for 80% of the total variation present in the data set. Burnished, complicated stamped, cord marked, and smoothed sherds are included in this analysis. Of these four categories, only burnishing has a low quality value (0.281), meaning it is poorly represented by the first two dimensions. The location of contexts along the horizontal axis is determined by the number of complicated stamped sherds they contain, as this category accounts for about 86% of this dimension’s variation. The three Charraw Town contexts—which contain fewer complicated stamped sherds than expected—have positive loadings for this axis, while most contexts from Nassaw and Weyapee have negative loadings. The vertical axis, on the

other hand, separates contents that have more cord marked sherds than expected from those that have more smoothed sherds than expected. In general, it appears that the first axis separates assemblages by the surface treatment of jars they contain, while the second axis separates contexts with more jars from those with more bowls. Most of the Nassaw samples are clustered on the left side of the graph, arranged by their proportion of complicated stamped sherds relative to smoothed sherds. Nassaw-Weyapee outliers include Feature 55 in the western house and Feature 44 at Weyapee, both of which contain more jar sherds than expected from complicated stamped *and* cord marked vessels. Contexts containing more cord marked sherds than expected include Features 53 and 60 in the western house, the Weyapee plow zone in general, and the southern Nassaw midden area. The Charraw Town samples are located on the right side of the graph, as they include less complicated stamped sherds than expected, and are arranged by their proportion of cord marked sherds relative to smoothed sherds. The assemblage from the Charraw house area contains the most smoothed sherds, while the gully Feature 2 contains the most cord marked sherds. Based on this analysis, it appears Nassaw and Weyapee potters used both complicated stamped and cord-wrapped paddles during jar production, while Charraw Town potters were using primarily cord-wrapped paddles. This is the most significant trend in the surface treatment data, accounting for 57% of the variation in the CA data set.

What is the significance of this distinction? Again, the Nassaw and Weyapee potters appear to have been making pottery that is consistent with the Cowans Ford series. On the other hand, the Charraw Town assemblage differs not only from Nassaw and Weyapee pottery by its low numbers of complicated stamped sherds, but also from the Dan River Oldtown series by the absence of net impressed pottery. Oldtown potters were making fewer net impressed vessels than their ancestors by the end of the seventeenth century, with net impressed sherds accounting for

about 14% of the Late Contact Period assemblage at Upper Saratow in contrast to three-quarters of the earlier “Dan River phase” assemblage (Eastman 1999:76, 123). However, no net impressed wares were identified at Charraw Town. Given the seventeenth-century decline of net impressing in the Dan River drainage, this could be viewed the outcome of a process in which fewer and fewer young potters were learning to make net-impressed pottery. It is also possible that the absence of net impressed wares is associated with the incorporation of exogenous potters into Charraw communities before and after they moved to live on the Pee Dee River. Check stamped and simple stamped surface treatments in late seventeenth-century Dan River assemblages, for example, are consistent with techniques that had been common further east in the Haw and Eno River drainages, suggesting refugees has been incorporated into villages in the Dan River valley (Ward and Davis 1993:298). During the period of time the Charraw lived on the Pee Dee River, they may also have incorporated Waccamaw or Pedee potters. Ultimately, it appears that cord marking came to replace net impressing in Charraw ceramic production practices. This replacement, of course, begs the question as to *why* cord marking, and not complicated stamping, was adopted by Charraw potters. Elsewhere, I have argued that cord marking may have increased in popularity as more and more potters from diverse ceramic traditions were incorporated into coalescent refugee communities during the Indian slave trade (Fitts 2015:a319). A similar argument has been made concerning the spread of Chattahoochee Brushed pottery at sites that date to the development of the Creek Confederacy (Smith 1984: 197–198). It is also possible that the tools themselves, as well as the qualities of the patterns they produced, played a role in the adoption of cord marking—but not complicated stamping—by Charraw potters. While cord is obviously a different material than net, it is still a twined material that produces a textile-like imprint on clay. Cord marking, net impressing, check stamping,

simple stamping, and of course fabric marking all produce designs that invoke woven materials and perhaps other containers, such as baskets. Paddles carved with curvilinear designs, on the other hand, invoke not the woven materials of home and hearth but the Mississippian universe of superimposed worlds and portals between them. Unlike cord-wrapped paddles, which could be made expediently, carved paddles required time to produce, and were likely passed down as heirlooms through lineages of potters. Rather than dabble in the production of curvilinear carved paddles, then, most Charraw households opted to use tools that made jars with textile-inspired motifs, perpetuating a familiar and aesthetically compelling genre.

The final two ceramic attributes I consider, punctuation and incising, differ from the other attributes examined in that they are purely decorative in function, having no mechanical association with the vessel fashioning process. In the Brown family visited by Harrington (1908:404), the eldest daughter was responsible for these embellishments, which were done after the pots were allowed to dry and had been scraped and burnished. Given the evidence for distinct communities of ceramic production at Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town in the form of variation in sherd thickness, tempering agents, and surface treatment, divergence in decorative practices might also be expected. On the other hand, punctations—created by pressing the end of a stylus into a vessel’s surface—and linear designs incised by cutting into the clay with a stylus do not require specialized tools like carved paddles, and can easily be learned and imitated. These attributes, more than any considered so far, are directly linked with a potter’s intent to produce similarity or difference with regard to a corpus of designs simply for the sake of doing so. The data for both punctuation and incising presented here are based on vessel estimates from sherds greater than 3 cm. Overall, the use of punctations is very consistent in the Nation Ford assemblages. With few exceptions, punctations are placed at the bottom of rim strips on jars,

simultaneously dividing the strip into segments and visually “tacking” it to the rest of the vessel. While punctuation spacing varies considerably and is not considered here, four punctuation shapes are present in the Nation Ford assemblages (Figure 6.15). In some cases, potters used their fingertips as styluses, leaving distinctive arced fingernail impressions. Rectangular styluses were also used, some of which are much longer than wide. I distinguish these latter types as “thin rectangular” punctations. Round punctations are also present but infrequent in the Nation Ford assemblages, occurring most often on bowls rather than jars. This form of decoration has been found in Burke and Cowans Ford Lamar assemblages, and was also used by Oldtown potters living on the Dan River in the seventeenth century (Moore 2002:149, 248; Eastman 1999:115).

Comparison of the frequency of these punctuation types at Nassaw and Charraw Town shows that impressions made with rectangular styluses account for the majority of punctations, occurring in similar frequencies at both sites (Figure 6.16). The single punctated vessel in the Weyapee assemblage also has rectangular punctations. On the other hand, fingertips were used more often to punctate Nassaw rim strips, while thin rectangular implements were used more frequently by Charraw Town potters. The significance of this difference can be evaluated with regard to patterns of association between vessel surface treatment and punctuation type. Since no punctated rims from complicated stamped vessels are present in the Charraw Town assemblage, the Nassaw data provide the best means of assessing which punctuation types were considered appropriate for which surface treatments (Table 6.8). Of the 32 estimated jars for which both surface treatment and punctuation type information are present, 18 have finger impressions, 10 rectangular punctations, and 4 thin rectangular punctations. The majority of jars with finger impressions are cord marked (n=11), while rectangular punctations occur most frequently on complicated stamped and smoothed vessels. Little can be said about the distribution of thin



Figure 6.15. Examples of punctation types present in Nations Ford assemblages. Finger impressed, top; rectangular, center; thin rectangular, bottom left; circular, bottom right.

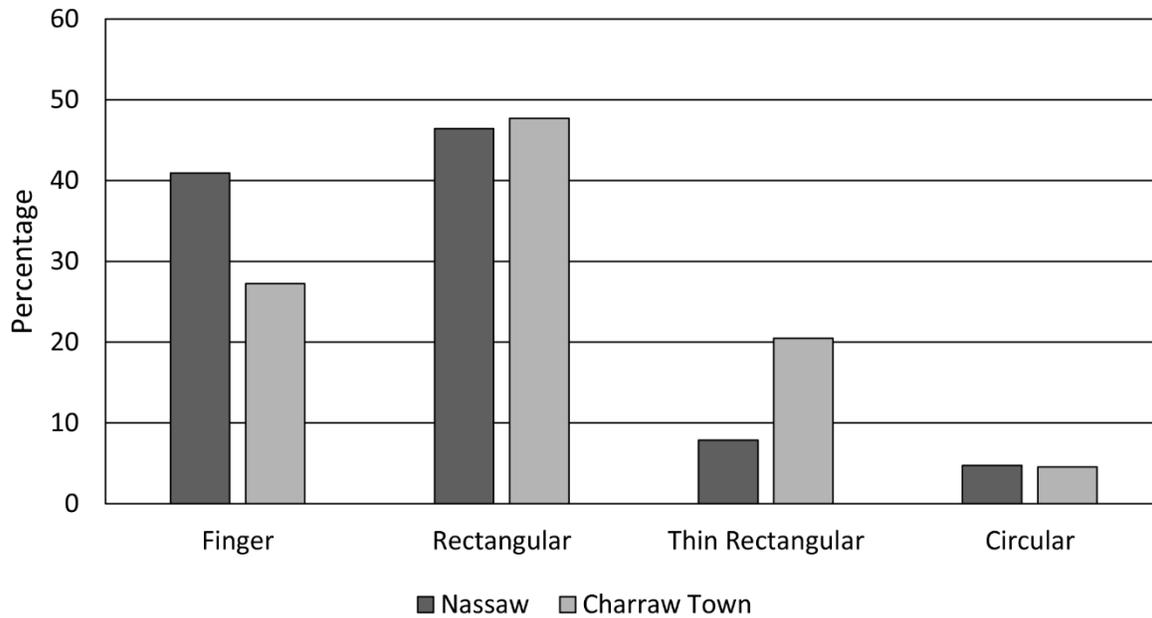


Figure 6.16. Punctuation type frequencies for 127 estimated vessels from Nassaw and 88 from Charraw Town.

Table 6.6. Counts of estimated vessels from Nassaw by punctuation type and vessel surface treatment.

Surface treatment	Finger	Rectangular	Thin Rectangular	TOTAL
Cob marked	1	0	0	1
Complicated stamped	3	4	2	9
Cord marked	11	1	1	13
Smoothed	3	5	1	9
TOTAL	18	10	4	32

rectangular punctations given the limited number of cases, other than that they occur on complicated stamped, cord marked, and smoothed jars. From the perspective of surface treatment, 11 of the 13 punctated cord marked jars have finger impressions, while there is no correlation between complicated stamping and any one punctation mode. The fact that finger punctations occur more frequently on cord marked jars may mean that one household produced most of the cord marked jars found at Nassaw, or that there was a general consensus among Nassaw potters that cord marked jars should have finger-impressed rim strips. Such a proscription was not in place at Charraw Town, where 4 of 9 cord marked vessels for which punctation data exist have finger impressions, another 4 have rectangular punctations, and 1 has thin rectangular punctations. With the exception of cord marked jars at Nassaw, it appears that the presence of punctations on rim strips—while not universal—was more important than the type of tool used to accomplish this effect. This finding, when considered along with the apparent standardization of rim strip heights, suggests that eighteenth century Catawba potters all shared a similar conception of what jar rims should look like. As punctating rims strips is clearly a practice that arose within the Lamar ceramic tradition, while being largely absent from seventeenth-century Dan River ceramic practices, the creation of such rims at Charraw Town marks an instance where refugee potters adopted new techniques as a result of exposure to external norms of craft production.

Incised decoration is another genre that provides potters the opportunity to engage with an aesthetically appropriate corpus of designs. In the Nation Ford assemblages, most incised motifs make use of parallel lines, which are also an organizing factor of most stamped surface treatments. These designs are placed on the shoulders of bowls, just underneath the rim. Most of the incised motifs present in the Nation Ford assemblages can be classified with regard to the

decorative tradition that informed the artist. Sets of nested concave arcs connected by horizontal parallel lines is a common motif that can be identified as the mid-eighteenth century Catawba version of Lamar incised (Figure 6.17). Unlike late sixteenth and seventeenth century assemblages from the upper Catawba valley, which contain multiple variants of Lamar incising such as scrolled loops and bracketed teardrops (Moore 2002:86-88), the Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town assemblages only contain nested concave arcs. This particular motif is present not only in the upper Catawba valley Berry site assemblage, but also in the assemblage from the Hardins site, located on the South Fork of the Catawba River (Moore 2002:86, Keel 1990:9). The uniformity of the Lamar-inspired portion of the Nation Ford repertoire stands in contrast to the array of motifs that can be attributed to the Piedmont Siouan ceramic tradition (Figure 6.18). Chevrons, rather than curved lines, dominate these motifs, which are similar to those incised on the necks and shoulders of jars in the Dan and Roanoke River drainages during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Benthall 1969:138, Ward and Davis 1999:108, Wells 2002:227). Since residents of the lower Catawba valley interacted with Piedmont Siouan communities during the late Mississippian period, these motifs were not novelties to Nation Ford potters. Wilson (1985:27) notes the presence of “incised inverted v’s” in an assemblage from Belk Farm, a late seventeenth century site located about 25 miles upriver of Nation Ford. Nevertheless, it appears that the only motif Cowans Ford potters produced with any regularity prior to the eighteenth century was the nested concave arcs of Lamar Incised.

The distribution of motifs in the Nation Ford assemblages, however, suggests that Piedmont Siouan designs were integrated into the ceramic lexicon of lower Catawba valley potters by the mid-eighteenth century. Evidence for the distribution of incised motifs comes from 89 estimated bowls from Nassaw and 34 from Charraw Town (Table 6.9). No incised bowls are



Figure 6.17. Examples of the parallel nested arc motif from the Nation Ford assemblages.

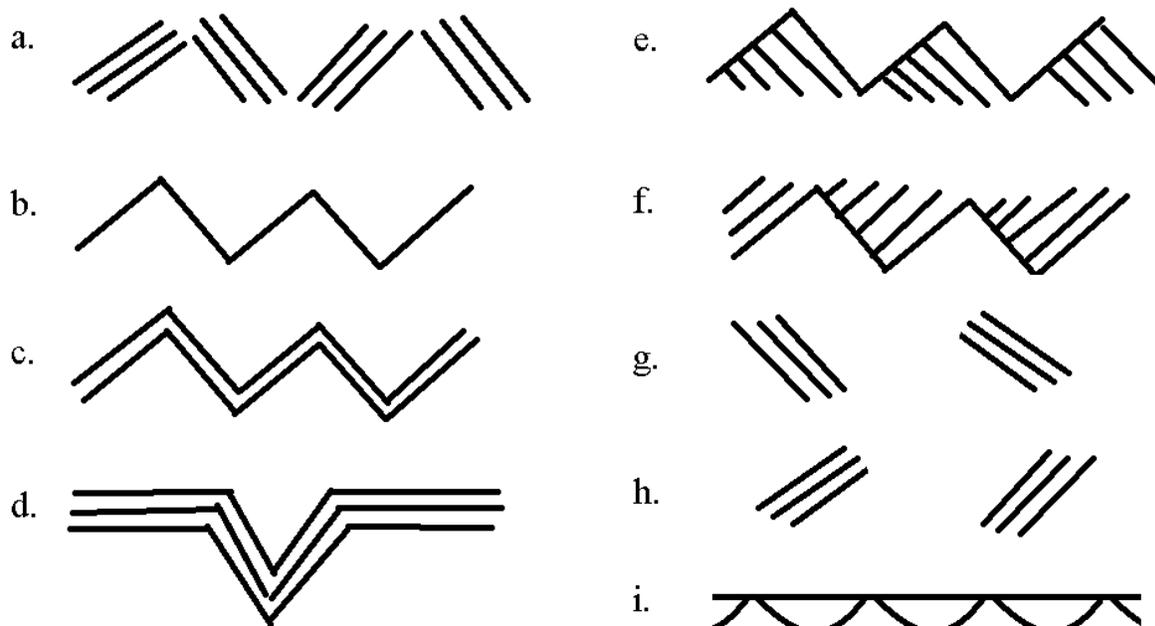


Figure 6.18. Piedmont Siouan and other motifs present in Nations Ford assemblages: a. alternate oblique, b. chevron, c. nested chevron, d. nested v, e. chevron hatched below, f. chevron hatched above, g. oblique left, h. oblique right, i. halved circles.

Table 6.9. Incision motifs present on bowls in estimated vessel assemblages from Nassaw and Charraw Town.

Ceramic Tradition	Motif	Nassaw	Charraw Town
Lamar			
	Nested Concave Arc	19	6
Piedmont Siouan			
	Alternate Oblique	0	2
	Chevron	1	1
	Chevron-Hatched Above	5	1
	Chevron-Hatched Below	2	4
	Nested Chevron	1	0
	Nested V	3	3
	Oblique Left	1	1
	Oblique Right	1	1
Indeterminate			
	Horizontal	53	13
	Halved Circles	3	1
	Nested Concave Arc-Chevron	0	1
TOTAL		89	34

present in the Weyapee assemblage. These incised vessels account for 48% of the Nassaw bowl assemblage but only a quarter of the Charraw Town bowl assemblage. While Lamar incised vessels are common at Nassaw, as might be expected, numerous bowls with chevron-related designs are also present. In fact, 14 estimated vessels in the Nassaw assemblage have Piedmont Siouan-style designs, while 19 were incised with concave arcs. At Charraw Town, a third of the motifs that can be attributed to a specific ceramic tradition are Lamar incised. Two of these bowls were tempered with feldspar, suggesting these vessels were both produced and used in Charraw Town. This use of non-Siouan motifs stands in contrast to the case of complicated stamping, presenting a genre in which Mississippian designs were appropriated by Charraw

pottery rather than avoided. The adoption and naturalization of “foreign” designs by potters in both communities may be due to factors associated with the practice of incising, the contexts in which these vessels were used, and the potters themselves. Unlike complicated stamping, incising does not require any special tools; it is a technique that puts few limitations upon the potter. Further, serving bowls provided a medium for potters to “enchant” (sensu Gell 1998) themselves and others who would encounter the vessels, either on a daily basis or for special events. In the context of the lower Catawba valley, the adoption of non-Lamar designs by Cowans Ford potters—and Lamar designs by Charraw potters—may have been associated with an ethos of cosmopolitanism that simultaneously celebrated and reified otherness through appropriation. Finally, the individuals who executed the incising may have influenced the selection of motifs. If Nation Ford bowls were collaborative products, with incising falling under the purview of a household’s daughters as was the case for the Brown family, then we must explicitly consider the role of children and young adults in coalescent contexts. While matrilineal residence and household workgroups may have functioned to limit intercommunity collaboration, interaction among children may have countered this tendency, particularly given the Catawba strategy of settlement aggregation. The diversity of incised motifs in Nation Ford assemblages at the very least suggests a dialog, rather than strict exclusion or emulation, between different constellations of ceramic production.

Narratives designed to identify similarity and difference require the construction of categories, and this analysis of Nation Ford ceramic production has been no exception. Assessment of vessel types and sizes reveals an overall similarity in the range of pots made by mid-eighteenth century Catawba potters, suggesting the existence of a broadly shared approach to food preparation and serving activities. On the other hand, variation in vessel wall thickness

may indicate that Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town potters were using slightly different techniques during the vessel forming process, and thus maintaining distinct constellations of practice with regard to ceramic production. Further, variation in aplastic tempering agents of Charraw Town vessels indicates these potters were getting raw materials from different locations, while Nassaw and Weyapee potters used similar raw materials and may have worked together to acquire and process clay. Assessing the significance of variation in vessel surface treatments, punctation, and incised motifs has required differentiating attributes with regard to whether they resemble those of pots in sixteenth and seventeenth century ceramic assemblages. In such an exercise, similarity is thought to indicate the persistence of a dendritic network of teachers and learners through time, while difference may suggest the lateral expansion of networks, as in the case of the incision motif diversity apparent in Nation Ford bowls. This analysis has suggested that Charraw potters selectively adopted different aspects of the Cowans Ford ceramic tradition as it was practiced in the mid-eighteenth century. The application and punctation of rim strips, in particular, marks a transformation of practice for Charraw potters. On the other hand, most did not work to incorporate complicated stamped paddles into their toolkits, preferring to work with cord wrapped paddles that were easy to make and produced textile-themed patterns. At the same time, some participants in the ceramic production process were receptive to local Cowans Ford aesthetics, as indicated by the presence of incised nested arc motifs in the Charraw Town assemblage.

This use of idealized types has allowed for the identification of working groups in the mid-eighteenth century Catawba Nation. Doing so, however, has required that I de-emphasize materials that do not meet the criteria for defined categories. Yet such objects not only serve as a reminder of the fluidity and transformation that characterize productive processes; they also

provide information regarding how people were effecting this change. To understand the process of transformation through hybridity that took place in the lower Catawba valley, I call attention to one specific sherd in the Charraw Town assemblage that was incised with both Lamar and Piedmont Siouan motifs (Figure 6.19). This sherd is from a carinated bowl with a notched lip that was incised on its shoulder with a chevron design using a thin stylus. In contrast to this prominent design is a shallow, nested concave arc motif just under the lip of the pot which was incised with a wide, blunt stylus. This single sherd demonstrates the contemporaneity of these two designs, and confirms they were part of the figural lexicon of Charraw Town potters. The fact that these two motifs were kept separate on other vessels suggests that Nation Ford potters generally recognized and sought to preserve the differences of history and tradition these designs indexed. However, in this one instance a potter, or maybe multiple potters, disregarded this social fact, creating a hybrid object emblematic of the integrative process underway in the lower Catawba valley.

Objects of Adornment and Identity

Bodily adornment is one of the primary ways people communicate affiliations and construct identities. When differentiating the phenomena of dress and craft production with regard to identity construction and community boundary maintenance, it is tempting to argue that activities like pottery production are the product of habitual practice, while bodily adornment results from choices designed to communicate affiliation and status. Thus pottery working groups may result in communities of practice, but these need not be identified by the practitioners as such, while clothing is chosen with the purpose of communicating identities salient to the wearer. This emphasis on choice, however, downplays factors that may limit

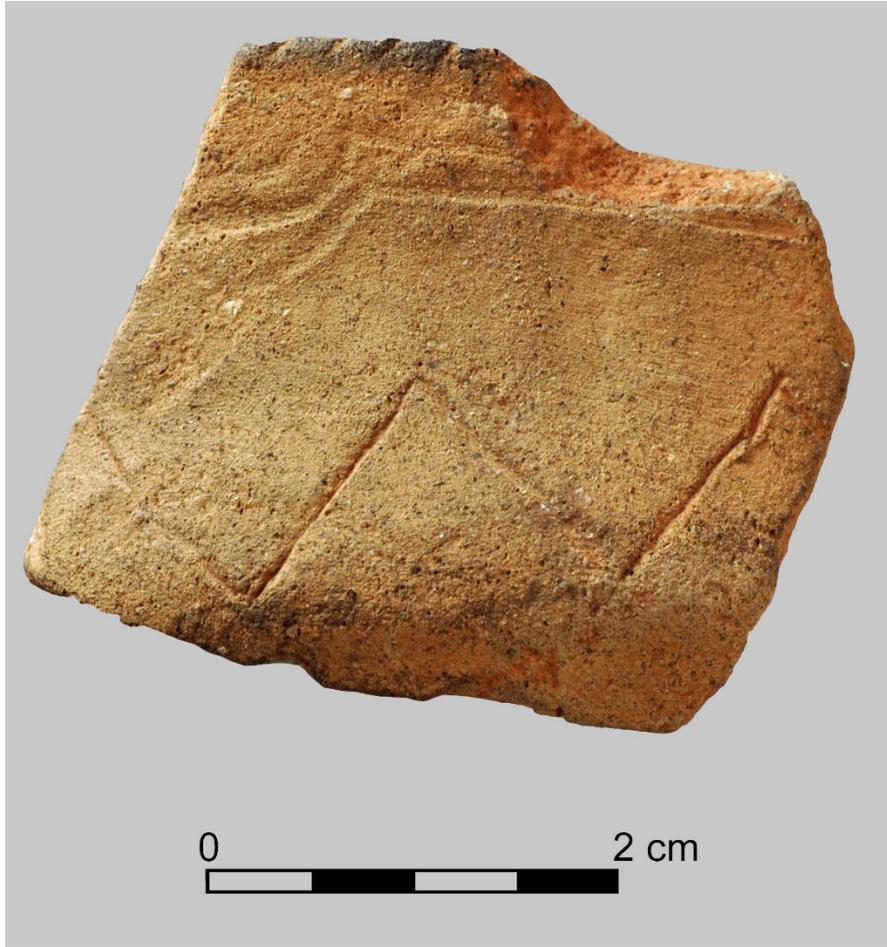


Figure 6.19. Rim sherd from Charraw Town incised with both Lamar and Piedmont Siouan motifs.

available options, such as dress codes and commodity transactions, and the extent to which dress may become habitual. At the most basic level, we might say that bodily adornment is a technology of augmented personhood, while craft production involves the creation of partible personhood. What differs is the “material intimacy” objects of adornment have with the body, an intimacy that allows them to “mediate the unstable interface between the body and the rest of the world” (Voss 2008a:409). Studies of clothing and ornamentation have progressed from the examination of styles as “cultural correlates of social differentiation” (Kuper 1973:350) to the recognition of clothing as a means through which such differences are constructed and naturalized (Butler 1990). While dress thus “makes” persons, this does not preclude people instrumentally using clothing and adornment to influence others’ perceptions of their identity. Like all modes of communication, such uses of dress are context-dependent. Just as attending mass in colonial San Francisco may have served as an opportunity for people to “dress up” in more overt displays of class and wealth (Voss 2008a:422), late eighteenth-century Catawba trips to the low country to sell pottery may have entailed exotic dress to differentiate themselves from settlement Indians with whom colonists were familiar (Plane 2011:199). Such examples not only highlight the importance of context, but call attention to the fact that all people possess multiple social “personas” that may be constituted differently with regard to dress.

Expectations regarding mid-eighteenth century Catawba uses of adornment can be proposed with reference to the contexts of social engagement that were common during this period. The extent to which people interacted with colonists may have provided one axis of social differentiation. While Catawba men were more likely to leave Nation Ford on military expeditions and interact with colonists in contexts of diplomacy, this was also a period of settler encroachment during which all members of lower Catawba valley communities may have

encountered settlers more frequently. Such interactions may have led to a more self-conscious conception of “Indian” dress. At the same time, distinctions remained between the constituent elements of the Nation. Thus glass beads and other items likely worn or carried as personal effects by Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town community members may provide evidence of the maintenance of different group identities. I use the word maintenance as a reminder that identities of any sort are not static entities but emerge from personal intent and habit in dialog with external definitions and expectations, and thus require maintenance if they are to be perceived as enduring through time (Díaz-Andreu et al. 2005). Given these dynamics, it is possible that in addition to gendered conventions of dress, mid-eighteenth century Catawba adornment practices may have been designed to communicate both “Indian” and matrilineal community identities, cultivating variation within a broadly-shared genre of dress. Such communication was not only visual, as items such as bells, brass “tinkling cones,” and even beads were arranged to produce sound through bodily movement (Loren 2008:366).

Items of adornment in the Nation Ford assemblages include glass beads, metal jewelry that was either imported through trade or made in Catawba villages, and metal fasteners such as buttons and buckles. The most common artifacts of adornment in mid-eighteenth-century Catawba assemblages are glass beads. This is to be expected, as glass beads are ubiquitous at seventeenth and eighteenth century American Indian sites. The popularity of beads throughout eastern North America may be attributed in part to the presence of pre-existing categories of color-coded otherworldly objects (Miller and Hamell 1986). Produced primarily in Venice and Amsterdam, beads were used to decorate a variety of garments including shot pouches, garters, sashes, and belts (Braund 1993:123). The bead assemblages from Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town are primarily composed of small and medium glass beads, which were analyzed

by Elise Duffield following Kidd and Kidd (1970). The overwhelming majority of these are white, such that there are two white beads for every black bead at both sites (Table 6.10). This suggests the composition of black designs on fields of white beads (Duffield and Davis 2011, Davis et al. 2015:153). In addition, linear arrangements of black and white beads were found in a pit at Nassaw, suggesting that they were also strung as necklaces or simply stored in this fashion—strings of beads served as currency, as tokens of commitment in diplomatic transactions between Indian nations, and as gifts from colonial governments (Lawson 1967[1709]:24, 27; Brown 1966:222, 239, 257).

While the distribution of black and white beads at the Nation Ford sites is very similar, careful examination of the colored glass bead distributions from Nassaw and Charraw Town suggest potential difference in color preferences between these communities (Figure 6.20). At first glance, the overall similarity of the color distribution is striking, with dark blue and rose wine beads making up the bulk of the assemblage at each site. However, differences between the distributions are patterned such that blue beads of various hues are more common at Nassaw and red beads of various hues are more common at Charraw Town. In order to assess the statistical likelihood of this pattern, a chi-square goodness of fit test was conducted to determine whether the Charraw Town bead color distribution is likely to derive from the same population as the Nassaw assemblage (Table 6.11). This involved converting the 1,907 small blue- and red-hued beads from Nassaw into proportions that were used to calculate expected bead counts for the Charraw Town assemblage of 1,081 beads. A comparison of the observed to expected values and resulting chi square statistic ($X^2 = 33.2$) indicates that the probability of observing this difference is less than one in a thousand ($p < 0.001$ with 5 degrees of freedom). The standardized residuals show that a lower than expected number of dark blue beads and higher than expected counts of

Table 6.10. Color of small glass beads recovered from Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town.

Color	Nassaw		Weyapee		Charraw Town	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Black	5,117	29	42	20	2,248	28.56
Brown	1	0.01	0	0	0	0
Dark Blue	800	4.53	1	0.48	392	4.98
Green	14	0.08	0	0	9	0.11
Greenish Blue	61	0.35	1	0.48	23	0.29
Light Blue	77	0.44	3	1.43	40	0.51
Redwood	165	0.94	3	1.43	116	1.47
Rose Brown	20	0.11	0	0	22	0.28
Rose Wine	784	4.44	6	2.86	488	6.20
White	10,601	60.08	154	73.33	4,532	57.57
Yellow	5	0.03	0	0	2	0.03
TOTAL	17,645	100	210	100	7,872	100

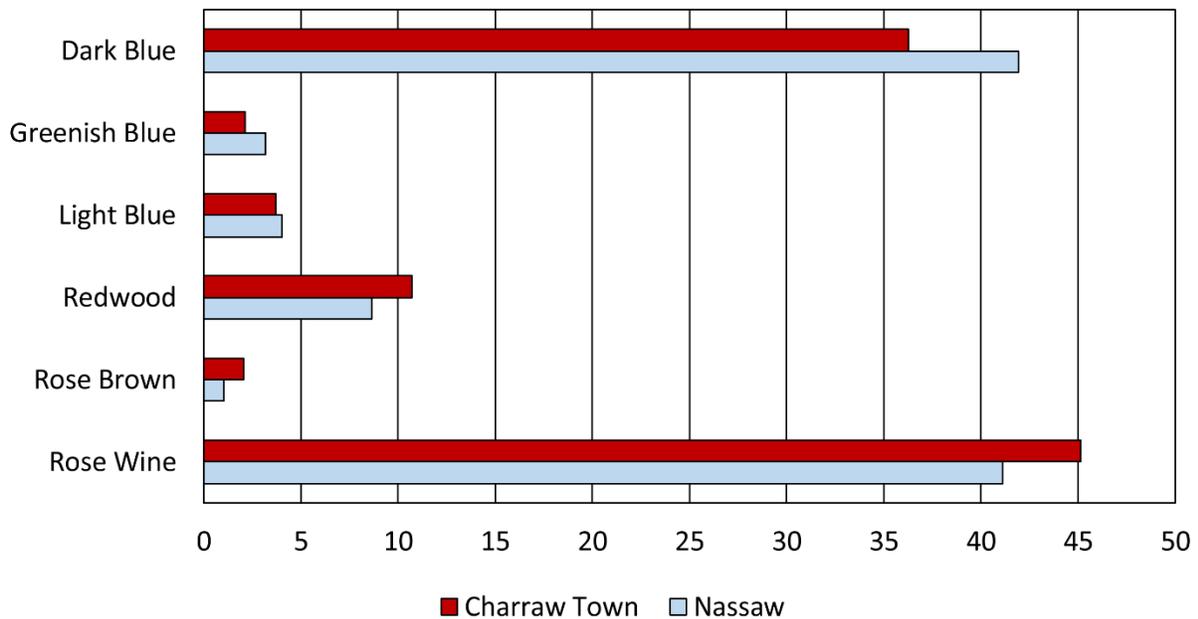


Figure 6.20. Proportion of small beads by color from Charraw Town (n=1,081) and Nassaw (n=1,907).

Table 6.11. Chi Square goodness of fit test for select Charraw Town bead colors based on proportions in Nassaw assemblage (n = 1,907); χ^2 (5, N=1,081) = 33.2, p <0.001.

Color	Observed	Expected	$\frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$	Standardized residual
Greenish Blue	23	35	4.11	-2.03
Light Blue	40	44	0.36	-0.6
Dark Blue	392	453	8.21	-2.87
Rose Wine	488	444	4.36	+2.09
Rose Brown	22	11	11	+3.32
Redwood	116	94	5.14	+2.27

rose brown and redwood beads contribute the most to this outcome. Since Charraw Town may have been inhabited up to a decade longer than Nassaw-Weyapee, this small, but significant difference indicating the circulation of more red beads at Charraw Town may be the result of chronological variation in bead availability. However, as this pattern occurs across several bead types, it also seems possible that it may be related to conventions of Southeastern color symbolism in which white entities were considered senior, stable, and high-rank, while red entities were junior, volatile, and low-rank (Blitz 1999:858, Hudson 1976:235). The Charraw, as relatively recent arrivals to the lower Catawba valley, may have received or used more red beads in recognition of this “junior” relationship to the other Catawba communities. While the same might be expected for Weyapee, the small assemblage of blue and red beads obtained from this settlement (n=14) does not allow for comparison. In addition or alternatively, red may have had connotations that made beads of this color desirable for the Charraw. Among the Cherokee, for example, red is associated with “power, triumph, and success” (Mooney 1891:342). The difference in bead color frequencies between Nassaw and Charraw Town also could be the result of conventions in embroidery practices, pointing to distinct constellations of practice. While the

emic significance of this pattern may remain obscure, the bead assemblage from a late eighteenth-century site with possible Charraw affiliation also contains more red beads than expected relative to assemblages from contemporaneous Catawba settlements, suggesting this preference may have had intergenerational significance (Cranford and Fitts 2012).

Other artifacts used for adornment that are present in Nation Ford assemblages, metal fasteners and jewelry, occur in low frequencies (Table 6.12). In order to control for the fact that some fasteners—particularly iron buckles—were often used for horse harnesses and saddle bags, the following analysis only includes objects made of brass, bronze, silver, pewter, and similar alloys. These materials account for 22% of the total mid-eighteenth century Nassaw metal assemblage, 33% of the Weyapee assemblage, and 55% of the Charraw assemblage. Artifacts of adornment from Nassaw display the most diversity, including silver ball and cone earrings, brass jewelry and buckles, and buttons of brass and pewter. However, this is likely a result of sample size, as much more intensive systematic metal detection was conducted at Nassaw-Weyapee. When considered as proportions of this subset of metal items, imported objects of adornment (itemized in Table 6.12) account for 7% of both the Nassaw and Charraw Town assemblages. The buttons and buckles, in particular, may have come from European garments given to leaders who visited Charles Town. On one occasion, three Catawba leaders were given “scarlet coats, breeches, shirts, hats, stockings, shoes, and guns” (Easterby 1953:May 25, 1741). Pieces of jewelry, like most beads, may have arrived with traders. Only two silver earrings were recovered, both from Nassaw. The popularity of these items increased through time, but in the mid-eighteenth century most cone-shaped ornaments used in Catawba fashion were brass “tinklers” they made themselves (Davis et al. 2015:206). Again, these objects occur in similar quantities at both sites, but are slightly more common in the Charraw Town assemblage. The ratio of

Table 6.12. Metal items of adornment and manufacturing debris from mid-eighteenth century Catawba sites, excluding iron and lead.

Object	Nassaw	Weyapee	Charraw Town
Imported items of adornment			
Silver ball-cone earring	2	0	0
Brass bead	0	0	3
Brass broach	1	0	0
Brass jewelry	1	1	0
Indeterminate alloy jewelry	2	0	0
Brass buckle	2	2	4
Brass button	3	1	1
Pewter button	2	0	0
Indeterminate alloy button	1	0	0
Catawba-produced items of adornment			
Brass cone	8	1	6
Manufacturing material and debris			
Brass fragments	100	10	77
Copper fragments	2	0	0
Brass wire	2	0	3
Other objects			
Brass	76	3	18
Bronze	2	0	1
Silver	1	0	0
Pewter	0	0	1
Indeterminate alloy	1	0	0
TOTAL	206	18	114

imported items to brass cones is 1.75:1 for the Nassaw assemblage and 1.33:1 for the Charraw Town assemblage. Where the metal assemblages differ noticeably is in the amount of brass scrap present, some pieces of which retain cut marks from the production of both tinkling cones and metal projectile points. Nine of these metal points were found at Nassaw and 8 at Charraw Town. Scrap copper and brass, obtained by repurposing trade kettles, along with brass wire account for 70% of the Charraw Town subset metal assemblage and 50% of the Nassaw assemblage. The Nassaw assemblage, on the other hand, contains more brass gun parts. This difference is reflected in the overall gun parts to metal ratios for Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town, which are 0.1:1 and 0.07:1, respectively (Fitts 2015a:311). Taken together, this information suggests brass recycling activities were more systematic and intensive at Charraw Town. Whether practiced as an economic pursuit or to supply their own needs, this difference again points to the maintenance of distinct communities of practice.

Cloth and animal skins—perhaps the most fundamental elements of dress—remain invisible in this artifact-based approach to the examination of mid-eighteenth century Catawba adornment practices. Nonetheless, patterns observed in glass beads and metal items of adornment provide a glimpse into conventions regarding the use of objects to augment selfhood. This analysis suggests that an outside observer would notice little difference with regard to the use of beads and metal jewelry between Nation Ford towns. Catawba leaders may have been distinguished by wearing European-style coats with brass buttons, but most people would have articles of clothing and accoutrements animated with bright brass bangles and contrasting patches of beadwork. To the trained eye, however, and especially for residents of the lower Catawba valley, small distinctions may have signaled important differences in community affiliation. A string of red beads instead of blue, for example, may have distinguished the

beadwork of a Charraw Town resident from that worn by someone from Nassaw. It also appears that Charraw Town residents may have placed a greater emphasis on making tinkling cones, arrow heads, and other items from brass. In addition to suggesting another realm of difference with regard to craft production, this activity also may be related to intercommunity exchange, a possibility that will be further examined in the following chapter.

This examination of social boundary maintenance in the mid-eighteenth century Catawba Nation began with a model of coalescence in which it is expected that the political process of merging previously distinct communities should result in the integration of labor and identities. While certain networks of interaction may have expanded as a result of Catawba community aggregation, patterns of variation observed in the material traces of Nation Ford work groups and adornment practices suggest that integration of labor may have been limited, even as shared standards and expectations were developed. Emphasis on integration in the process of coalescence, like hybridity in the process of pan-Indian ceremonialism, seems to err in the assumption that increased interaction brings about complete homogenization. Ethnogenesis arising from increased interaction among previously separate groups may supplement, rather than replace extant identities, providing a venue for the cultivation of difference within genres. Patterns of similarity in attributes of pottery and items of adornment collected from mid-eighteenth century Catawba sites do indicate that “genres” of material culture had developed among Nation Ford communities. Vessel forms are strikingly similar at Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town, as are the rims of jars. The punctated rim strips of the latter represent a transformation in practice for Charraw potters that may represent both the incorporation of exogenous potters and adoption of regional norms. The patterns on incised bowls suggest the

existence of a shared lexicon in which “foreign” designs were adopted by potters but maintained as distinct categories. And as far as can be discerned from glass beads and metal items of adornment, patterns of dress were similar at all three sites.

Patterns of difference in pottery attributes, on the other hand, suggest that this particular craft continued to be taught and undertaken in household or matrilineal community groups. Differences in the thickness of vessel walls suggest that forming conventions varied at Nassaw, Charraw Town, and even Weyapee. Further evidence of distinct production communities comes in the form of aplastic variation at Charraw Town, where the presence of feldspar in some vessel fabrics but not others suggests that potters were obtaining aplastic material, or clay itself, from different sources. Raw material acquisition by Nassaw and Weyapee potters, in contrast, appears to have been more routinized. Further, Charraw Town potters, while experimenting with Lamar incised designs, did not systematically attempt to use paddles carved with curvilinear complicated stamped patterns. Thus while mid-eighteenth century Catawba potters may be thought of as belonging to the same constellation of practice, everyday interactions associated with crafting and learning took place within household or settlement community work groups. Of course, ceramic production was only one, periodic activity that took place in Catawba communities. More central to everyday existence—and the very survival of Catawba communities—were the farming, foraging, and hunting activities that filled those pots with food.

CHAPTER 7

PROVISIONING THE NATION

The settlement aggregation that accompanied eighteenth-century Catawba militarization posed several challenges for provisioning the Nation. As villages became increasingly clustered around Nation Ford, opportunities for shifting field locations decreased while the risk of depleting local faunal resources increased. Serving as auxiliaries also required that Catawba men leave for extended periods of time. While this may have decreased the number of mouths to be fed in the short term, unpredictability regarding the duration of these absences may not have led Catawba women to adjust the amount of labor they expended on agricultural production. Further, the establishment of new settlements such as Charraw Town required that existing patterns of resource allocation be modified. When the Charraw arrived, unclaimed farmland was likely rare, as population consolidation had been underway in the lower Catawba valley for at least 40 years. While finding solutions for these problems was of critical importance for the survival of Catawba communities, matters of subsistence provisioning have received limited attention from scholars examining the impact of state expansion on indigenous militarism. In their seminal work on the subject, Ferguson and Whitehead (2000[1992]:14) draw attention to matters of social organization and ethnic identity, noting that increased violence often “forces alliances” and “crystalizes oppositions.” However, in examining the phenomenon of “ethnic soldiering” they focus attention on the pathways through which warriors were drawn into state service, leaving the day-to-day subsistence strategies that supported these groups unexamined. While such

matters may have been beyond the scope of their project, subsequent anthropological scholarship on militarism has not examined subsistence in any detail. The topic receives passing attention in broad-brush social evolution models of warfare (Dye 2009), but is generally absent from highly contextualized analyses that examine the lived experience of violence (Gusterson 2007:161-162). Such omissions may be related, in part, to the gendered nature of subsistence labor. Men are often the actors who undertake activities away from home in colonial contexts, but it is women's subsistence labor that frequently provided logistical support for these activities. In her assessment of women's cooking and weaving activities in Mexico, for example, Brumfiel (1991:241) notes that the mobile labor forces organized by the Aztec state ultimately were subsidized by women's work in food preparation. Similarly, Catawba women produced, collected, and processed the staples—particularly maize—that provisioned the Nation, enabling warriors' participation in colonial military campaigns.

The following analysis of plant and animal remains from Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town takes a step towards filling this void by examining the effects of Catawba militarism on subsistence activities. Specifically, I examine how patterns in these materials may be interpretable with regard to stress and the organization of labor. As discussed in Chapter 4, only some of the stresses experienced by mid-eighteenth century Catawba communities are attributable to militarism. While men's periodic participation in military expeditions and a general concern over enemy raids may have affected planning with regard to subsistence activities, illness, drought, and settler encroachment also took their toll on Catawba food security during the 1750s. However, it was settlement aggregation—a strategy that allowed for rapid offensive and defensive mobilization of Catawba warriors—that likely placed the greatest logistical demands on subsistence organization. While these stresses were formidable, Catawba

women had grown up learning a set of technologies and practices that had proven effective in mitigating the seasonal availability of foods in the Eastern Woodlands. From this body of knowledge, strategies could be designed to deal with the challenges they faced in the mid-eighteenth century. In a review of practices associated with seasonal food fluctuations worldwide, Messer (1989) discusses several hunger mitigation strategies that include storage, food exchange through social networks, eating less preferred staples, altering processing behavior to increase the bulk of consumed material, and rationing. The importance of storage to Catawba communities in the early eighteenth century can be inferred from the foods encountered by John Lawson on his journey through the central piedmont in January of 1701. In addition to “chinkapins” (dwarf chestnuts) and hickory nuts, which were gathered in great numbers and stored in baskets, Lawson (1967[1709]: 24, 39, 216) observed stores of maize and beans, and was frequently served peaches that been dried and reconstituted. Catawba women, like other Southeastern Indian agriculturalists, likely practiced multi-cropping to mitigate the delay between the planting and harvest. Ethnohistoric information suggests that Southeastern Indians grew at least two rapid-maturing maize cultivars that ripened in ten to twelve weeks along with later maturing types (Scarry 1994:365). By planting cultivars that matured at different times, or even multiple crops of the same cultivar at different times, women could spread out the labor associated with planting, harvesting, and storage. Since we know that Catawba families were experiencing increased stress associated with food insecurity in the mid-eighteenth century, patterns in plant and animal remains provide a means for assessing how women in different communities responded to this crisis, as well as the phenomenon of settlement aggregation in general.

The following discussion first summarizes previous approaches to the study of American Indian foodways during the British colonial period. In general, such research has followed the same pattern as other archaeological studies examining Indian communities of this period, focusing primarily on the extent to which groups did or did not incorporate materials of European origin—in this case plants and animals—into their daily lives. Recently, however, some scholars have begun to examine how the stresses of the Indian slave trade affected the subsistence choices of Southeastern households. I next review the methods used in this study and the resulting data. An examination of plant and animal taxa by context reveals important differences not only between the subsistence practices of Nassaw and Charraw Town households, but also between the contexts sampled at each site. Some contexts can be interpreted as the accumulated detritus of everyday processing activities and meals, while others appear to represent mass deposits of waste associated with specific events. I next consider each of these categories separately. To examine the evidence of everyday processing and meals, I first review previously identified trends in plant and animal use during the late prehistoric and early colonial periods to help formulate expectations for the Catawba data. A comparison of the mid-eighteenth century Catawba plant assemblages to late prehistoric and early-eighteenth century samples from the lower Catawba and Dan Rivers suggest maize had become a larger part of people's diet relative to nuts—particularly acorns. The extent to which groups utilized supplemental gathered foods appears to have differed, with Charraw Town households incorporating more fruits into their diet than Nassaw residents. There is also less evidence for maize processing at Charraw Town, which may indicate, among other things, that Charraw women's labor was incorporated into an existing land and labor allocation system. Finally, I argue that characteristics of the mass deposition events identified at Nassaw and Charraw Town can best be interpreted as the remains

of community work events (*sensu* Deitler and Herbich 2001) hosted to accomplish tasks such as house construction and bulk oil processing. Despite these efforts to house and provision the Nation, however, decreased access to protein may have put the Nation Ford communities at higher risk for infectious disease, transforming what might have been a routine outbreak of smallpox into an epidemic of disastrous proportions.

Archaeologies of Southeastern Indian Foodways during the British Colonial Period

Historical archaeology is a relatively young discipline that was established by a dedicated set of practitioners in the 1960s. The earliest historical archaeologies of American Indian sites inhabited after European colonization utilized trade items as a means of quantifying the extent to which Indian cultures had experienced “acculturation,” or the inferred adoption of Western lifeways and values (Rubertone 2000:428-430). Such an approach, which was based simply on the presence of artifacts and not their context of use or meaning, implicitly characterized American Indian societies as passive, lacking both creativity and resourcefulness. As scholars became aware of this bias, they began to investigate historic-era Indian assemblages as the products of discerning consumers, and to identify cultural continuity in the classification and use of artifacts regardless of their origin. Most studies of Southeastern foodways were undertaken after this shift in emphasis, and have tended to foreground continuity of historic-era foodways with respect to pre-colonial practices (Gremillion 1993, Bonhage-Freund 2007, Pavao-Zuckerman 2007). However, the incorporation of European plants and animals into American Indian foodways is a topic that has received considerable attention. Behavioral ecology approaches have emphasized the importance of developmental and nutritional characteristics of species for predicting whether they were incorporated into native diets. Gremillion (1996:191),

for example, notes that the first European domesticates to be cultivated by Southeastern Indians—peaches, watermelons, and cowpeas—are all weedy, self-seeding species that require little labor investment to cultivate. Further, plants with similar cultivation requirements were already in use, so that adoption of these crops likely required little change in land management practices. A similar argument has been made for the incorporation of sweet potatoes (*Ipomoea batatas*) and pigs (*Sus scrofa*) into Cherokee subsistence practices (Hatley 1991). Ideology also played a role in the avoidance of certain plants or animals, especially when the qualities of the eaten were thought to transfer to the consumer. Upper Creeks, viewing cattle as unwieldy and slow, appear to have avoided them as a source of food except during times of food stress (O’Steen 2007). Attitudes towards European foods also likely varied according to the character of the indigenous-colonial political relationship in a given context (Graesch et al. 2010).

The influence of trade with Europeans and incorporation into the developing capitalist world system is another topic that has been investigated by scholars of historic-period American Indian foodways. Lapham (2005:87) finds deer mortality profiles from seventeenth-century Virginia faunal assemblages to be consistent with deerskin trade-driven selection for adult male animals. While hunting priorities may have changed, Pavao-Zuckerman (2007) argues the deerskin trade ultimately contributed to overall continuity in Creek subsistence practices during the course of the eighteenth century, as involvement in the trade likely suppressed the adoption of European husbandry practices. Nevertheless, increases in time spent hunting deer may have influenced the scheduling of other subsistence activities. Gremillion (1995:11) interprets decreased maize-to-nutshell ratios in assemblages from two late-seventeenth century historic communities heavily engaged in the deerskin trade as evidence of a shift in time allocation away from agricultural production, combined with an increase in the consumption of maize in

temporary hunting camps rather than primary settlements. It is also possible, however, that this pattern may be associated with stresses experienced during the Indian slave trade. VanDerwarker et al. (2013) argue that declining maize production, increased foraging, and overall diversification of the plant diet apparent in Cherokee contexts from 1670 to 1783 can be interpreted as responses to the stresses of the colonial shatter zone. Since the present study also examines relationships between stress and foodways, it is useful to examine their argument in more detail.

VanDerwarker et al. (2013:71-72) employ concepts from human behavioral ecology to propose that Cherokee households adopted risk-averse, “future discounting” subsistence strategies in response to labor shortages associated with population loss from the slave trade, epidemics, and extended hunting forays. Following Winterhalder et al. (1999:303), they distinguish between the concepts of risk and uncertainty. Risk assessment requires some knowledge of possible outcomes based on previous experience, while uncertainty involves an “incomplete knowledge of outcome probabilities.” With increasing frequencies of enemy raids and epidemics, people living in the shatter zone may have come to perceive the future as uncertain, and altered their subsistence practices accordingly. While storage and sharing may have continued to serve as important preventative measures against food shortfalls, households also may have diversified their subsistence practices. VanDerwarker et al. (2013:72) suggest that the particular activities involved in this diversification can be predicted with reference to future discounting models. Adapting the work of Tucker (2006), they contrast immediate return and delayed return subsistence strategies, equating the former with foraging for wild foods and the latter with farming. Since delayed return strategies involve an element of uncertainty during the period between “investment” and “reward,” when people want to avoid uncertainty they will opt

for strategies that provide immediate gratification. Based on these principles, VanDerwarker et al. (2013:72) propose that Cherokee households experiencing subsistence stress associated with uncertainties of the colonial period may have relied more on foraging for wild foods than farming, and by diversifying their wild plant use. In reviewing the data they marshal to test this model, the authors note that trends in decreasing nutshell counts and increasing fruit seed counts may indicate that Cherokee families also sought to limit the amount of time they spent processing foods, as fruits have lower processing costs than nuts. Since nuts provide important carbohydrates and fats that fruits lack, however, such a shift would have the potential to lead to undernutrition.

Mid-eighteenth century Catawba households were subject to many of the same stresses identified by VanDerwarker et al. (2013), and also may have pursued future-discounting subsistence strategies. However, the mid-eighteenth century Catawba situation differs from the Cherokee case in at least one important respect: the Nation Ford towns, having pursued a strategy of settlement aggregation, had become circumscribed by settler encroachment, and were also threatened by enemy raids. Under these circumstances, Catawba women may have considered it just as risky to increase the distance they traveled to collect wild resources as to it was to rely on agricultural production. If this was the case, they may have attempted strategies of intensification as a means of dealing with risk. In a survey of agricultural risk management practices, Marston (2011) notes that in some cases farmers deliberately plant more crops than they anticipate they will be able to use, with the hope that this will compensate for years of low yield. This “overproduction” may be accomplished by increasing the amount of labor invested in a plot of land, or increasing the amount of land under cultivation (Marston 2011:194). If practiced on an annual basis, overproduction results in excess crops that can be stored as a

reserve for years of abnormally low yields, although this overproduction strategy has also been recorded in contexts where excess crops could not be stored for long periods, such as the Amazon. The following analysis of Catawba foodways will attempt to assess which risk aversion strategies were practiced by Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town households in response to the stresses of the mid-eighteenth century. Rather than perpetuate the dichotomy of change and continuity that has characterized studies of historic-period American Indian foodways (Silliman 2009), I hope to clarify how the subsistence strategies adopted by Catawba families contributed to the persistence of the Nation.

Evidence for Plant and Animal Use from Mid-Eighteenth Century Catawba Sites

The evidence for mid-eighteenth century Catawba subsistence activities considered here comes in the form of animal bones and macrobotanical plant materials. The latter are visible—if not necessarily identifiable—to the unassisted eye. Sampling techniques and analytical processes used to obtain and interpret these materials have been formulated to account for their size and relative fragility. Generally speaking, sampling techniques must be designed to capture the smallest object of interest. For animal bone, the smallest items of interest in this case are fish vertebrae, which can be as small as 2.5 mm (0.1 inch) (Reitz and Wing 1999:120), while tobacco seeds—ranging from 0.4 to 1.3 mm in length (Goodspeed 1954:89)—are generally the smallest macrobotanical remains of interest in the Eastern Woodlands. Since these sizes are smaller than the 0.25-inch² (6.35-mm²) wire mesh that is typically used to recover artifacts from soil in North American research settings, contexts need to be sub-sampled in order to obtain all items of interest. Ideally, these sub-samples should be taken from all context types identified during excavation, so that spatial and temporal variation in depositional patterns, as well as plant and

animal use, can be assessed (Lennstrom and Hastorf 1995). Given that carbonized plant materials and animal bone are prone to fracturing, which can reduce the ability of a researcher to attribute them to a given taxa, these samples are processed with water to remove soil particles. This can be accomplished by waterscreening sub-samples collected to recover bone and small artifacts, or by subjecting sub-samples to flotation, a process which exploits the buoyancy of carbonized plant materials to separate them from soil and other artifacts.

Sampling procedures utilized during the 2007, 2008, and 2011 excavations at Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town varied by context. Soils excavated from 1-meter² units were dry-screened through 0.25-inch² (6.35-mm²) wire mesh, with the exception of unscreened bulk flotation samples of approximately 10 liters. Given differences in the extent of soil loss at sites Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town, as discussed in Chapter 5, the frequency with which excavation units were sub-sampled varied at each site. At Nassaw-Weyapee, flotation samples were collected from 25% of plow zone contexts and all soils judged to be midden deposits, which would be more likely to contain subsistence debris. At Charraw Town, flotation samples were only collected from excavation units judged to contain midden deposits. At both sites, flotation samples were taken from all zones of feature fill. The remaining soils from features, midden deposits, and postholes were water-screened through 0.0625-inch² (1.5875-mm²) mesh. Flotation was conducted using a SMAP-type machine that collected heavy fractions in 0.0625-inch² (0.5875-mm²) mesh and light fractions in approximately 125 μ chiffon fabric. Poppy seed recovery rates of this system have not been quantified (Wagner 1982), but its efficacy is indicated by the identification of tobacco seeds in samples from both Nassaw and Charraw Town. Standardization by volume is necessary for quantitative comparison between samples in order to demonstrate that any differences are not due simply to variation in the amount of soil

processed. The volume of each sub-sample was measured in a calibrated bucket prior to flotation. While the accuracy and precision of volume measurements vary with soil type (Wright 2005), most of the flotation samples consisted of sandy clay loam, so the effects of such variation should be limited. A total of 242 flotation samples from Nassaw-Weyapee and 96 samples from Charraw Town were collected and processed, 153 of which I have analyzed for this study (Table 7.1).

Analysis of macrobotanical materials from flotation samples followed procedures described by Pearsall (2000). This process involved separating samples into size-graded fractions using geological sieves, which were then examined under a low power stereoscopic microscope. The 2-mm fraction was completely sorted and the smaller fractions scanned for seeds, nutshell, and other identifiable plant materials. Seeds were identified with reference to the type collection of southeastern botanical materials in the Richard A. Yarnell Paleoethnobotany Laboratory at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. In addition, cowpeas were distinguished from beans with reference to images, drawings, and descriptions prepared by Kristen Gremillion (1992). Both counts and weights were recorded for all plant food processing debris and seeds. Since there is variation among archaeobotanists with regard to the recording of nutshell, maize kernel fragments, and other materials <2mm in size, these items were tabulated separately to enable comparability with other studies. While it is typical to interpret all non-carbonized seeds in moist, acidic depositional contexts of the Southeast as modern contamination, multiple samples from Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town were found to contain weathered seeds. These often consisted of the seed coats of fruits such as maypop and bramble, although weathered tobacco seeds were also identified. Since partially carbonized specimens of wood and peach endocarp fragments were present in the collection, it is posited that these uncarbonized weathered seeds

Table 7.1. Analyzed flotation samples from Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town by context.

Context	Samples	Total Volume (L)
Nassaw Activity Areas	16	99.5
Nassaw Borrow Pits	18	119.5
Nassaw Houses	31	283
Nassaw Midden	14	108.5
Nassaw Features	26	204
Weyapee	6	59.5
Charraw Features	8	76.5
Charraw Gulley	8	88.5
Charraw Midden	26	206.5
TOTAL	153	1,245.5

may have been deposited during the eighteenth century Catawba occupation of these sites.

Nevertheless, since uncarbonized materials are often the product of modern contamination, these seeds have been tabulated separately from the carbonized materials and are not included in the statistical analyses that follow.

Animal bone preservation varied from moderate to poor, but 2,265 hand-collected, water-screened, and flotation-processed bone fragments weighing 1,729.3 grams were collected from Nassaw-Weyapee and 2,786 fragments weighing 1,470.9 grams were collected from Charraw Town. The Nassaw-Weyapee assemblage was analyzed by Thomas Whyte using the comparative collection of the Zooarchaeological Lab at Appalachian State University. The Charraw Town assemblage was analyzed by Ashley Peles at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill using comparative collections housed in the Research Laboratories of Archaeology. Due to the limited size of this collection, domestic mammal, wild bird, and fish specimens were taken to the Zooarchaeology Laboratory at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville, and were identified with the assistance of Walter Klippel. Specimens were examined to identify the anatomical

element and species represented, the portion and side represented by each element, and when possible, the age and sex of the individual. Bones were also examined for evidence of modification by cutting, burning, perimortem or postmortem breakage, and carnivore or rodent gnawing. All specimens were counted and weighed to the nearest tenth of a gram in broad taxonomic groupings, with the exception of vertebrate remains that could not be assigned to a class. Some specimens appear to have fractured during the recovery process, as indicated by fresh breaks with an absence of soil staining, and where possible these specimens were combined and recorded as single specimens. However, potentially conjoinable fragments that had broken apart prior to excavation were not combined in this manner.

Several variables need to be considered when interpreting patterns in plant and animal taxa frequencies calculated from archaeological assemblages. For each of these classes of items, it is important to consider both the likelihood that remains of a given organism will be preserved, or enter the “archaeological record,” and the likelihood that an analyst can identify the organism in question from the preserved remains. For plant materials, the likelihood of preservation is closely related to whether a plant becomes carbonized through incomplete combustion between roughly 250 and 500 degrees Celsius (Miksicek 1987:219). Complete combustion will transform plant materials to ash, and is most likely to happen to very dry or oily plant parts, such as nutmeats and sunflower (Bush 2004:21). Charcoal is resistant to decay and can survive in a wide variety of contexts. Materials deliberately burned as fuel, such as wood and maize cobs, are more likely to be preserved in this manner than other items (Yarnell 1982:4). Further, plant foods with inedible portions that may be burned as waste, such as nuts, are more likely to be carbonized than fruits, which can be consumed without processing. Carbonization is the primary means by which plant remains from mid-eighteenth century Catawba sites have been preserved, but

uncarbonized plant materials may survive under conditions of extreme aridity or in the presence of antibacterial chemical compounds such as tannins (Dimbleby 1967). Animal bone does not have to be transformed to be preserved, but does survive better when it is quickly buried and thus inaccessible to scavenging carnivores such as dogs. High soil acidity is also detrimental to bone preservation (Reitz and Wing 1999:117). Under adverse conditions, bones with higher mineral densities are more likely to be preserved (Lyman 1994:238-239).

Preservation is necessary but not sufficient for macrobotanical remains and animal bones to be transformed into lists of taxa. Assuming proper sampling and processing, these materials also must be attributed to the appropriate class of organisms by an analyst. Certain characteristics of plant and animal taxa make them more likely to be identified during this process than others. In general, the bones of small mammals are more likely to be identified to genus or species than those of larger animals. This is because small mammals are less likely to be butchered. Butchery and the utilization of bone marrow result in a high number of medium and large mammal fragments that cannot be identified beyond class (Reitz and Wing 1999:193). On the other hand, very small fragments of some taxa can be identified because they possess distinctive features or textures. For animal bone in the mid-eighteenth century Catawba assemblages, examples include catfish pectoral spines, turtle carapace, and deer tooth enamel (Whyte 2015:250). Among macrobotanical materials, peach endocarp fragments and maypop seed fragments are readily identifiable as small fragments. In the statistical analyses that follow, I employ ratio comparisons as a means of ameliorating some of the variation in taxa frequency caused by these factors (Miller 1988).

A general overview of the plant and animal data from Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town—particularly with regard to spatial variation in site contexts—is necessary before this

information can be used to examine how mid-eighteenth century Catawba communities dealt with matters of food security in the mid-eighteenth century. I begin by examining data from the flotation samples to identify patterns associated with fuel use. By comparing the amount of burning activity among different contexts, potential preservation biases can be identified and methods of standardization assessed (Pearsall 2000:196). For the mid-eighteenth century Catawba contexts, I compare the weight density of wood fragments larger than 2 mm to that of all carbonized food debris and seeds in each sample (Figure 7.1). In order to better graph the results, the natural logarithms of these values are presented. There is a linear relationship between the amount of carbonized wood and the quantity of other materials present in a sample, such that samples with higher wood densities also tend to have more food remains and seeds. This suggests that all three communities had similar fuel use practices. As observed in Chapter 5, there are patterns in carbonized plant density by context. Samples from Nassaw house areas tend to have the lowest weight density values, while samples from the Nassaw borrow pits, Charraw Town gully, and features from both sites have the highest density values. Midden samples from both sites display a range of values between these extremes. Interestingly, most Nassaw features tend to have more wood relative to other plant materials, while Charraw Town gully samples tend to have more plant materials relative to wood. In fact it appears that overall, the samples from Charraw Town contain less wood. At least two factors may account for this pattern. It is possible that Charraw Town households were in fact burning less wood relative to food debris, which may be an indicator of local resource depletion associated with population aggregation. This suggestion could be evaluated through analysis of wood taxa to determine if less-preferred or nonlocal resources were being used (Newsom 1993). However, it is also possible that this pattern reflects differential fragmentation rates, as only wood fragments larger than 2mm are included in

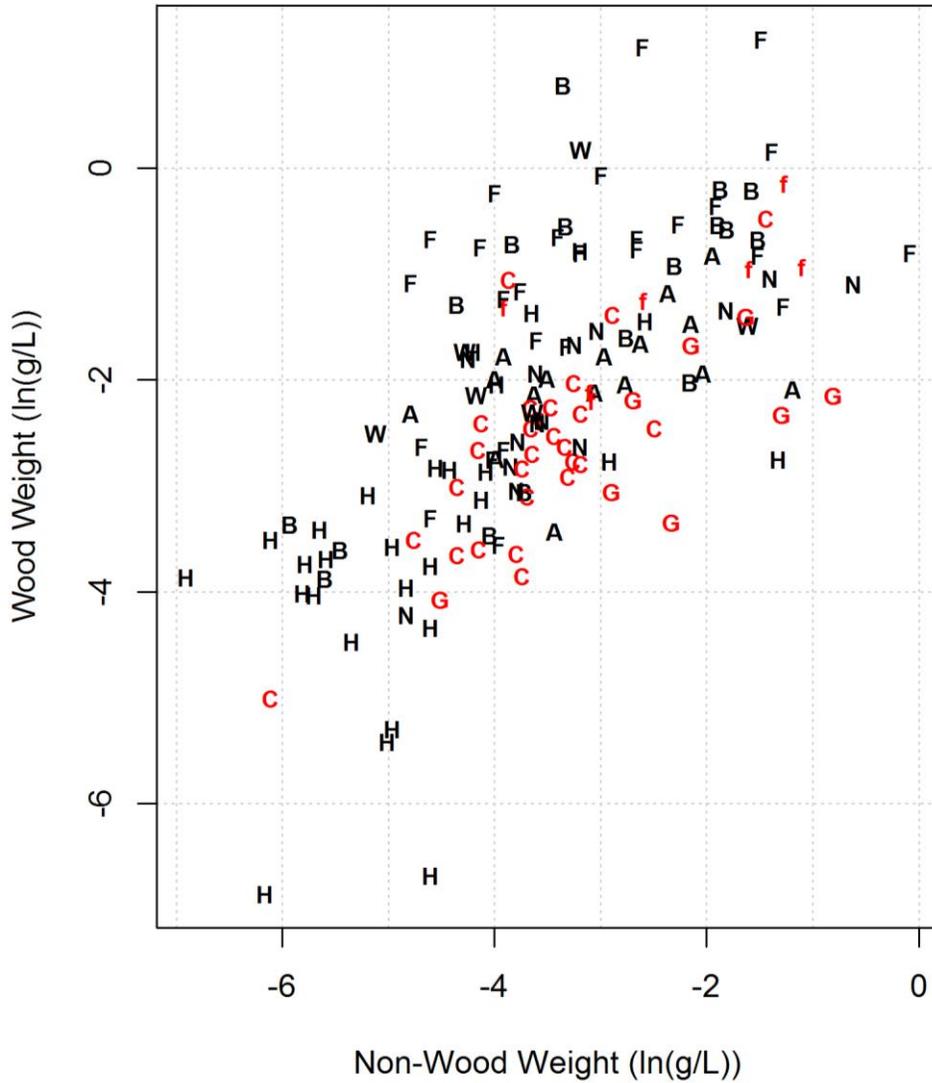


Figure 7.1. Weight density of wood fragments >2 mm compared to weight density of all carbonized food debris and seeds in each sample. A, Nassaw activity area; B, Nassaw borrow pit; C, Charraw Town midden; F, Nassaw feature; f, Charraw feature; G, Charraw Town gulley; H, Nassaw house area; N, Nassaw midden; W, Weyapee.

this analysis. Thus, similar quantities of wood may be present in Charraw Town samples—just in smaller pieces. While it is currently not possible to choose between these two alternatives, potential biases due to differential fragmentation rates inform the selection of standardization measures used below.

Macrobotanical Remains. Macrobotanical remains are frequently grouped into categories that reflect some combination of a taxon's origin, the type edible tissue it produces, and how it was used by human groups. These groupings have analytical significance in that they can be used to compare the amount of effort people spent processing different categories of plants, such as domesticated crops and wild plant foods. The groupings typically used by North American archaeobotanists are heavily weighted toward the biological characteristics of plant taxa, which have corresponding implications for logistical matters of seasonality and processing, but not necessarily nutritional content. For example, all mast-bearing trees have seeds that ripen in the fall and require shelling, but the nutritional content of nuts varies (Scarry 2003:57). Acorns are very starchy, while hickory nuts are high in oil content. Categories based on plant origins also may be confounding, as the significance of this category is likely to vary considerably based on both taxa and context. For example, maize and beans are cultigens that were domesticated in Mesoamerica and subsequently adopted by people living in North America between 2,000 and 1,000 years ago. Thus while not technically native crops, maize and beans were staples of Southeastern diets at the time of European colonization. In describing how the Hopi view, analyze, and make decisions about foreign cultures and practices, Lomawaima (1989:97) uses the term "Hopification" to refer to "the synthesizing process by which an idea or thing became imbued with Hopi values." Adopting similar nomenclature, we could say that by the mid-eighteenth century, maize and beans had become "Catawbafied," making their biological origins

of little interpretive value. This is also likely the case for peaches, cowpeas, and watermelons, which were brought to coastal areas by the Spanish and spread quickly through the interior Southeast during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Gremillion 1989:211-220). On the other hand, newly adopted foods may remain “foreign,” particularly in confrontational contexts. For example, during the Pueblo Revolt in 1680, participants in this revitalization movement were instructed to burn “Spanish seeds” and plant only maize and beans—a clear instance of plants’ origins playing a role in their use (Trigg 2004:237). Given these considerations, the plant taxa identified in the Nation Ford assemblages have been grouped into six analytical categories: row-planted cultigens, nuts, fleshy fruits, wild grains and legumes, greens, and medicine/weeds (Table 7.2).

Row-planted cultigens include maize, beans, cowpeas, and squash or gourd (Table 7.3). One possible sunflower seed is also present in the Nassaw assemblage. I use the term “row-planted” to distinguish these crops from small grains, which are typically “broadcast-planted.” Even when small mounds of soil were used for planting, these mounds often were themselves organized in rows (Beverley 1947 [1701]:29-30). Maize is present in samples as kernel fragments and cob row sections, but most frequently as cupules—hard cup-shaped structures to which the kernels are attached. Cowpeas are present as whole and fragmentary specimens, and beans as fragmentary specimens. For fragmentary seeds, it often was not possible to determine whether a bean or cowpea was represented; these cases were attributed to a bean/cowpea category. The few squash or gourd fragments identified are rind fragments, although two possible seeds were also identified—one at Nassaw and one at Charraw Town. Hickory nuts and acorns dominate the nutshell assemblages. Since hickory shell is more durable than acorn shell, it is typically better represented in archeological assemblages. On the other hand, acorn meats are

Table 7.2. Common and scientific names of taxa identified in the Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town samples by category.

Category	Common Name	Scientific Name
Row-Planted Cultigens	Maize	<i>Zea mays</i>
	Bean	<i>Phaseolus</i> sp.
	Cowpea	<i>Vigna unguiculata</i>
	Squash	<i>Cucurbita</i> sp.
	Sunflower	<i>Helianthus annuus</i>
Mast	Hickory	<i>Carya</i> sp.
	Acorn	<i>Quercus</i> sp.
	Hazelnut	<i>Corylus</i> sp.
	Chestnut	<i>Castanea dentate</i>
Tree Fruit	Gum	<i>Nyssa</i> sp.
	Persimmon	<i>Diospyros virginiana</i>
	Peach	<i>Prunus persica</i>
	Plum/Cherry	<i>Prunus</i> sp.
	Apple	<i>Malus</i> sp.
Vine/Shrub Fruit	Watermelon	<i>Citrullus lanatus</i>
	Maypop	<i>Passiflora incarnata</i>
	Grape	<i>Vitis</i> sp.
	Blackberry/Raspberry	<i>Rubus</i> sp.
	Strawberry	<i>Fragaria</i> sp.
	Sumac	<i>Rhus</i> sp.
Wild Grains and Legumes	Amaranth	<i>Amaranthus</i> sp.
	Weedy Legume	Leguminosae
Greens	Purslane	<i>Portulaca oleracea</i>
	Pokeweed	<i>Phytolacca americana</i>
Medicine/Other	Tobacco	<i>Nicotiana</i> sp.
	Spurge	<i>Euphorbia</i> sp.
	Bayberry	<i>Myrica</i> sp.
	Dogwood	<i>Cornus</i> sp.
	Red cedar	<i>Juniperus virginiana</i>
	Mustard family	Brassicaceae
	Plantain	<i>Plantago</i> sp.
	Verbena	<i>Verbena</i> sp.
	Grass family	Poaceae
Bulrush	<i>Scirpus</i> sp.	

Table 7.3. Counts and weights of cultigens, nutshell, and tree fruit from Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town.

Plant	Portion	Nassaw		Weyapee		Charraw Town	
		Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)
Maize	Kernel >2mm	90	1.01	1	0.09	65	0.58
Maize	Kernel <2mm	37	0.03	0	0	71	0.08
cf. Maize	Kernel	2	<0.01	0	0	1	<0.01
Maize	Cob row	109	9.15	0	0	8	0.45
Maize	Cupule >2mm	2927	26.05	4	0.03	534	4.25
Maize	Cupule <2mm	1318	2.5	2	<0.01	457	0.84
cf. Maize	Cupule	0	0	0	0	1	<0.01
Bean	Seed	1	0.03	8	4.1	0	0
Cowpea	Seed	6	0.24	0	0	6	0.2
Bean/Cowpea	Seed >2mm	53	0.58	0	0	29	0.25
Bean/Cowpea	Seed <2mm	4	0.03	0	0	14	<0.01
cf. Bean/Cowpea	Seed	1	<0.01	0	0	2	<0.01
Squash	Rind	4	0.03	0	0	3	0.1
cf. Squash	Rind	1	<0.01	0	0	0	0
cf. Squash	Seed	1	0.01	0	0	1	<0.01
Iva/Sunflower	Seed	1	<0.01	0	0	0	0
Hickory	Nutshell >2mm	409	10.34	0	0	309	7.09
Hickory	Nutshell <2mm	83	0.21	0	0	93	0.25
cf. Hickory	Nut shell	1	0.02	0	0	3	0.01
Acorn	Nutmeat	5	0.12	0	0	0	0
cf. Acorn	Nutmeat	1	0.02	0	0	0	0
Acorn	Nutshell >2mm	34	0.21	1	0.01	24	0.21
Acorn	Nutshell <2mm	66	0.03	1	<0.01	73	0.11
cf. Acorn	Nutshell	0	0	0	0	1	<0.01
Hazel	Nutshell	0	0	0	0	1	<0.01
cf. Chestnut	Nutshell	1	<0.01	0	0	0	0
Gum	Seed	0	0	0	0	2	0.03
Persimmon	Seed	3	0.08	1	<0.01	2	0.01
cf. Persimmon	Seed	0	0	0	0	1	<0.01
Peach	Endocarp >2mm	356	15.02	18	0.44	274	6.66
Peach	Endocarp <2mm	133	0.35	6	0.01	273	0.59
cf. Peach	Endocarp	0	0	0	0	2	0.01
Peach	Seed	1	0.02	0	0	1	0.04
Plum/Cherry	Endocarp	1	<0.01	0	0	1	0.01
Apple	Seed	1	<0.01	0	0	0	0
cf. Apple	Core	1	0.01	0	0	0	0

more likely to be preserved than hickory because they contain less oil. Five acorn meat and one possible acorn meat were identified in the Nassaw assemblages. In addition, the one hazel shell fragment was identified in the assemblage from Feature 3 at Charraw Town, and one possible chestnut shell fragment was recovered from the southern activity area at Nassaw.

The fleshy fruit group contains 11 taxa, which can be further categorized as either tree fruits or fruits of plants that grow on vines, shrubs, or as groundcover. In the Nation Ford assemblages, most tree fruit seeds are present in low quantities. Only 6 or less fragments of gum, persimmon, plum or cherry, and apple seed were identified in the assemblages. On the other hand, peach endocarp fragments are very common. Like hickory nutshell, the endocarp of peach fruits is very durable and remains highly identifiable when fragmentary. In addition to being dried and stored for food, peaches may also have served as medicine, despite containing cyanide like other seeds in the family Rosaceae (Barceloux 2008:342-344). Documented poisoning cases, however, involve the consumption of over 20 seeds at once. Speck (1944:46) notes that Catawba home remedies included eating peach seeds cracked out of the pits to relieve swellings known as “kernels,” which result from a bruise on some part of the body and could cause general illness. Fruits of plants that grow as vines and groundcover occur more frequently in the Nation Ford assemblages than tree fruits. These include watermelon, maypop, grape, blackberry and raspberry, and strawberry (Table 7.4). Eleven specimens of sumac were identified in assemblages from the northern house and activity areas at Nassaw. Although potentially eaten as a fleshy fruit, sumac has a variety of documented uses. The Cherokee have used different parts of the plant to treat discomforts ranging from dysentery to sunburn, while both the Creek and Delaware would smoke the leaves with tobacco to relieve respiratory problems (Moerman

Table 7.4. Counts of fleshy fruit, wild grains and legumes, greens, and carbonized seeds of plants used for medicine and other purposes.

Common name	Taxon	Nassaw	Weyapee	Charraw Town
<u>Fruit</u>				
Watermelon	<i>Citrullus lanatus</i>	0	0	1
Maypop	<i>Passiflora incarnata</i>	66	0	191
Grape	<i>Vitis</i> sp.	22	0	55
Blackberry/Raspberry	<i>Rubus</i> sp.	90	2	27
cf. Blackberry/Raspberry		0	0	3
Strawberry	<i>Fragaria</i> sp.	56	0	5
Sumac	<i>Rhus</i> sp.	11	0	0
<u>Wild grains and Legumes</u>				
Amaranth	<i>Amaranthus</i> sp.	2	0	0
Weedy Legume	Fabaceae	2	0	8
<u>Greens</u>				
Purslane	<i>Portulaca oleracea</i>	42	0	24
Pokeweed	<i>Phytolacca americana</i>	16	1	1
cf. Pokeweed		0	0	3
<u>Medicine/Other</u>				
Tobacco	<i>Nicotiana</i> sp.	6	0	5
Spurge	<i>Euphorbia</i> sp.	1	1	7
Bayberry	<i>Myrica</i> sp.	0	0	2
cf. Bayberry		0	0	1
Dogwood	<i>Cornus</i> sp.	5	0	0
Red cedar	<i>Juniperus virginiana</i>	11	0	0
Mustard family	Brassicaceae	1	0	0
Plantain	<i>Plantago</i> sp.	1	0	0
Verbena	<i>Verbena</i> sp.	0	0	1
Grass family	Poaceae	83	0	3
Bulrush	<i>Scirpus</i> sp.	1	0	0
cf. Bulrush		0	0	1

1986:402-406). Sumac was also used to make a lemonade-like beverage high in vitamin C (Black 1980:114, Parker 1910:96).

The only winter-ripening wild grains present in the Nation Ford assemblages are 2 amaranth seeds from Feature 53 at Nassaw. This general absence of cool-season grasses, which were domesticated prehistorically and continued to be used by some Southeastern groups into the eighteenth century, suggests that winter crop farming did not play a large role in Catawba subsistence scheduling. This lack of broadcast seed farming provides one possible explanation for the absence of European cereal remains from the mid-eighteenth century Catawba assemblages, despite the fact these materials have been found at contemporaneous Muskogee sites (Fitts 2015b:248). In this case, the geographic origins of cereals may not have as much to do with the absence of these taxa in Catawba assemblages as the fact that cereals are cool-season grasses. Weedy legumes, another class of edible wild seeds, were identified in one sample from the southern house area at Nassaw, as well as in Charraw Town samples from the midden and Features 2 and 6. These plants tend to colonize disturbed ground, and may have been encouraged when they invaded fields (Scarry 2003:71). Seeds from pokeweed and purslane—plants commonly used as greens—are also present in the collection. These plants may have been used as medicines in addition to being consumed as food. Pokeweed, for example, has been used by the Cherokee, Delaware, Mohegan, and Rappahannock to treat skin ulcers, swelling, poison ivy, and warts (Moerman 1986:184,337-8). The Cherokee and Delaware also identified it as “blood medicine,” with the cooked greens and sometimes roots being consumed to build, stimulate, and purify blood.

The final analytical category contains seeds from wild plants that were not food sources, suggesting they either were collected for other purposes or were materials from the local

environment carbonized by chance. Most of these taxa have documented uses as medicine. Plantain and dogwood, in particular, were used by the Catawba into the early twentieth century. According to Speck (1944: 44,46), the whole plant of white plantain (*Plantago virginica*), roots included, was boiled to make a tea given to children suffering from dysentery, while the bitterness of dogwood berries was thought to make them good for treating chills. Glossing tobacco as a medicine does not do justice to the variety of contexts in which it was used by Southeastern Indians, which ranged from the political negotiations of calumet ceremonies to ritual practices associated with conjury (Brown 2006, Hudson 1976:353-354). While tobacco was traded in leaf form during the eighteenth century, the presence of seeds indicates that Catawba households or individuals—since it was sometimes cultivated in secret (Hudson 1976:353)—were growing at least some of their own tobacco. Five carbonized tobacco seeds were identified in an assemblage from the Charraw Town midden; specimens were also identified in Nassaw Features 12, 21, and 24. The specimen from Feature 12 came from a zone of burned maize cobs and peach pits encountered at the bottom of pit, which is excluded from analysis here as it is more akin to a cob pit than feature fill. Although not undertaken for this study, future electron microscopy may help determine whether these specimens can be attributed to the North American tobacco *Nicotiana rustica* or its South American replacement *Nicotiana tabacum*, which was the economic crop introduced to the east coast by European colonists. Finally, grass and sedge seeds may have arrived in Catawba settlements along with the raw material used to make items such as baskets, mats, and brooms (Speck 1946:Fig.28). Most of the grass seeds identified in the Nation Ford collection come from a single feature at Nassaw (Feature 21). The 79 small grass seeds identified in this sample may be the remains of straw that was used for packing, and later burned to clean out the interior of the pit for re-use.

Creating meaningful comparisons between contexts with regard to plant and animal use requires investigating variation in taxon densities by context type, particularly if a goal of analysis is to characterize daily subsistence practices. Infrequent special events or cooking accidents may produce unusual assemblages, which while interesting in their own right, are not representative of how people processed foods and disposed of waste throughout the year. Before conducting statistical analyses of plant and animal materials from the Nation Ford sites, therefore, I first examine the distribution of row-planted cultigens, maize cupules, nutshell, and peach endocarp fragments using the context categories developed in Chapter 5. In doing so, I use two measures of volume standardization. The first, designated “ $Avg(x/L)$ ” is the context-wide average of the densities of each material (x) calculated per sample. In the second measure, “ T_x/TL ” all counts or weights of a material (x) in the same context are summed and divided by the total volume of flotation-processed soil attributed to that context. Comparing these two values provides an easy means of distinguishing contexts that have more between-sample density variation from those that have less.

Nassaw borrow pit samples contain the greatest densities of row-planted crop materials, at approximately 5 items per liter (Figure 7.2). The Weyapee samples, on the other hand, contain the lowest crop densities. Samples from Charraw features and the Nassaw midden areas produced relatively high values, while the Charraw midden and gully contexts have low standardized crop density measures. Nassaw midden samples contain the greatest variation in crop count densities. As maize cupules account for approximately 91% of all row-crop counts, much of this patterning can be explained by the distribution of these items (Figure 7.3). In order to account for differential fragmentation rates, maize cupule densities are calculated by weight. As expected, the results are similar to those obtained for crop count densities, with the Nassaw

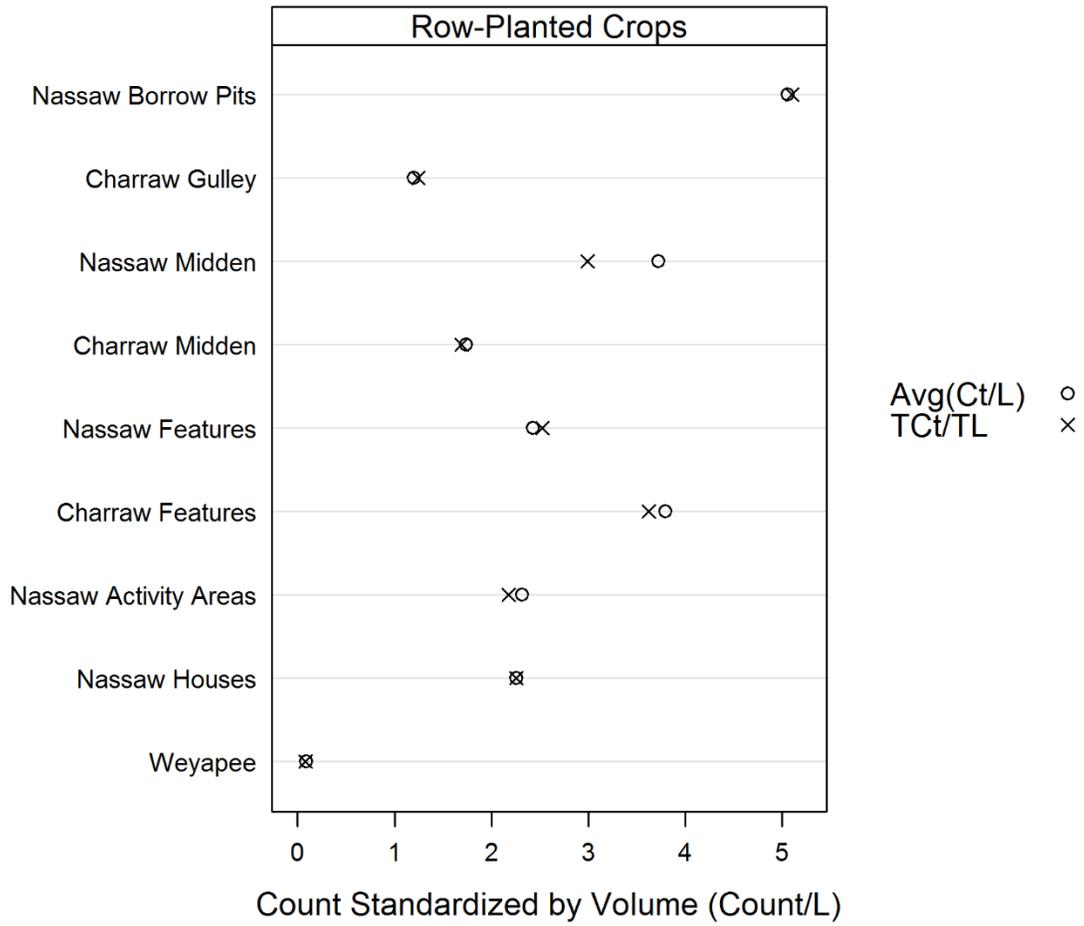


Figure 7.2. Density measures of row-planted crop counts by context.

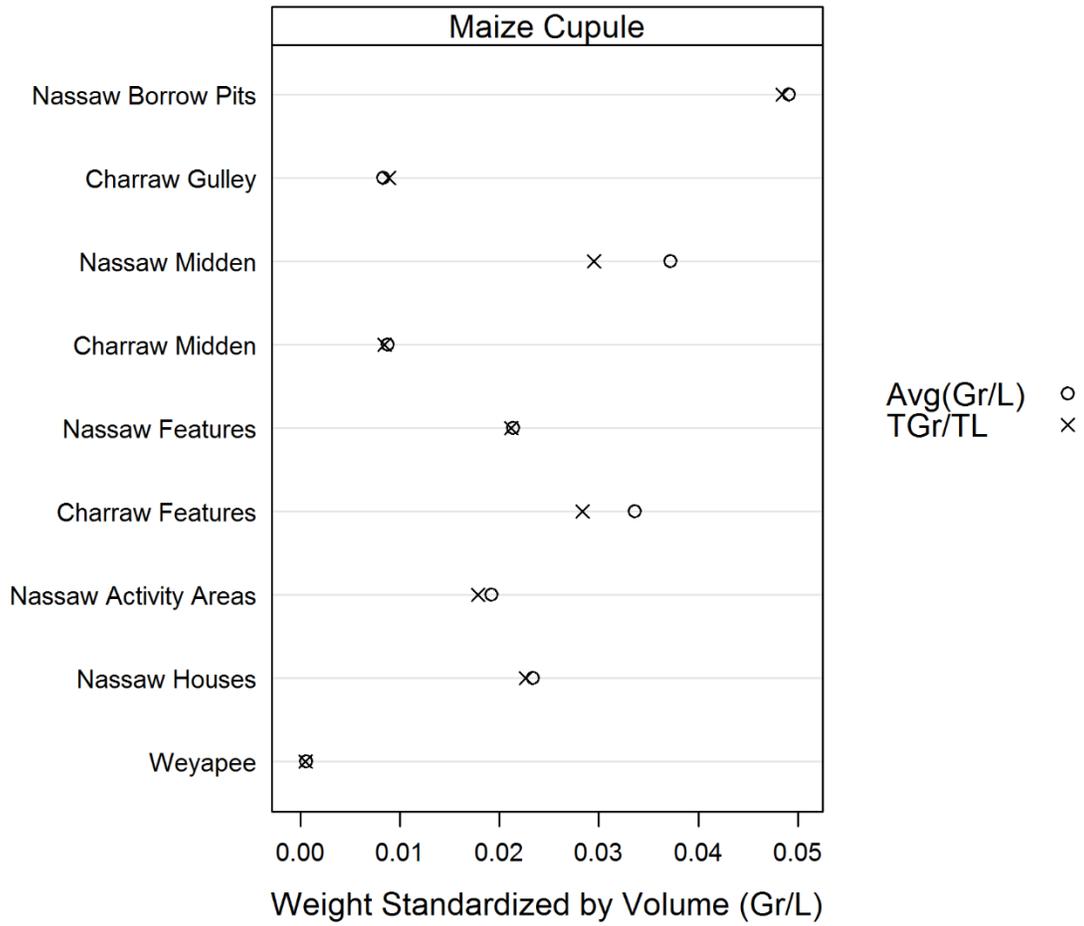


Figure 7.3. Density measures of maize cupule weight by context.

borrow pit and Weyapee samples yielding the highest and lowest values, respectively. Three groupings of contexts can be discerned between these two extremes. Nassaw midden and Charraw feature contexts again have relatively high density measures ranging between 0.03 and 0.04 grams per liter, and both also have greater between-sample variation than the other contexts. Nassaw houses, features, and activity areas all have middling cupule weight density values, between 0.02 and 0.03 grams per liter. Finally, the Charraw gully and midden samples have low cupule density values, around 0.01 grams per liter.

The standardized nutshell weights and fruit densities do not have the same distribution as maize cupule. The Charraw Town gully has low cupule densities but approximately twice the average density values of nutshell weight relative to the other contexts (Figure 7.4). The Nassaw borrow pit and midden samples, as well as the features from both Nassaw and Charraw Town, all have average nutshell density values between 0.05 and 0.15 grams per liter. The features from both sites yielded samples that display the most variation with regard to nutshell density. Average values below 0.05 grams per liter were obtained from Charraw midden samples, Nassaw activity area and house area samples, and Weyapee samples. The Nassaw house areas, which had middling maize cupule densities, have the lowest nutshell, fruit seed, and peach endocarp density values of any of the other contexts, suggesting that only maize was typically processed in these areas (Figures 7.5 and 7.6). The Charraw gully samples yielded the highest average peach endocarp density values, approaching 0.05 grams per liter, while Charraw features and the Nassaw borrow pits have the highest count densities of other fruit taxa. Charraw feature samples and Nassaw midden samples both have peach density values that range between 0.02 and 0.04 grams per liter, and have high variation between samples. The remaining contexts have peach density values below 0.02 grams per liter. Fruit remains other than peach endocarp occur

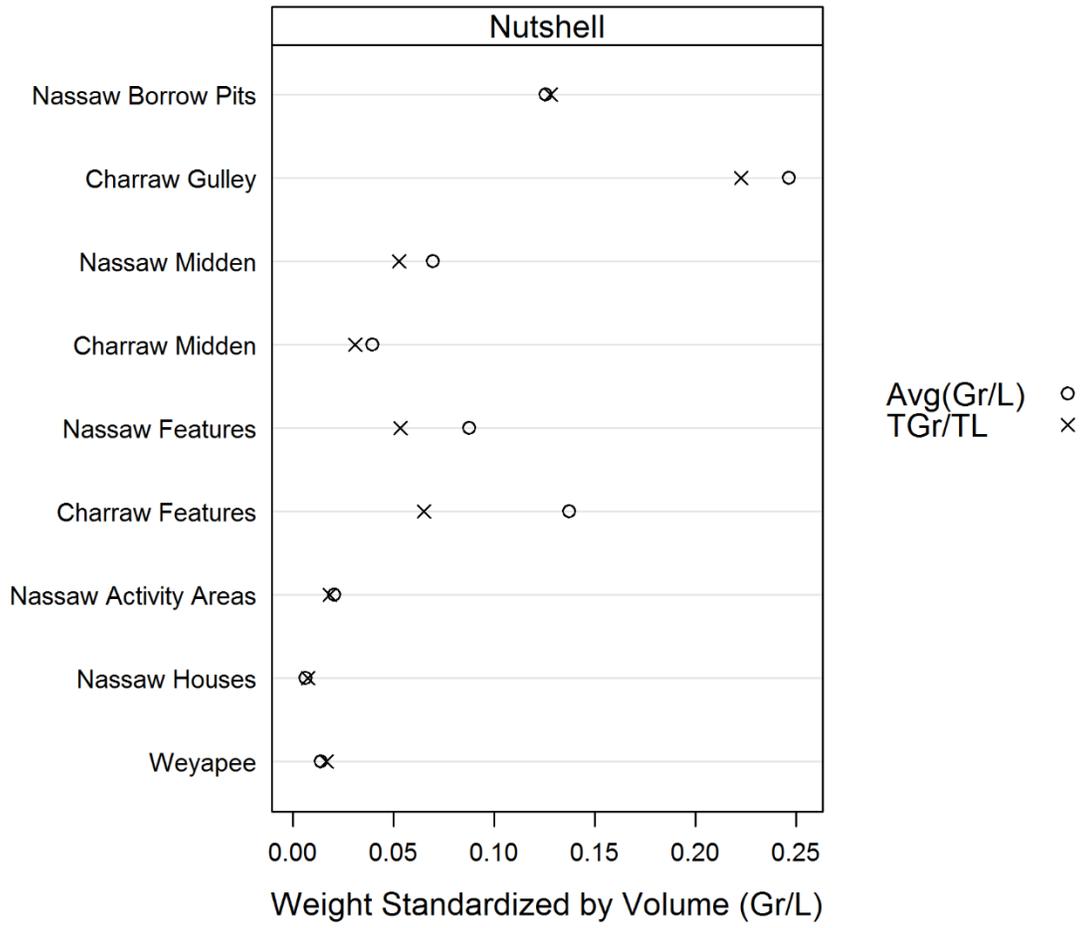


Figure 7.4. Density measures of nutshell weight by context.

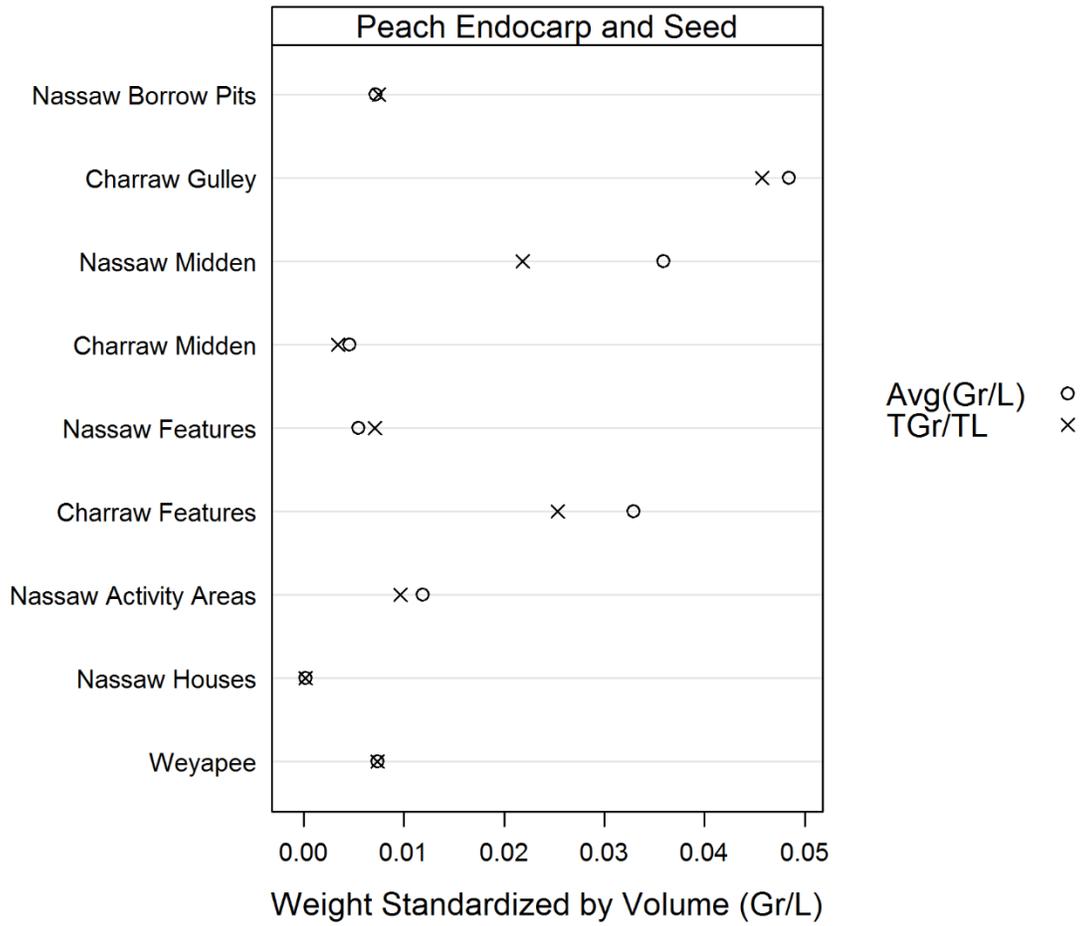


Figure 7.5. Density measures of peach endocarp and seed weight by context.

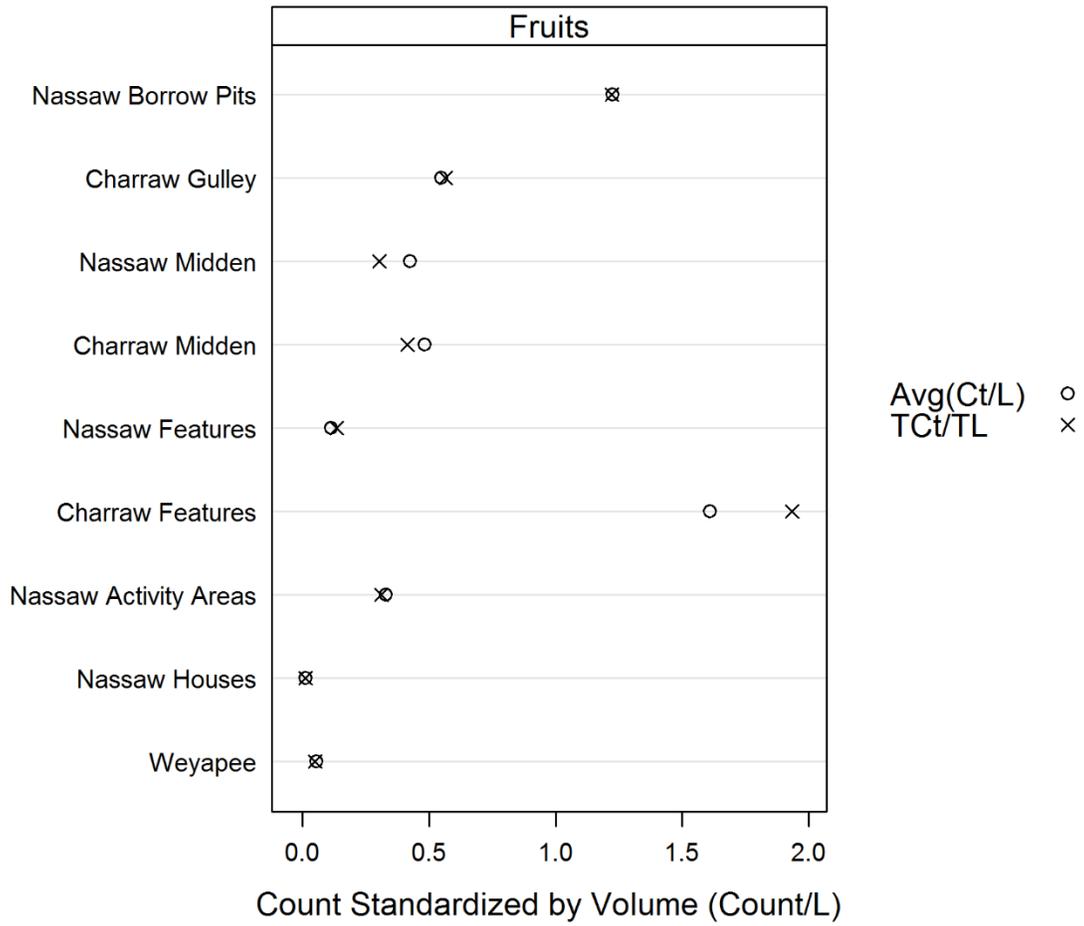


Figure 7.6. Density measures of fruit remains other than peach, by context.

in greater densities in all Charraw contexts relative to Nassaw contexts, with the exception of the borrow pit features.

Taken together, these distributions provide important information about the Nation Ford macrobotanical data. First and foremost, variation in the prevalence of these different materials suggests that taxa density is not a direct function of the total carbonized plant material in a given sample. Second, samples from features exhibit the highest variation in density values. This is not surprising, since feature fill not only contains soil from the surrounding area, but may also contain materials from other activities such as intentional waste disposal or pit cleaning and reconstruction. And perhaps most significantly, comparison of these densities shows that the Charraw gully and Nassaw borrow pit contexts were produced by food-related activities that differ from those which produced the other contexts, and should be considered separately in the following analyses.

Faunal Remains. Mammals account for approximately 93% of the identified animal bone specimens from Nassaw and Charraw Town that could be attributed to class (Tables 7.5 and 7.6). The single animal bone that could be attributed to class from Weyapee is also from an (unidentified) mammal. The most frequently enumerated mammals from the Nation Ford assemblages that could be attributed to genus or species are White-Tailed Deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*), Black Bear (*Ursus americanus*), and Cow (*Bos taurus*). Deer are the most frequently identified mammal specimens at Nassaw, and bear the most frequently identified mammal specimens at Charraw Town. However, it is likely that most of the 61 Charraw Town specimens attributed to Artiodactyla—the class of even-toed ungulates including pig, deer, sheep, and goats—are deer remains. Regardless of variation in the number of identified species counts, the minimum number of deer and bear for each site is 3 and 1, respectively. The same is

Table 7.5. Mammal and bird remains from Nassaw and Charraw Town.

Taxon	Common Name	Nassaw		Charraw Town	
		NISP	Weight (g)	NISP	Weight (g)
<i>Urocyon cinereoargenteus</i>	Gray Fox	1	0.2	1	<0.1
Canini	Dog/Wolf/Coyote	0	0	1	0.2
cf. <i>Canis</i> sp.		0	0	2	1.7
<i>Mephitis mephitis</i>	Striped Skunk	3	2.4	0	0
<i>Ondatra zibethicus</i>	Muskrat	3	3.5	0	0
<i>Procyon lotor</i>	Raccoon	1	0.4	0	0
<i>Sciurus</i> sp.	Squirrel	5	0.5	0	0
<i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	White-tailed Deer	201	346.7	30	231.4
cf. <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>		0	0	3	4.9
Artiodactyla	Deer, Sheep, Goat, Pig	1	0.3	61	116.8
cf. Artiodactyla		0	0	1	6.2
Artiodactyla II	Deer, Sheep, Goat	0	0	3	23.1
<i>Ursus americanus</i>	Black Bear	11	18.3	39	247.8
cf. <i>Ursus americanus</i>		0	0	2	1.2
<i>Bos taurus</i>	Cow	24	348.2	4	60.2
cf. <i>Bos taurus</i>		0	0	2	1.9
Cow or Horse		0	0	1	9.6
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	Pig	4	31.3	0	0
Large Mammal		105	154.8	45	231.3
Mammal		1767	788.6	2359	414.9
<i>Meleagris gallapavo</i>	Turkey	0	0	1	0.7
Large Bird		21	6.9	10	2.9
Medium Bird		1	0.1	6	0.6
Passeriformes	Perching birds	1	0.1	3	<0.1
Unidentified Bird		0	0	3	<0.1
Eggshell		0		14	

Table 7.6. Reptile, fish, and mollusk remains from Nassaw and Charraw Town.

Taxon	Common Name	Nassaw		Charraw Town	
		NISP	Weight (g)	NISP	Weight (g)
cf. <i>Chelydra serpentina</i>	Snapping Turtle	0	0	1	5.2
<i>Chrysemys</i> sp.	Painted Turtle	0	0	1	<0.1
cf. <i>Pseudemys</i> sp.	Cooters	0	0	30	34
<i>Chrysemys</i> or <i>Pseudemys</i>	Cooter/Painted Turtle	0	0	10	19.1
<i>Terrapene carolina</i>	Box Turtle	24	2.1	30	29.6
Unidentified Turtle		76	18.4	89	28.2
cf. <i>Nerodia</i> sp.	Water Snake	0	0	3	<0.1
Colubridae	Non-venomous snake	1	0.1	0	0
Unidentified Snake		2	0.2	1	<0.1
cf. <i>Amia calva</i>	cf. Bowfin	0	0	1	<0.1
<i>Lepisosteus</i> sp.	Garfish	0	0	2	<0.1
<i>Micropterus salmoides</i>	Largemouth Bass	1	0.1	0	0
<i>Micropterus</i> sp.	Bass	0	0	1	<0.1
<i>Pomoxis annularis</i>	White Crappie	0	0	1	<0.1
Catostomidae	Suckers	0	0	1	<0.1
<i>Ameiurus</i> sp.	Bullhead Catfish	1	0.1	0	0
Ictaluridae	Catfish	0	0	6	<0.1
Perciformes	Ray-finned fish	0	0	4	<0.1
Osteichthyes	Bony fish	1	0.1	0	0
Unidentified Fish		0	0	15	<0.1
Unionidae	Freshwater mussel	1	0.4	0	0
Stylomatophora	Terrestrial mollusk	2	0.2	0	0

true for cow remains—despite variations in individual bone counts, these assemblages could have been produced by a single individual in each case. A variety of smaller mammals were also identified in the mid-eighteenth century assemblages. The southern Nassaw midden, which exhibited exceptional preservation possibly associated with lowered soil acidity caused by a stand of red cedar (Prescott et. al 2000:1345), yielded Gray Fox (*Urocyon cinereoargenteus*), Striped Skunk (*Mephitis mephitis*), Raccoon (*Procyon lotor*), and squirrel (*Sciurus* sp.) bones. A squirrel jaw was also recovered from the northern Nassaw midden area, along with Pig (*Sus scrofa*) teeth and the lower leg bones of a Muskrat (*Ondatra zibethicus*). Presence of cow and pig bones in the Nation Ford assemblages alongside wild animals that were hunted and trapped suggests the mid-eighteenth Catawba were not averse to experimenting with livestock. While some of these animals may have been strays or obtained from neighboring plantations, in at least one instance North Carolina agreed to provide the Nation with beef. The agent hired to purchase and distribute this livestock made money on the exchange by supplying the Catawba with old bulls, and in the spring of 1759 Eractasswa Nopkehe responded by traveling to the Salisbury Court to complain of receiving “nothing But Stallion Cows” (Merrell 1989:164-165). While this interest in the sex of the cattle may indicate bulls were not considered good to eat, it is also possible that after the hardships of the mid-eighteenth century, some Catawba were interested not just in receiving supplementary meat on the hoof but also in husbanding their own population of animals.

Most of the bird remains from Nassaw and Charraw Town are from large animals that cannot be attributed to a genus or species (Table 7.5). However, one turkey specimen (*Meleagris gallapavo*) was identified in the assemblage from Feature 3 at Charraw Town and it is likely that many of the large bird specimens are turkey bones. The presence of medium-sized bird bones

and eggshell in the Charraw assemblage raise the question of whether chickens or other domestic fowl had been acquired by Nation Ford communities. Although this topic cannot be addressed with the present data, techniques such as DNA extraction may help determine whether this was the case. Finally, several perching bird specimens are present in the Nassaw and Charraw Town assemblages. In his review of Catawba hunting practices, Speck (1946:13) describes a practice called “bird bushing,” a collective activity in which small perching birds were taken at night by surrounding a brush roost, surprising the birds with torches, and stunning them before they could escape. In Speck’s estimation, the communal aspect of this hunting practice made it a likely candidate for being an “archaic,” rather than recently adopted practice. They may also have been acquired with the use of blowguns (Speck 1946:12).

Both aquatic and terrestrial turtle specimens are present in the Nation Ford faunal assemblages, accounting for 97% of the reptile remains (Table 7.6). The majority of these bones are shell fragments, although a Box Turtle (*Terrapene carolina*) tibia and a possible Snapping Turtle (cf. *Chelydra serpentina*) scapula are present in the Feature 3 and 4 assemblages from Charraw Town, respectively. It is notable that all of the aquatic species identified—including possible Snapping Turtle, Red-Eared Slider (*Chrysemys* sp.), and possible Cooters (*Pseudemys* sp.)—are part of the Charraw Town assemblage. Given the durability of turtle remains and the quantity present (Nassaw n=100, Charraw Town n=161), this difference may be an indication of differing hunting practices rather than an effect of preservation or sample size.

Fish remains account for less than 1% of the identified specimens from Nassaw and Charraw Town. Since feature contexts were both waterscreened and sampled for flotation, this pattern is probably not a product of sampling bias. At the later Catawba sites of Ayers Town (c. 1781–1800), Old Town (1761–c. 1800), and New Town (c. 1790–1820), which were excavated

using similar methods and sampling techniques, bony fish account for between 12 and 32% of identified specimens (Whyte 2015:252-257). This may be evidence that less fish were consumed in mid-eighteenth century Catawba communities. However, it is also possible that this pattern is a product of differential disposal practices. Experimental studies of fish bone digestion suggest that only 10% of bones consumed may be identifiable afterwards (Wheeler and Jones 1989:74). If people did not debone fish, or if scavengers such as dogs were regularly fed fish remains, fewer bones would survive to be identified. Fish remains could also have been used to amend the soil in fields. However, it is unclear why any such practices would have changed in the late eighteenth century, so the possibility of a subsistence-based difference should not be ruled out. While relatively small, the Nation Ford fish assemblage includes at least 6 taxa: Gar (*Lepisosteus* sp.), Largemouth Bass (*Micropterus salmoides*), White Crappie (*Pomoxis annularis*), suckers (Catostomidae), Bullhead Catfish (*Ameiurus* sp.), and a possible Bowfin (cf. *Amia calva*). Speck (1946:13-19) documents a range of technologies the Catawba used to catch fish, including traps, spears, bow and arrow, hook and line, and poisoning with black walnut.

The Nassaw midden and Charraw features yielded most of the bones attributable to wild and domestic mammals, birds, box turtles, aquatic turtles, and fish (Table 7.7). Correspondingly, they produced the most diverse assemblages. In addition, this contextual comparison shows that all of the aquatic turtle specimens identified at Charraw Town are from feature contexts. The Charraw Town midden samples, on the other hand, contain only three bones that could be attributed to these groupings. This is consistent with the finding that the Charraw midden samples have low densities of maize cupule, nutshell, and peach endocarp. The Nassaw features, on the other hand, have relatively high carbonized plant content but yielded fewer identifiable animal bone specimens than the Charraw features. Overall, it appears that the Nassaw midden

Table 7.7. Wild and domestic mammals, birds, box turtle, aquatic turtle, and fish from Nassaw and Charraw Town, NISP by context.

Site	Context	Wild Mammal	Domestic Mammal	Birds	Box Turtle	Aquatic Turtle	Fish
Nassaw	Midden	108	14	22	20	0	1
	Borrow pits	89	6	1	0	0	1
	Features	18	2	0	0	0	1
	Activity area	8	6	0	4	0	0
Charraw Town	Midden	1	2	0	0	0	0
	Gulley	27	2	0	3	0	0
	Features	35	2	21	27	42	31
	House area*	6	0	2	0	0	0

* 1/4" screen only

and Charraw Town features can be interpreted as “secondary” deposits of subsistence remains (Schiffer 1987). In other words, they were places where people habitually disposed materials not considered useful. For the Nassaw midden, this finding is consistent with the presence of large sherds and glass fragments as discussed in Chapter 5. The Charraw midden area also may have been a secondary deposit, but soil movement associated with plowing or terracing has reduced its integrity. While only a handful of pit features have been excavated at Charraw Town, what data we do have suggest that Charraw Town residents were more likely to fill old storage pits with subsistence waste than their Nassaw contemporaries. Based on this assessment, any investigation of routine faunal consumption at Nassaw and Charraw should take into account both midden and feature contexts.

Everyday Subsistence and Special Events in a Precarious Landscape

Missionary William Richardson was disappointed with his 1758 audience with Eractasswa Nopkehe. “When the Discourse was about Corn etc.,” Richardson (Nov. 11, 1758)

wrote in his journal, “he seemed to understand, but any Thing else he seemed at a Loss.” Richardson attributed this behavior to Nopkehe’s poor grasp of English, but Merrell (1989:165) suggests that the Catawba leader was acting with practiced calculation. Ever since South Carolina provided the Nation corn instead of bullets in 1756, Nopkehe applied himself to exploiting the Catawba’s *precarious* position by extracting as much food aid as possible from various factions of European settlers through use of his diplomatic position. While the Eractasswa’s efforts to help alleviate food insecurity in the Nation can be tracked through documents, it is the strategies and labors of ordinary Catawba men and women that I hope to illuminate through this examination of subsistence remains. Since I am interested in how women contributed to community coalescence and Catawba ethnogenesis, the following analysis is centered on the products of their fields and gardens, and the wild foods that women and children collected in the surrounding landscape. Catawba warriors’ participation in the Seven Years War, drought, community aggregation, and spatial circumscription caused by threat of enemy raids and settler encroachment together formed a precarious landscape that tested received wisdom concerning land management practices and food production. Further, if ceramic production was undertaken in discrete work groups, as proposed in Chapter 6, maintenance of community boundaries may have played a role in how Catawba women’s subsistence work was organized. Taking into account characteristics of the macrobotanical and faunal assemblages just discussed, I undertake separate assessments of materials that appear to be the remains of everyday subsistence practices and those which seem to have been produced by episodic special events. In both cases, it appears that Catawba households were fostering extramural relationships to cope with the challenges they faced in the mid-eighteenth century.

The analysis of everyday subsistence practices requires a conceptual distinction between time and history. Kubler (1962:71-21) articulates this difference from a phenomenological perspective, arguing that our perception of time “depends upon regularly recurrent events,” while our experience of history is tied to the perception of “unforeseeable change and variety.” In other words, “without change there is no history; without regularity there is no time” (Kubler 1962:72). While no two undertakings are exactly alike, it is the perception of similarity that defines everyday life as such. The existence of variation from repetition to repetition may exist in practice, but these differences are generally imperceptible to both the individual in history and the archaeologist seeking to learn about his or her activities. Deposits like middens, which contain debris that has accumulated over time, contain the residue of all these repetitions *en masse*. In assessing the significance of archaeobotanical assemblages, Bush (2004:85) suggests they generally can be conceived as “the accumulated detritus of repeated events where variations among individual episodes have been evened out, leaving the usual, the composite, and the ordinary.” Similarly, Stevens (2003:61) suggests that most assemblages of charred plant remains from agricultural societies can be attributed “to the waste generated from the routine processing of crops taken from storage throughout the year,” with the implication being that this waste can be used to characterize the extent to which materials were processed prior to storage. Since I plan to evaluate everyday food processing activities in the Nation Ford settlements with respect to models of stress response, it is first necessary to compare the mid-eighteenth Catawba assemblages to existing data from late seventeenth and early eighteenth century sites. I next use ratios to assess the extent to which Nassaw and Charraw Town women were farming and foraging, and evaluate patterns of maize and deer processing waste. Since it appears that

Charraw Town women were undertaking less processing activities at home relative to their Nassaw contemporaries, I conclude by examining possible explanations for this difference.

The everyday foodways practices of mid-eighteenth century Catawba households were learned from mothers and grandmothers who had lived during the height of the Indian Slave Trade. Thus any interpretation of Nassaw and Charraw Town subsistence requires a familiarity with practices of this earlier period. Unfortunately, little comparative data from lower Catawba valley sites is available. The only accessible study of seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century Catawba subsistence remains conducted to date was undertaken by Jamie Civitello (2005) under the mentorship of Gail Wagner at the University of South Carolina. Civitello examined flotation samples from Spratt's Bottom (38Yk3), a multi-component site located on the east (north) side of the Catawba River just west of Nation Ford (Figure 7.7). Two distinct occupations of this site took place: one between A.D. 920 and 1276, and the other—based on a preponderance of 5/64 inch-bore kaolin pipe stems—from ca. 1720 to 1750 (Civitello 2005:47). As discussed in Chapter 5, this later component may be the product of an earlier iteration of the Nassaw community. In the early eighteenth century, Nassaw was the first Catawba town encountered by southward-bound Virginia traders (Byrd 2001[1841]:85). This suggests the settlement was located along the main trading path, and Spratt's Bottom is located adjacent to this thoroughfare. The goal of Civitello's research was to examine anthropogenic landscape change. She found that an increase in maize ubiquity from the prehistoric to the historic component (25% to 71%) coincided with an increase in the use of pine for firewood (Civitello 2005:98). The prehistoric wood assemblage consisted of 71% oak, 12% southern pine, and 6% hickory, while the historic component contained 65% pine, 27% oak, and 2% hickory. This pattern—which was likely linked to the longevity of the Nation Ford towns and settlement aggregation—suggests the

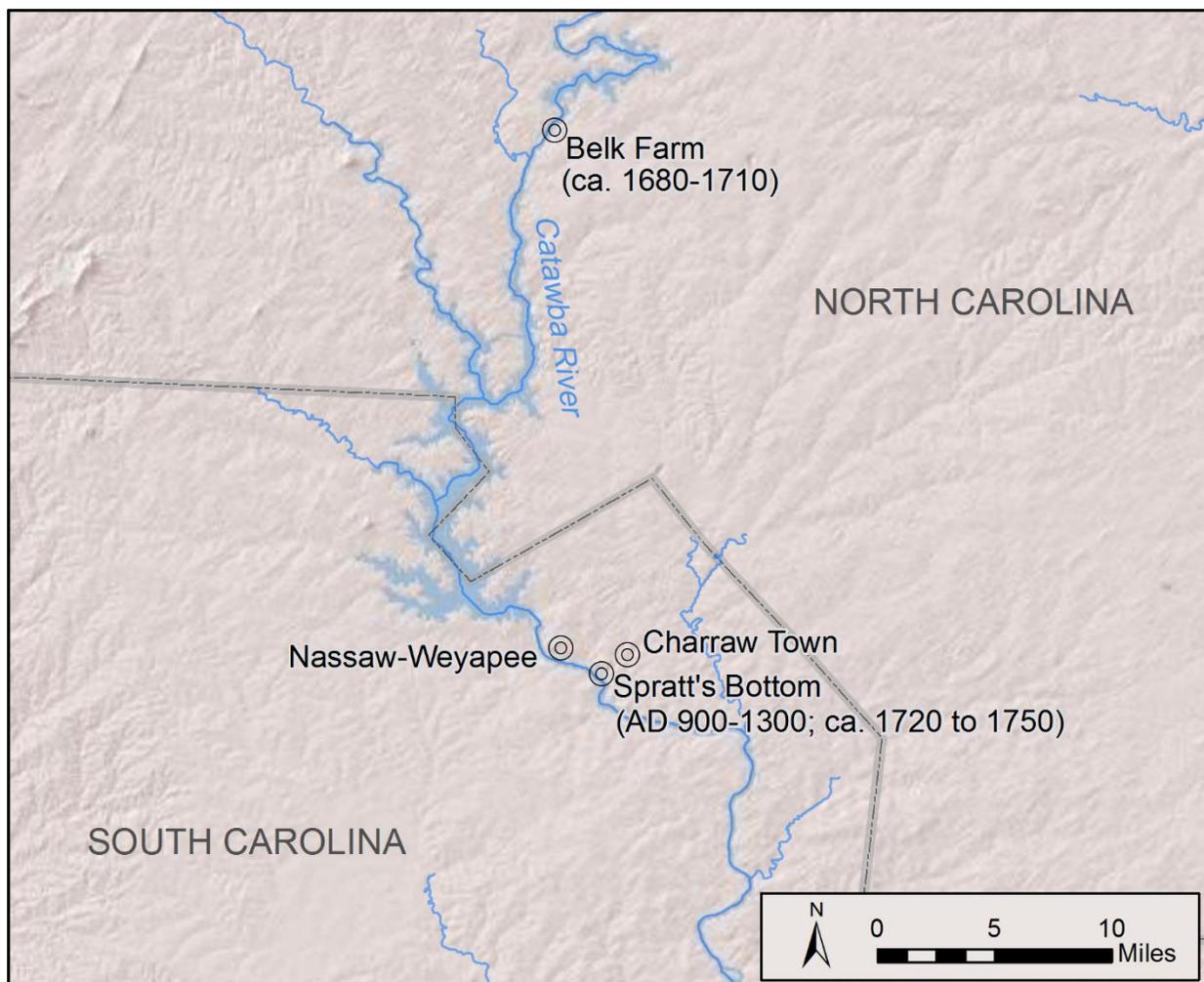


Figure 7.7. Location of Spratt's Bottom and Belk Farm relative to Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town.

eighteenth-century inhabitants of Spratt's Bottom had cleared more land than their predecessors to place under cultivation, to obtain firewood, or perhaps both.

Another source of information about daily subsistence in the lower Catawba valley during the early historic period comes in the form of a small collection of macrobotanical and faunal remains from the Belk Farm site (31Mk85), located about 30 miles (48 km) upriver from the Nation Ford settlements (Figure 7.7). These materials were collected from two features examined during a salvage excavation in 1964, one of which was a shallow "roasting pit" comparable to features found at Dan River sites (Wilson 1983:455). Glass beads recovered from Belk Farm suggest this location was inhabited ca. 1680-1710, and the pottery assemblage, attributed to the Cowans Ford series, is comparable to the Nation Ford ceramics (Moore 2002:154, Riggs 2010:34). I analyzed the macrobotanical remains from Belk Farm, which were all recovered from Feature 2, the probable roasting pit. Although information about recovery methods is not available, it appears these materials were collected as hand-picked specimens, with the adhering soil washed through window screen. Materials from only four taxa were identified, which is not surprising given the nature of the assemblage. These include maize, acorn meats and shell, hickory shell, and peach endocarp fragments (Table 7.8). Acorn meats and shell account for half of all these materials by weight, suggesting that this feature may have been used to parch acorns prior to storage (Peles and Scarry 2015:7-16). The Belk Farm faunal assemblage, which consists of 299 specimens weighing a total of 626.2 grams was examined by Ashley Peles (Table 7.9). Identified taxa include deer, bear, and three kinds of turtles: box turtle, cooter, and Red-Eared Slider (*Chrysemys scripta*). Four specimens of unidentified fish taxa are also present in the assemblage. Although these data are not particularly robust, in combination

Table 7.8. Plant remains from Belk Farm Feature 2.

Material	1957eb23 Feature 2, Cleaning profile	1957eb35 Feature 2
Wood (g)	9.32	2.57
Maize cupule >2 mm	3	
Maize cupule >2 mm (g)	0.12	
Maize cob row section cupule count estimate	2	
Maize cob row section (g)	0.08	
Acorn meat	52	
Acorn meat (g)	15.42	
Acorn nutshell >2mm	27	
Acorn nutshell >2mm (g)	0.32	
Acorn nutshesll <2mm	8	
Acorn nutshesll <2mm (g)	0.02	
Hickory nutshell >2mm	51	1
Hickory nutshell >2mm (g)	11.89	0.17
Peach endocarp >2mm		15
Peach endocarp >2mm (g)		3.41

Table 7.9. Faunal remains from Belk Farm.

Taxon	Common Name	NISP	Weight (g)
<i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	White-tailed Deer	32	291.7
Artiodactyla	Deer, Sheep, Goat, Pig	125	170.7
<i>Ursus americanus</i>	Black Bear	1	1.8
cf. <i>Ursus americanus</i>		3	72.5
Mammal		105	34.8
<i>Chrysemys scripta</i>	Red-Eared Slider	2	0.8
<i>Pseudemys</i> sp.	Cooters	1	0.8
<i>Terrapene carolina</i>	Box Turtle	3	42.1
Unidentified Turtle		15	2.9
Unidentified Fish		4	0.2
Unionidae	Freshwater mussel	5	7.9

with the Spratt's Bottom samples they provide a general sense of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century subsistence practices in the lower Catawba valley.

The limited character of precedent data available for the lower Catawba valley can be mitigated by examining patterns of subsistence change that took place in neighboring regions at roughly the same time. As previously mentioned, VanDerwarker et al. (2013:72) propose that households experiencing subsistence stress associated with uncertainties of the colonial period may have increased their foraging activities relative to farming, as foraged wild foods provide immediate returns and crops require a delay between planting and harvest. In addition, households may have diversified their plant use, and placed less emphasis on any one particular resource. While an increase in fruit seed counts is evident in the Cherokee assemblages they consider, wild edible seeds and nutshell counts decrease from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries. VanDerwarker et al. (2013:80) attribute this decline to the “amount of time and/or energy investment in the actual production and processing of the food item prior to consumption.” In addition processing concerns, changes in plant use may have been influenced by the roles these foods played in everyday meals. The nuts utilized by Southeastern Indians, in particular, differ significantly in their nutritional content and the manner in which they were prepared and consumed (Scarry 2003:57-69). Hickory nuts were processed for oil, while acorns—which are high in starch content—were leached, parched, and pounded into a meal that could be used to thicken broths or make breads and gruels. In fact, acorns are nutritionally similar to maize (Gremillion 1989:246), which was also parched, ground, and used as a thickening agent. This similarity in the dietary and culinary roles of acorns and maize has been implicated in large-scale subsistence changes in the Southeast, and also may be relevant for understanding patterns of farming and nut use in the lower Catawba valley.

People throughout the Eastern Woodlands began to consume more starchy foods beginning about two thousand years ago. In the Ohio Valley and the American Bottom, starchy seeds such as chenopodium were domesticated, while people living further east intensified their use of acorns (Scarry 2003:93). One site in the lower Catawba valley that provides evidence of this systematic acorn use is the late Woodland/early Mississippian Ashe Ferry site (38Yk533), located approximately 15 miles (24 km) downriver from Nation Ford. The presence of large acorn leaching pits and parching facilities, but little evidence of occupation, suggest that this location served as an “acorn camp” (mast processing station) over a 350-year period between A.D. 1000 and 1350 (Riggs et al. 2015:8-2). While no fifteenth or sixteenth century subsistence data are available for the lower Catawba valley, a decrease in acorn use and increase in maize farming during the Mississippian period has been documented for sites in the interior Southeast (Yarnell and Black 1985:97, Scarry 2003:88). Despite the adoption of maize, acorns remained an important resource in the southern Appalachian piedmont. However, during the seventeenth century their use declined in the Dan River drainage, as well as at Cherokee sites (Gremillion 1989:244-245). Gremillion (1989:246-248) suggests that women may have begun to plant more maize because when field labor, processing time, and yields per acre are taken into account, maize production is more energetically efficient than acorn production. While Gremillion sees this shift as a logical outcome of efficiency, other considerations may be relevant given its timing. First, population aggregation and settlement circumscription may have led women to select more efficient food production practices in general. In addition, community relocation associated with the Indian slave trade may have disrupted long-standing grove tenure rights. Further, management practices such as clearing around trees—which would have resulted in larger nut yields—have very long delays between investment and reward. While there is a delay

between labor outlay and reward with maize farming, as noted by VanDerwarker et al. (2013), when compared to grove management practices with which Southeastern women were familiar, this delay may have seemed relatively small. Further, practices such as maintaining varieties of maize with different ripening times and planting multiple crops per year would have reduced this interval even further. This control over ripening times, coupled with the portability of maize, suggest that in some cases agricultural intensification may have been preferred over foraging as a response to the uncertainty of the colonial period. Safety concerns also may have contributed to a focus on farming, particularly if fields were proximal to settlements. Given threats of enemy raids, women may have felt safer working in fields and gardens that afforded better visibility and were closer to home, as opposed to traveling through wooded environments to collect nuts.

The possibility that women from some communities may have intensified agricultural activities in response to colonial-period stressors, while others pursued a risk-averse strategy of diversification, can be examined using measures of diversity and evenness. The Shannon-Weaver function (H') is one widely-used measure of diversity that assesses the heterogeneity of a sample (Reitz and Wing 1999:105-106). This calculation takes into account evenness of taxa abundance, such that given samples with the same number of taxa, assemblages with similar counts of all taxa will be considered more diverse than those in which some taxa are more numerous than others. Unlike the diversity index, equitability (V') does not take the number of taxa into account, instead measuring the evenness of a sample's distribution, such that a sample with equal counts of all taxa will yield a V' value of 1. VanDerwarker et al. (2013:74,81) provide Shannon-Weaver diversity and equitability measures for 19 different Piedmont Siouan and Cherokee components with occupation spans ranging from A.D. 1400 to 1780. Averaging the Cherokee data for three periods dating between A.D. 1760 and 1780, they identify a broad

trend of increasing diversity and equitability over time. Rather than average these values, I plot them as individual data points against the mean occupation date of each component, and include calculations of Shannon-Weaver diversity and evenness for the macrobotanical assemblages from Nassaw, Charraw Town, and the historic component of Spratt's Bottom (Figures 7.8 and 7.9). The Nassaw borrow pit features and Charraw Town gully were excluded from analysis in the interest of providing measures that reflect the everyday farming and foraging activities of Catawba households.

As expected, the diversity measures generally increase over time (Figure 7.8). Components with mean occupation dates prior to 1720 tend to have values below 1.2, while most components with mean occupation dates after 1720 have diversity indices between 1.2 and 1.8. All three Catawba components fall within this latter range, with the Nassaw assemblage yielding a value of 1.24, the Spratt's Bottom assemblage a value of 1.4, and Charraw Town assemblage a value of 1.7. While this shift towards more diverse plant use seems to occur after the height of the Indian slave trade, this may be a result of the "averaged" character of macrobotanical assemblages. If women began to change their subsistence strategies sometime between 1670 and 1720, the material results of this change would be combined with some that predated it. At new towns established in the eighteenth century, however, women arrived with the intent of pursuing risk-averse diversification strategies. While there is a general trend of increasing diversity values over time, the presence of outliers suggests that this was not a universal response. The possibility that intensification was preferred in some communities can be inferred from the equitability data (Figure 7.9). There is a bifurcated pattern in the data after 1720, with some sites having equitability values above 0.5, and others around or below 0.4. Charraw Town and Spratt's Bottom have equitability values of 0.57 and 0.59, respectively, and cluster with the Cherokee

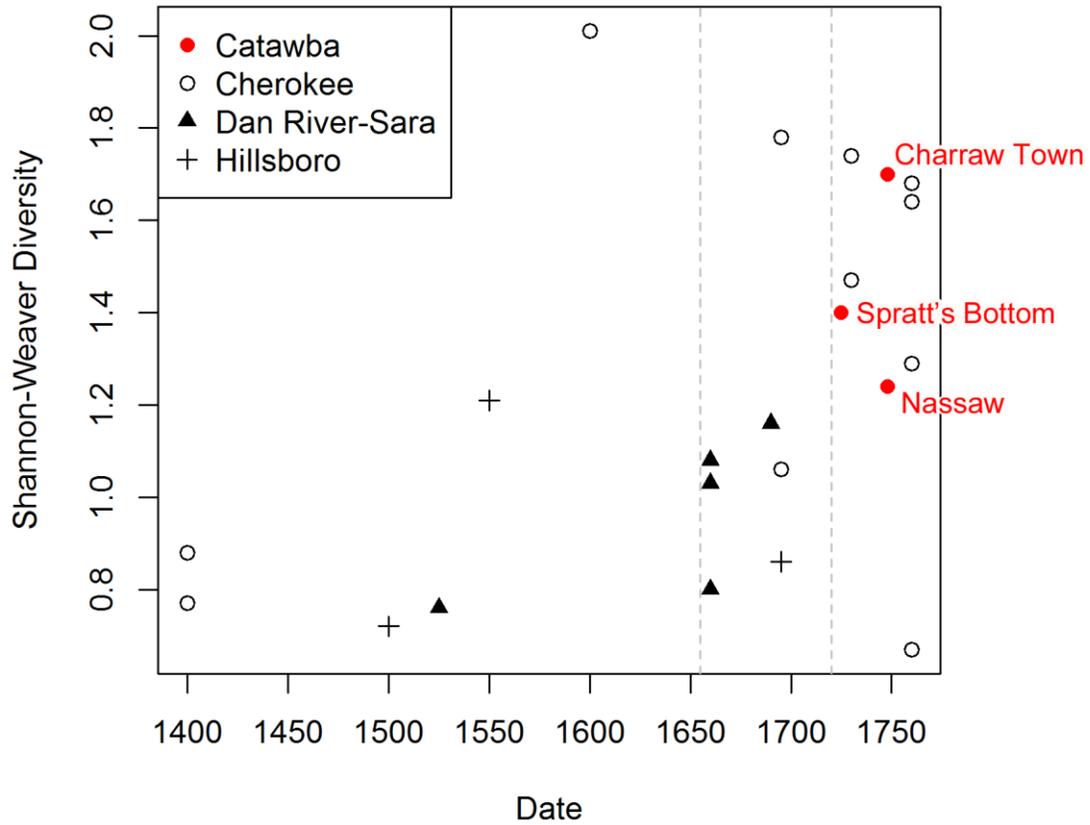


Figure 7.8. Shannon-Weaver Diversity (H') values for late prehistoric and colonial period macrobotanical assemblages from Cherokee, Piedmont Siouan, and Catawba sites. Dotted lines demarcate the height of the Indian Slave Trade. All non-Catawba values calculated by VanDerwarker et al. (2013).

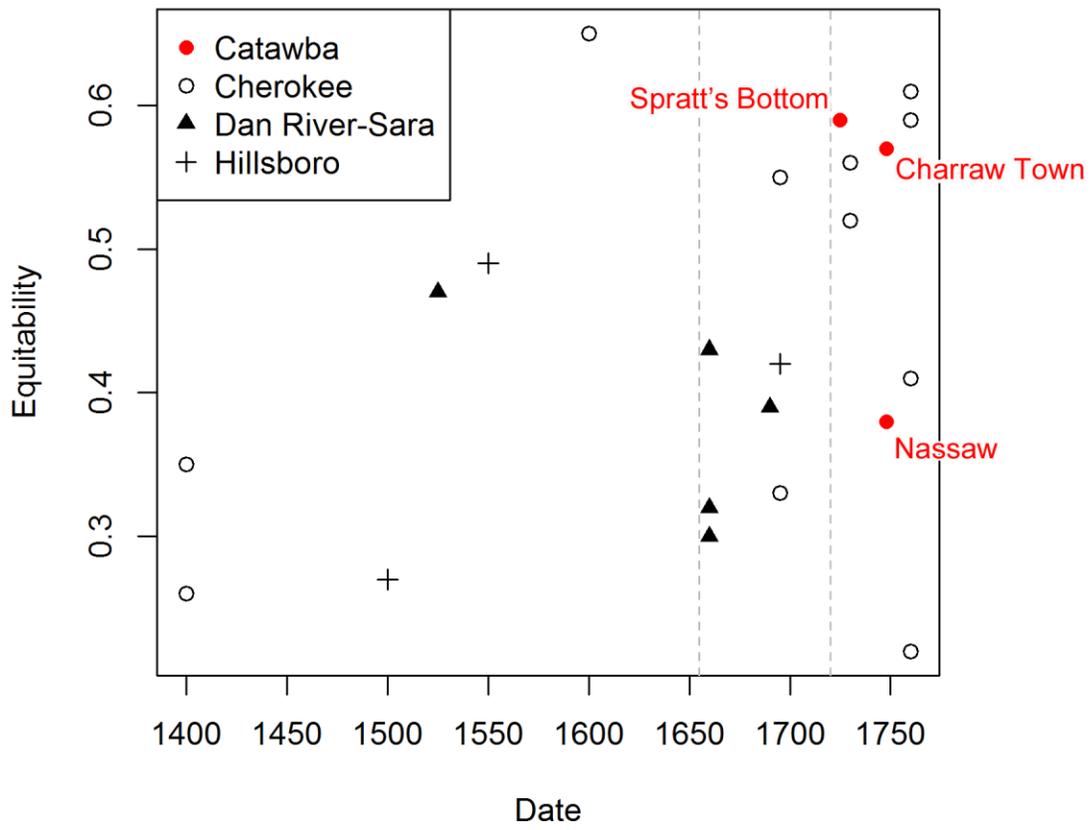


Figure 7.9. Equitability (V') values for late prehistoric and colonial period macrobotanical assemblages from Cherokee, Piedmont Siouan, and Catawba sites. Dotted lines demarcate the height of the Indian Slave Trade. All non-Catawba values calculated by VanDerwarker et al. (2013).

sites of Toqua, Tanasee, Brasstown Valley, and Late Qualla I Coweta Creek (VanDerwarker et al. 2013:81). Nassaw, on the other hand, has a value of 0.38; the Cherokee sites of Chota and Tomotley also have relatively low equitability values. VanDerwarker et al. (2013:83) suggest an apparent increase in maize production in eighteenth century Overhill Cherokee towns may be due to the incorporation of refugees, who provided more labor. The presence of more people also meant more mouths to feed, and in this situation the relative nutritional efficiency of maize production may have led women to invest more time in agricultural labor. Finally, the equitability and diversity data document a possible shift in resource strategies within Catawba communities. If Spratt's Bottom is indeed an earlier iteration of Nassaw, then it appears that when this community relocated to the western edge of the Nation Ford locale, women adopted a subsistence regime which was less diverse and focused on fewer resources. This pattern is particularly striking because diversity is typically correlated with sample size, and the Spratt's Bottom assemblage is much smaller—yet more diverse overall—than the Nassaw assemblage.

The significance of maize in this transition is indicated by a correspondence analysis of everyday macrobotanical assemblages from lower Catawba valley habitation sites. The horizontal axis of the resulting biplot represents change in plant utilization through time, and accounts for 32% of the variation in the dataset (Figure 7.10). It contrasts samples with more than expected maize counts, which have negative loadings for this dimension, to those with more hickory and acorn counts. Hickory counts contribute the most variation to this factor (0.533), but maize (0.235) and acorn (0.173) are also significant contributors. The fact that hazel nutshell counts contribute little to this dimension, but are nonetheless correlated (0.175) with it, contributes to the interpretation of this axis as a measure of the extent to which people processed maize relative to nuts. Given their higher nutshell counts, the late Woodland Spratt's Bottom

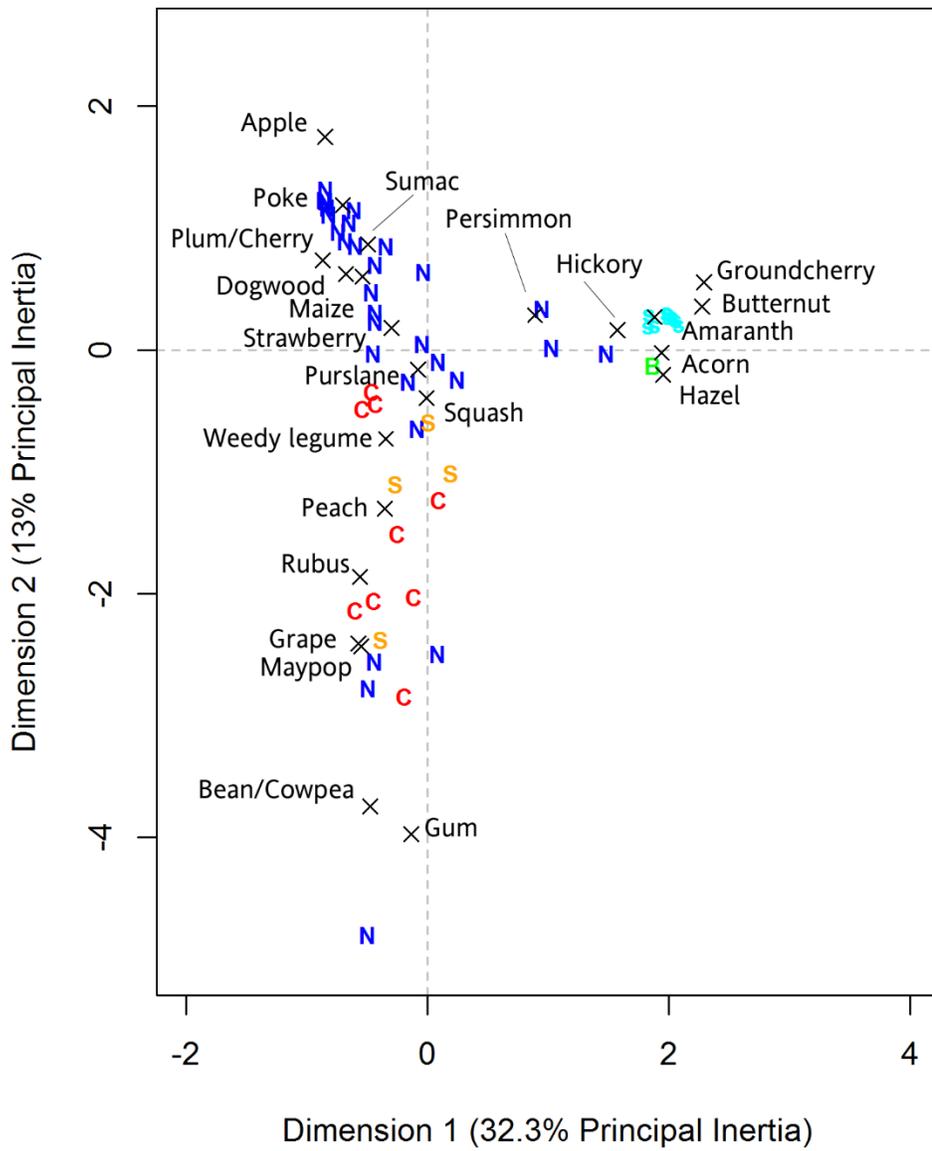


Figure 7.10. Correspondence analysis biplot of “everyday” macrobotanical assemblages from lower Catawba valley sites. **B**, Belk Farm; **C**, Charraw Town; **N**, Nassaw; **S**, Spratt’s Bottom ca. 1720-1750; **s**, Spratt’s Bottom ca. 920-1276. Spratt’s Bottom analysis by Civitello (2005).

assemblages and the late seventeenth century Belk Farm sample, along with a handful of samples from Nassaw, plot on the right side of the graph, while most of the eighteenth century samples plot on the left. Sampling bias may contribute to the position of the Belk Farm assemblage, but similar acorn-dominated contexts were not identified at Nassaw and Charraw Town, both of which have been systematically sampled. For this reason I think it is reasonable to classify the Belk Farm assemblage with the other “mast-centric” contexts, although the sampled feature may prove to be an anomaly.

The second dimension of the biplot, which accounts for 13% of the variation in the dataset, distinguishes eighteenth century samples with higher diversity from those that contain more maize than expected. The Spratt’s Bottom and Charraw Town assemblages have negative loadings for this dimension, while most Nassaw assemblages—given their greater maize counts—have positive values. Maypop seed counts contribute the most variation to this dimension (0.312), followed by beans/cowpeas (0.205), maize (0.199), and peaches (0.179). Grape and Rubus (raspberry/blackberry) do not contribute significantly to this factor, but do have correlation values of 0.583 and 0.121, respectively. The remaining taxa have low quality values, and thus are not well-characterized by either of the first two dimensions. While the second dimension clearly distinguishes contexts with more fruit remains than expected from those that have more maize, the contribution of bean/cowpea counts to the negative range of this dimension indicates this is not a simple contrast between cultigens and foraged foods. Rather, it highlights the difference between maize-dominated contexts, specifically, and those that contain a wider array of resources. This pattern suggests that a strategy of maize intensification may account for the lower diversity and equitability measures obtained for the Nassaw assemblage. The similarity between the Spratt’s Bottom and Charraw Town samples on the other hand, may have a

geographical component. Both sites are located along the main trading path near Nation Ford, and continuous habitation of this area over several generations likely produced a highly anthropogenic environment in which commensal plants were more readily available.

To further assess variation among the mid-eighteenth century assemblages, I use ratios to examine the relative presence of maize, nut, and fruit remains. Comparing the data in this manner should reduce the effect of differential fragmentation rates, and provides a means of evaluating the extent to which different types of foraging may have played a role in the subsistence strategies of Nassaw and Charraw Town residents. The following ratios were calculated using counts of materials larger than 2 mm. Ratios of maize cupule counts to nutshell counts provide a measure of the extent to which these materials were processed. If women who were part of lower Catawba valley kinship networks continued to exert rights over matrilineally-managed groves, or if refugees discounted grove management given the long payoff between investment and reward, we might expect that more nuts relative to maize would be processed by women from Nassaw compared to those living in Charraw Town. However, box plots of cupule to nutshell ratios by context type show that the Nassaw midden samples tend to have more cupule fragments relative to nutshell than the other contexts (Figure 7.11). The median value for all samples (n=63) is 3.25:1, while for the Nassaw midden (n=9) the median cupule to nutshell ratio is 6.7:1. All of the other contexts have medians below 5:1, with the Nassaw feature (n=16) and Charraw Town midden (n=19) samples displaying the largest spread between the first and third quartiles. When these “everyday” contexts are log-transformed and grouped by site, notches that indicate the 95% confidence interval of the medians overlap, suggesting there is not a significant difference between these two distributions (Figure 7.12). This similarity in the ratio of maize processing to nut processing is less surprising when we consider the fact that 92% of the

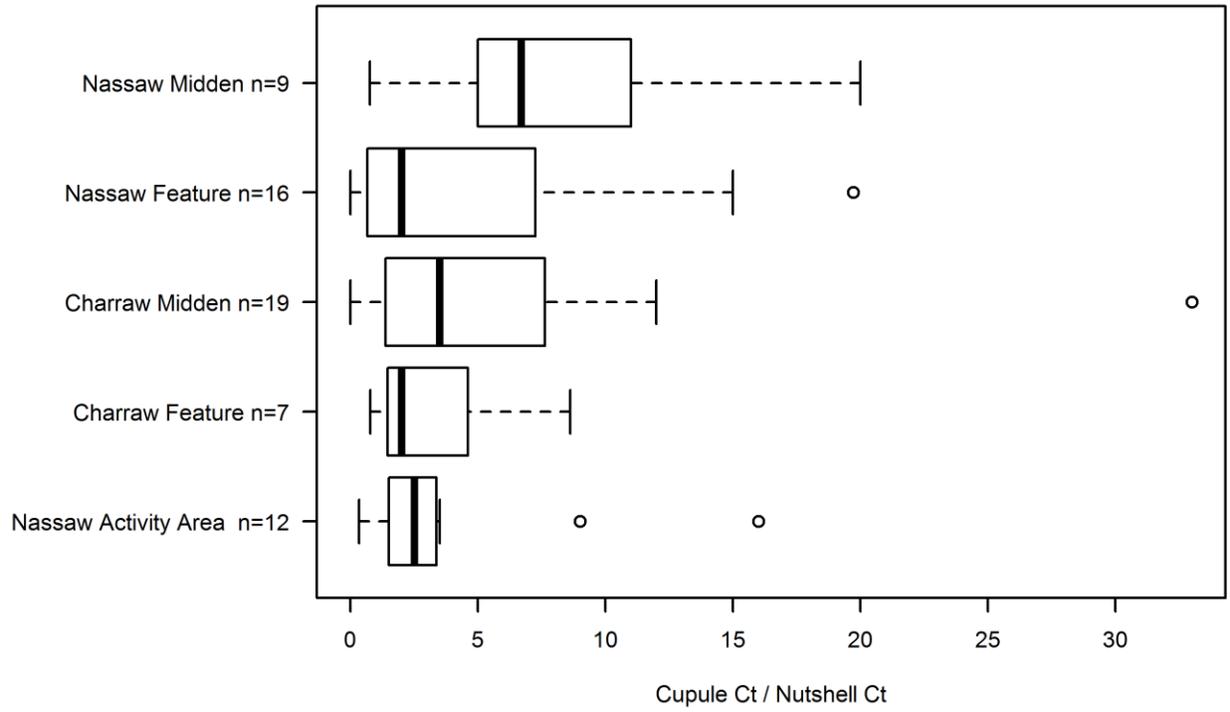


Figure 7.11. Box plots of cupule to nutshell ratios from Nassaw and Charraw Town samples by context type.

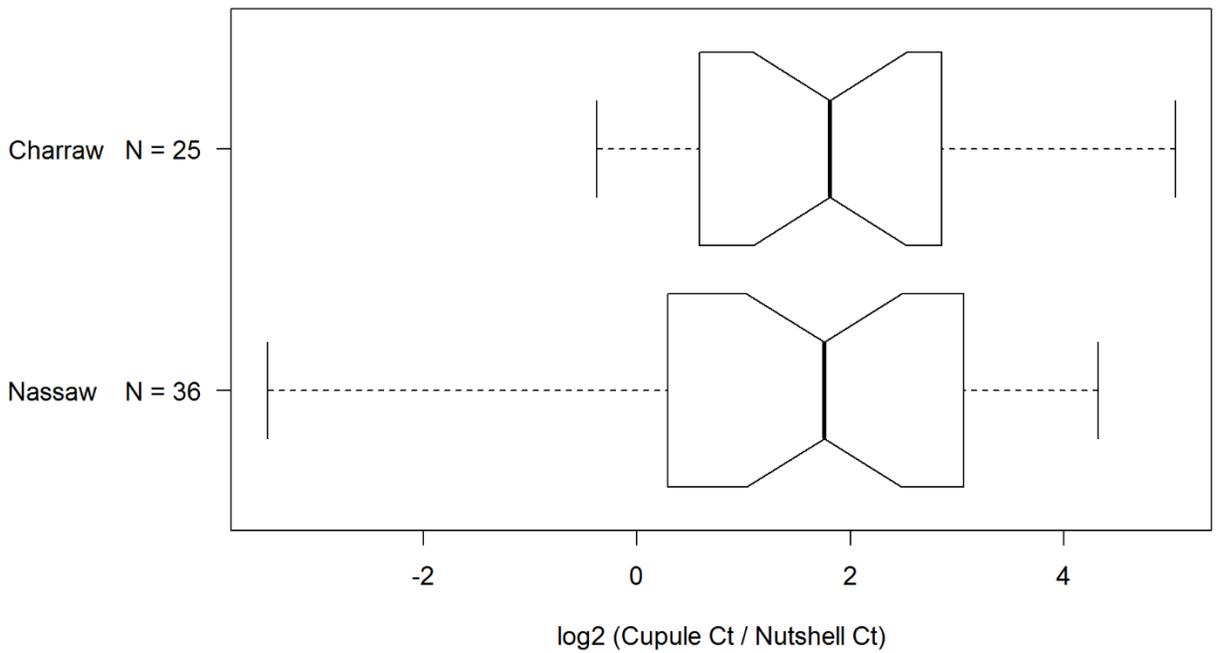


Figure 7.12. Box plots of cupule to nutshell ratios from Nassaw and Charraw Town samples.

combined Nation Ford nut remains larger than 2 mm are hickory nutshell. Since hickory did not serve as a carbohydrate staple like acorns, it may have been less intensively managed. When considered as evidence of cuisine rather than land-management activities, these ratios suggest mid-eighteenth century Catawba women were processing similar quantities of starch relative to nut oil. The similarity of nut use in these communities is further indicated by the fact that the ratio of all acorn nutshell and nutmeat to hickory nutshell is 0.21:1 for Nassaw and 0.24:1 for Charraw Town.

Eighteenth-century Catawba households may have processed similar amounts of nuts relative to maize, but clear differences emerge when fleshy fruits are considered in relation to these staples. All Nassaw context types have more cupule and nutshell fragments relative to fruit remains than the Charraw contexts (Figure 7.13). Nassaw features (n=14) have the highest median ratio of maize and mast processing waste relative to fruit (4.01:1), while Charraw Town features (n=7) have the lowest (1.15:1). When these data are log-transformed and considered at the site level, notches of the 95% confidence interval of the medians do not overlap, indicating a statistically significance difference between these two assemblages (Figure 7.14). Is this pattern an indication that Nassaw women were collecting less fruit, Charraw women processing fewer staples, or both? The possibility that both factors are contributing to this pattern is suggested by lower densities of fruit remains in everyday Nassaw contexts (Figure 7.6) along with low maize cupule weight densities in the Charraw Town midden (Figure 7.3).

Staple processing activities taking place at the Nation Ford sites can be further examined by comparing counts of maize kernels relative to cupules (Welch and Scarry 1995: 407-408, VanDerwarker and Detwiler 2002:25-27). Dried maize kernels need to be removed from the cob prior to being pounded and boiled (Hudson 1976:304-305, North 2014:33, Speck 1946:7-8), and

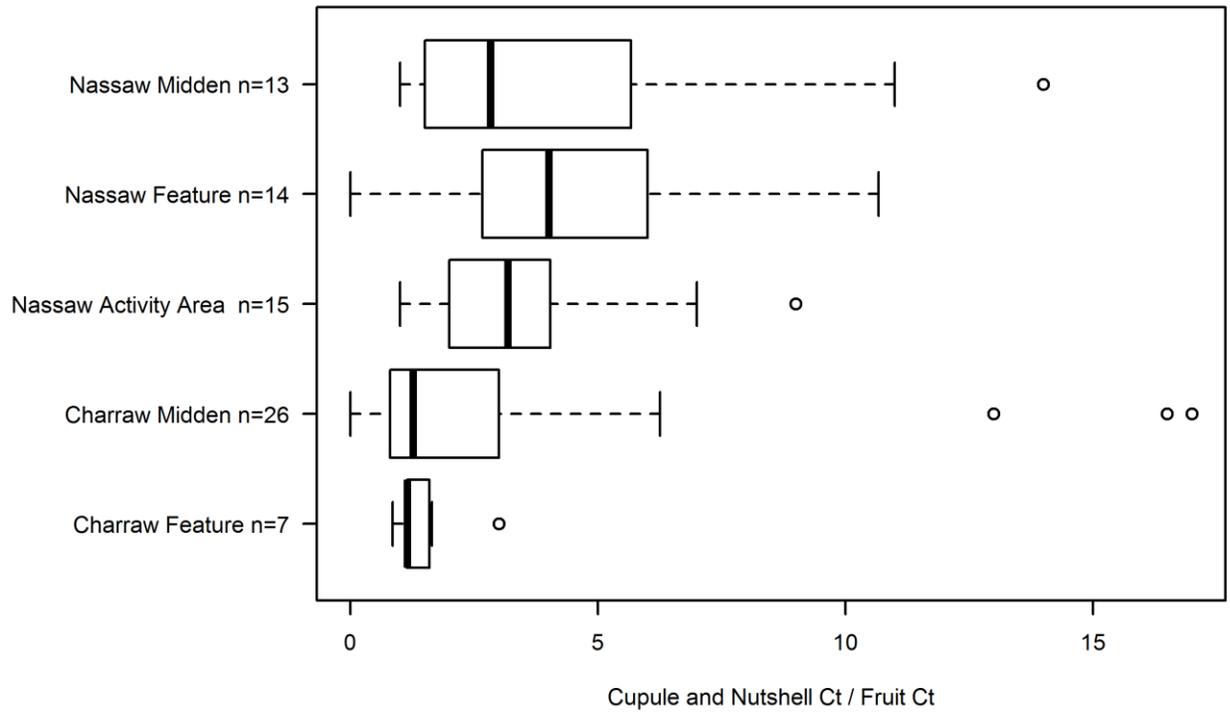


Figure 7.13. Box plots of cupule and nutshell to fleshy fruit ratios from Nassaw and Charraw Town samples by context type.

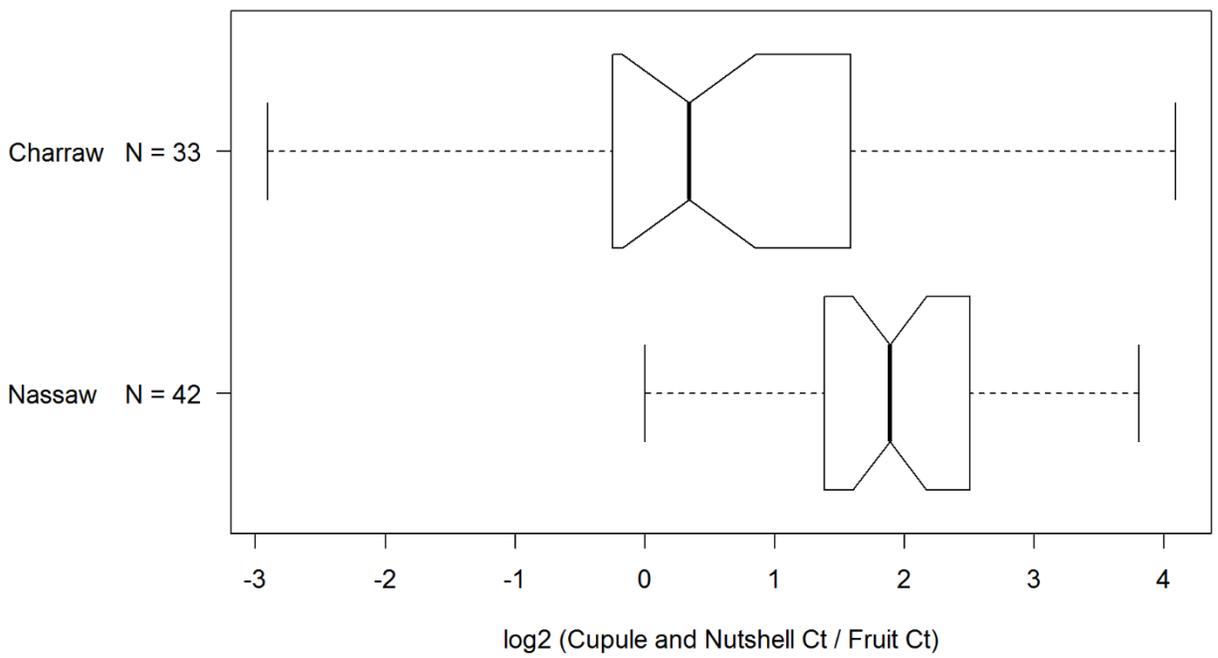


Figure 7.14. Box plots of cupule and nutshell to fleshy fruit ratios from Nassaw and Charraw Town samples.

byproducts of this process are corn cobs and cupule fragments. While this waste was often burned for fuel, carbonized maize kernel fragments that enter “everyday” assemblages likely were produced by cooking accidents. The burning of spoiled stores, on the other hand, may produce features with unusually high concentrations of kernels. Cooking methods also influence the chance of kernel carbonization. Fresh maize was sometimes roasted on the cob, a process more prone to cooking accidents relative to boiling. However, the process of hominy production—specifically the step that involves soaking kernels in an alkali solution—produces kernels that are less affected by distortion during carbonization, resulting in more complete kernels that may survive as identifiable specimens (King 1987:186–197, Dezendorf 2013). Since fresh maize was only available for part of the year, the bulk of carbonized cupule and kernel fragments are likely the result of processing dried maize. Given these factors, everyday contexts with low kernel-to-cupule ratios can be interpreted as the remains of both maize shelling and cooking activities, while those with high kernel-to-cupule ratios may be indicative of primarily cooking activities, with shelling occurring elsewhere.

Comparison of the Nation Ford kernel-to-cupule ratios by context type shows that the Charraw Town features (n=8) and midden (n=24) have the highest mean kernel-to-cupule ratios (0.20:1 and 0.18:1, respectively) (Figure 7.15). Kernel fragments are so rare in the Nassaw assemblages, on the other hand, that the median ratio for all “everyday” Nassaw samples is 0:1 (n=56). When these data are log-transformed and combined by site, notches of the 95% confidence interval of the medians do not overlap (Figure 7.16). Thus there is a small, but systematic and statistically significant difference between the amounts of maize shelling that took place at Nassaw and Charraw Town, such that some maize may have arrived in Charraw Town already off the cob. While the spatial extent of excavations was limited at Charraw Town

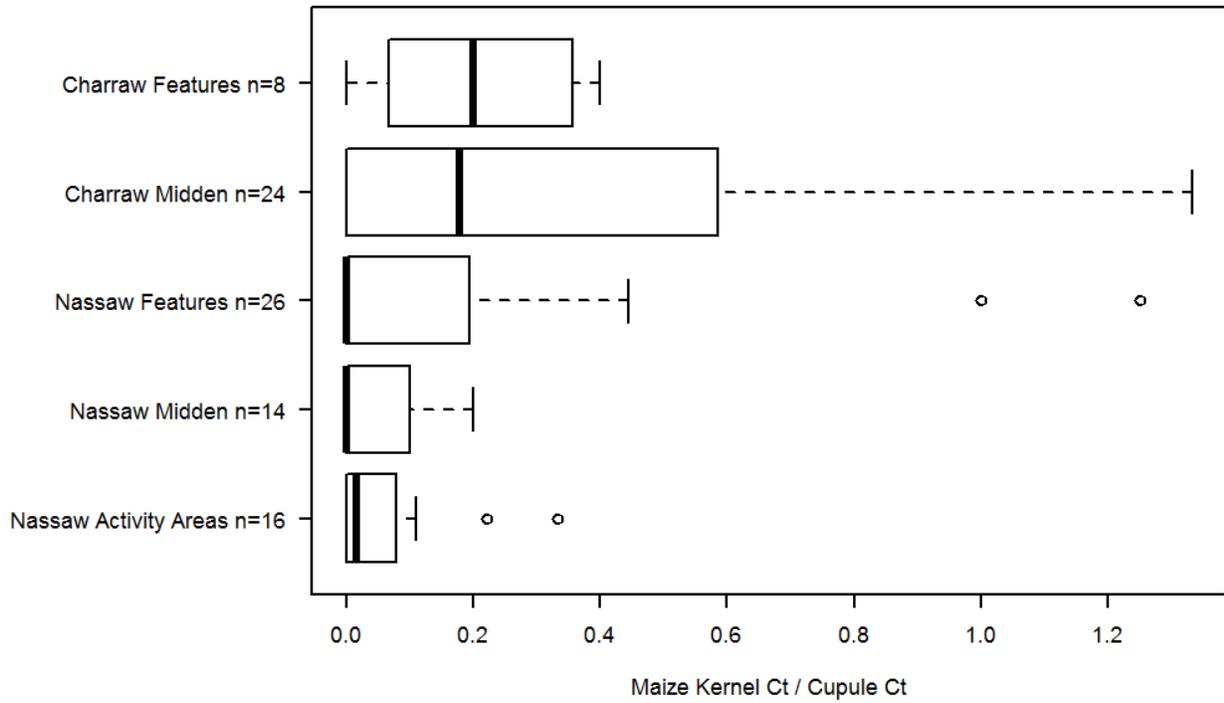


Figure 7.15. Box plots of maize kernel to cupule ratios from Nassaw and Charraw Town samples by context type.

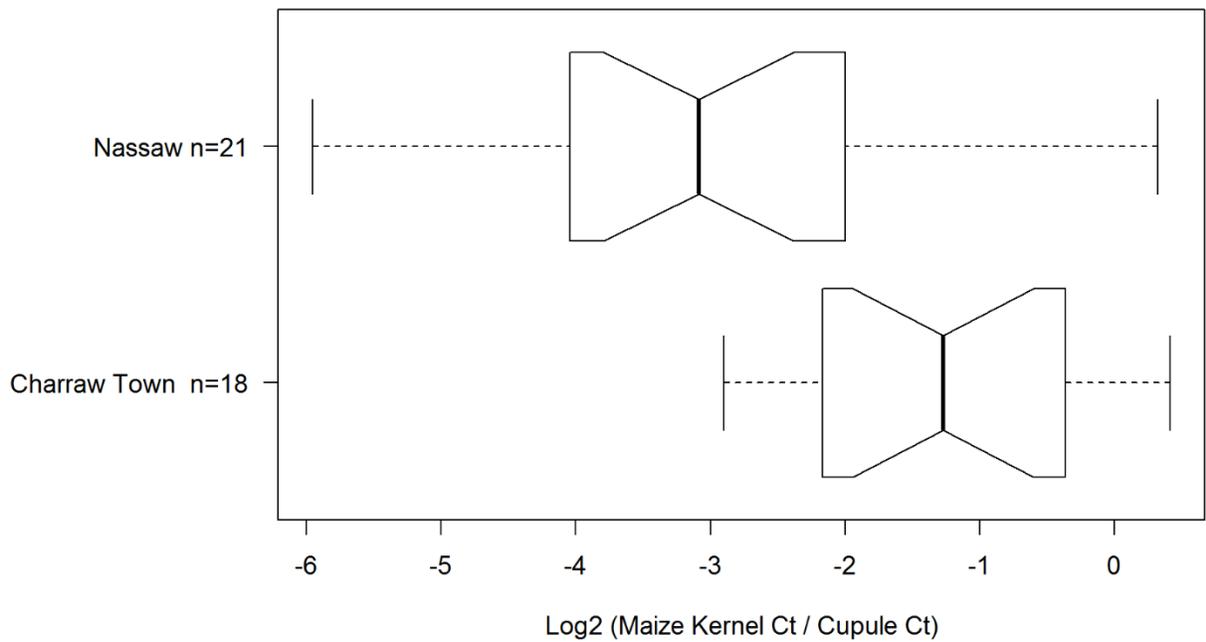


Figure 7.16. Box plots of maize kernel to cupule ratios from Nassaw and Charraw Town samples.

in comparison to Nassaw, the fact that similar staple foods-to-fruit and kernel-to-cupule ratios were obtained from the eastern house features and western midden—which are over 100 meters apart—would seem to allow the possibility that these patterns may be representative of Charraw Town women’s habitual activities. In general, then, it appears women were shelling less maize in Charraw Town relative to their Nassaw contemporaries, but returning home with more fruit.

This analysis of everyday subsistence practices has focused on plant foods, since the object of this study is to examine how Catawba women—who grew, collected, and processed these items—contributed to political coalescence and dealt with community aggregation. However, deer and small game were also important components of everyday meals. While deer and bears were likely hunted by Catawba men, both men and women may have taken small game. Speck (1946:14) reports that some Catawba women “regularly set gravity traps for birds, rabbits and opossums in winter to supplement the daily ration during hard weather.” It is likely they also trapped animals during the eighteenth century, particularly if men’s hunting returns became increasingly stochastic (Coddington et al. 2010). In Catawba folk tales, women are called upon to carry deer home after they have been killed. In one story, a boy kills a deer and sends the adult woman of the household to tie it up with a strap and carry it back home; in another, a hunter kills two deer and carries one home, where he tells an “old woman” to go and bring the other one back (Speck 1934:2, 31). While there is no explicit mention in these tales—or in Speck’s (1946) account of Catawba hunting practices—regarding gendered butchery practices, it may be reasonable to suppose that women played a role in processing meat and hides, particularly of deer killed in the Nation Ford area during the off-season. Deer were taken both as food and for the deerskin market; Charleston was exporting approximately 177,000 deerskins a year by the end of the 1750s (Mancall et al. 1999:312). Hunting for the market occurred during

the winters, when hunters traveled far from home and established temporary camps where most hide processing took place. It is not clear whether Catawba women were part of these long hunts. Among the Creeks, women and children traveled with hunting parties, leaving their towns almost vacant during the winter, but Cherokee women generally stayed at home (Braund 1990:244, Perdue 1999:71). When Lawson (1967[1709]:34) visited the Congaree, he found the men gone hunting and the women “busily engag'd in Gaming,” an activity that may have actually been the management of maize seed stock since Lawson noted “Their Arithmetick was kept with a Heap of Indian grain.” On the other hand, he also encountered an Esaw “War-Captain” who was traveling southward with his wife and daughter (Lawson 1967[1709]:48). The Catawba claimed the area between the Broad and Pee Dee Rivers as their hunting grounds, and also headed northward to the Moravian settlements of Wachovia in the early 1750s (Brown 1966:7, 250).

Catawba participation in the deerskin trade may have declined during the mid-eighteenth century, as fear of Iroquois attacks and the establishment of settler plantations in the region made hunting a more risky and difficult undertaking (Merrell 1989:137). Deer were still taken locally, however, as the presence of deer remains in Nation Ford assemblages attest. While it is possible to examine hunting strategies through the age and sex of deer, there are not enough individuals in the Nation Ford collection to undertake such an analysis. The presence of at least one juvenile individual in each of the Nassaw and Charraw Town assemblages, however, suggests men were not exclusively hunting prime-age male deer, which yield the most saleable deerskins (Lapham 2005:16, 87). This is not surprising given the expectation that any deer hunted locally were obtained primarily for food. Deer processing practices can be assessed by examining the anatomical distribution of identified specimens (Reitz and Wing 1999:206-208). A total of 201 deer specimens were identified in the Nassaw assemblage and 30 in the Charraw Town

assemblage, with at least 3 individuals represented in each case. It should be noted that most of the bones identified as Artiodactyla in the Charraw Town assemblage are likely deer remains, and that these materials have a similar anatomical distribution to the deer assemblage described below. The difference in the quantity of identified deer specimens in the Nassaw and Charraw Town assemblages can be attributed to the presence of more head elements at Nassaw (Figure 7.17). Approximately 60% of the Nassaw deer specimens are head elements such as teeth and jaw fragments (n=122). The Charraw Town deer head assemblage, on the other hand, consists only of 2 teeth. While this analysis includes specimens from the Nassaw borrow pits and Charraw gully, special events do not appear to be the source of this difference in anatomical distribution. The Nassaw borrow pits do have more head fragments relative to postcranial elements than other contexts (69:18), but one feature in the western house area also has a high incidence of head elements (Feature 60, n=18). Further, 38% of the deer specimens in the Nassaw midden are head elements (n=35), suggesting that the difference between the anatomical distributions at Nassaw and Charraw Town is not due to unusual butchering practices associated with special events. Further, this pattern cannot be attributed to differential preservation rates, as teeth and jaw elements such as mandibular condyles have high structural density, making them more likely to survive destructive taphonomic processes relative to other anatomical elements (Lyman 1994:234-249). When only postcranial elements are considered, however, it does not appear that there are significant differences between the Nassaw and Charraw Town element distributions (Figure 7.18). Tarsal and phalanx bones are the most common postcranial elements in both assemblages. The primary difference in element distribution between these two assemblages, then, is the dearth of head elements at Charraw Town, suggesting they may have been removed before the carcasses were carried home.

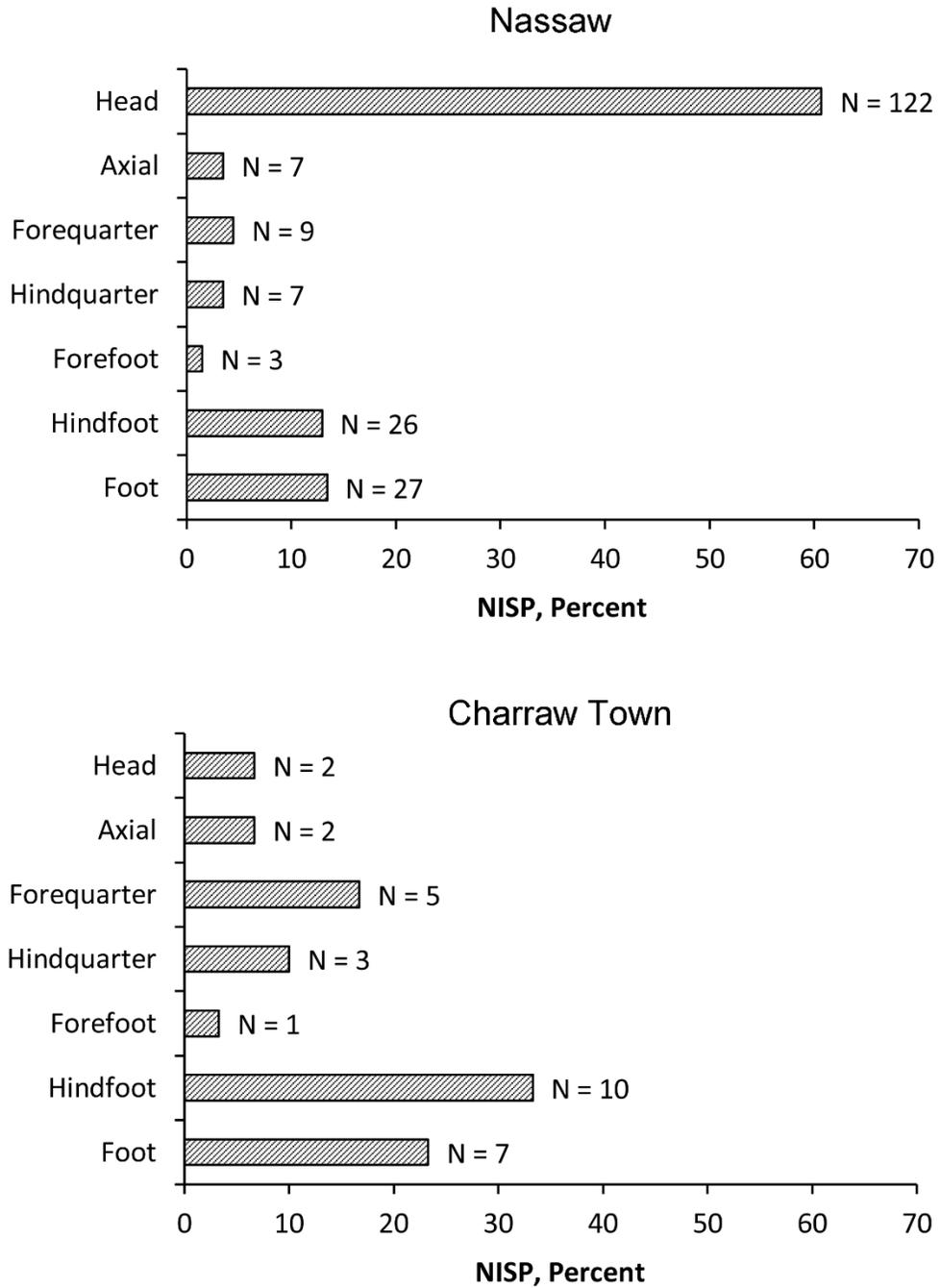


Figure 7.17. Anatomical distribution of identified deer specimens from Nassaw and Charraw Town by category.

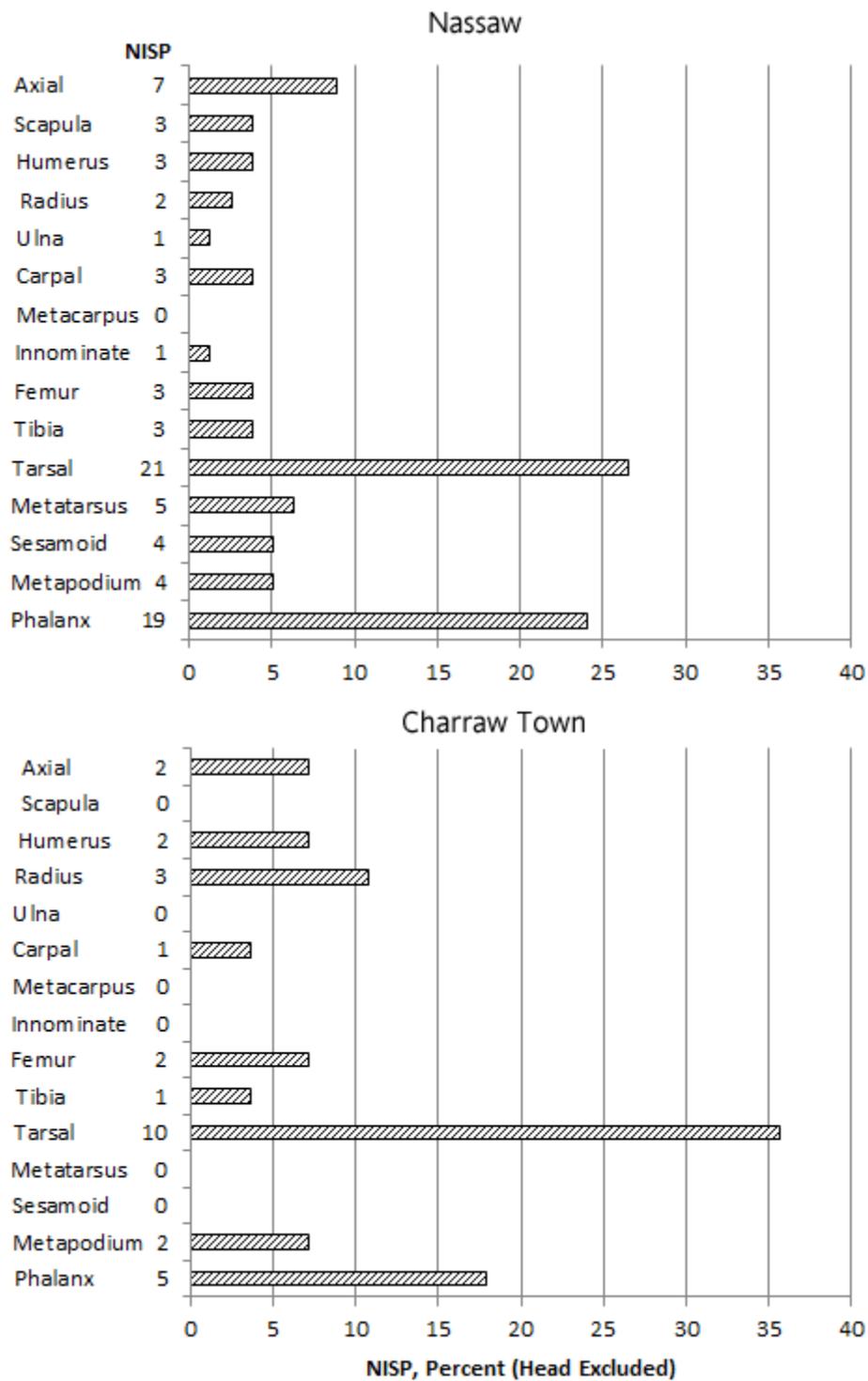


Figure 7.18. Anatomical distribution of postcranial deer specimens from Nassaw and Charraw Town.

The low frequency of deer head elements in the Charraw Town assemblage is surprising given that brains played an important role in hide production. The Catawba process of tanning, as recorded by Speck (1934:73, 1946:8), involved first rubbing the hair-side of the hide with brains, wood ashes, and salt. It was then buried and left for several days. This loosened the hair, which was washed off when the hide was retrieved. It was then stretched out to dry, and the fat scraped off to make soap. This process differs from other accounts of Southeastern hide processing in that it does not mention smoking or pounding, and brains are applied initially to loosen the hair, rather than after it has been scraped off (Braund 1993:68, Hudson 1976:226-227). The comparatively simplified character of the Catawba process as recorded by Speck may be the product of a shift in the deerskin trade toward a preference for half-dressed and undressed skins that was dictated by English leather importers during the last quarter of the eighteenth century (Braund 1993:88, 225). Regardless of whether a more labor-intensive skin dressing regime was undertaken by the Catawba prior to this shift, brains would likely have been used in the process. The low frequency of deer head elements in the Charraw Town assemblage, therefore, suggests either that deer skins taken from locally-hunted animals were being processed in a portion of the settlement not yet sampled, or that this activity was rarely undertaken at Charraw Town. Although obtained primarily for food, it is difficult to imagine that the hides of these Nation Ford animals were not dressed for the home or market. However, as is the case with maize kernels relative to cupules, this pattern may indicate that fewer processing activities were taking place at Charraw Town relative to Nassaw.

This assessment of everyday subsistence strategies has suggested that overall, Catawba women were investing most of their labor in fields, with acorns being collected as a supplementary food rather than a primary source of starch. Nassaw women, in particular, appear

to have intensified their agricultural efforts relative to foraging activities, while women at Charraw Town gathered more fruit. However, this increase in time spent foraging does not account for the apparent presence of more shelled maize relative to processing debris at Charraw Town. Possible explanations for this pattern include differences in cooking practices, the presence of exchange networks, and the creation of inter-community working groups. First, it is possible that some aspect of Charraw women's maize preparation process resulted in a higher kernel preservation rate. Relying more on parching, for example, might have led to a higher incidence of cooking accidents and carbonization. For this to be the case, however, maize would have to be shelled prior to parching, otherwise carbonized cupules and cobs would also increase in frequency. It is also possible that more shelled maize arrived in Charraw Town through exchange. Carolina governments began to offer maize to the Catawba in the mid-eighteenth century, and it is possible that Charraw households obtained more of these supplies than people living in Nassaw. While this explanation is supported by historical documentation, the form in which the maize was transported is unknown. When the first disbursement was made by South Carolina in 1756, John Evans reported that he had warned the Catawba "not to let above twenty Men come at once for Corn" so that they would remain protected from Iroquois attacks (McDowell 1992:92). Since the maize was provided by neighboring planters, who probably did not shell the corn themselves, if Catawba men transported it to the Nation the corn likely arrived on the cob. In this case, the supplemental corn on its own would not account for the presence of more kernels relative to cupules at Charraw Town. A more likely source of pre-processed maize would have been other Catawba communities. This food could have come in the form of donations, or—given the evidence for metal work at Charraw Town discussed in Chapter 6—may have been exchanged for other products. Such exchange may have compensated for the fact

the Charraw, as newcomers to the lower Catawba valley, may not have had access to the best fields and groves in the area.

Another possibility is that Charraw women did shell maize and dress skins—just not at Charraw Town. Given that two other Catawba towns—Weyanne and Sucah Town—were located less than 2 miles from Charraw Town, it is possible that women from these communities pooled their labor, particularly with regard to agricultural production. Studies of population aggregation in the Pueblo Southwest during the sixteenth century have used architectural data, such as the movement of corn grinding facilities from enclosed spaces to open courtyards, as evidence that women’s productive practices were being undertaken a more communal manner (Ortman 1998:182, Perry 2008:93). While different forms of evidence are available in this case, the population aggregation and political coalescence of Catawba communities had produced a similar context. Further, the establishment of Charraw Town required adjustments on the part of pre-existing communities—particularly regarding access to local resources, such as fields and groves—and one solution may have been for Charraw women to join existing work groups. The food security crises of the mid-eighteenth century might have provided further motivation for such cooperation. The logical place for such activities to occur would have been Weyanne, located along the trading path between Charraw Town and Sucah Town (Figure 5.2). Also known as “the King’s Town,” Weyanne was the probable home of Eractasswa Nopkehe and thereby the capital of the mid-eighteenth century Catawba Nation. If inter-community work groups undertook processing activities at Weyanne, we would expect assemblages from this site to contain relatively high quantities of processing debris.

This last possibility is consistent with models of coalescence that suggest the adoption of a corporate political strategy may lead to the organization of supra-household task groups

(Kowalewski 2006:117). On the surface, this interpretation might seem to be at odds with studies that argue Southeastern Indians began to adopt individualistic economic strategies through their participation in the deerskin trade, resulting in the development of factions (Braund 1993, Riggs 1999, Saunt 1999). However, documentary evidence for these changes suggest they did not take place until after 1760, when the children of Indian women and European traders came of age (Braund 1993:79, Saunt 1999:42). Even if such attitudes were adopted by some members of Catawba communities in the 1750s, this does not preclude the existence of cooperation in one domain of economic production and competition in another. Provisioning food for the Nation—the staple of maize in particular—may have been one realm which was more resistant to the permeation of individualistic ideology than others, such as the winter deer hunts. Given these factors, interpreting archaeological data from Charraw Town as potential evidence of cooperation provides a counterbalance, rather than a replacement, for studies of ideological transformation. Perhaps more confounding for the suggestion that Charraw women were processing maize at nearby settlements, or obtaining kernels through exchange, is the logistics of transporting shelled maize. However, it is possible kernels were simply carried in bags or baskets. The practice of Catawbas carrying pounded corn in bags as a travelling food was recorded by Henrietta Marchant Liston, who visited a Catawba settlement in 1797 (North 2014:33). Speck (1946:8) also notes that some Catawba recalled pounding maize and beans in bags “so that the crushed mass would not be scattered.” Meal produced in this manner was called *kus emi’ mi’*, “corn beaten,” and *nutce’ mi’ mī’*, “beans beaten.” Meat was also pounded and dried, but the presence of deer bone at Charraw Town suggests some meat arrived in town on the bone. At the very least, it appears that Charraw Town women were shelling less maize in their settlement than Nassaw women, and possibly not processing hides at home. In contrast, the

residents of Nassaw appear to have conducted most of their processing activities in the central portion of their settlement.

This examination of everyday foodways at Nation Ford provides a means of characterizing time, in subsistence terms, which can be juxtaposed with the special events through which Catawba communities created and experienced history. Three specific contexts were excluded from the preceding analysis because they possess characteristics that indicate they were created as a result of special depositional events: Features 1 and 2a at Nassaw, which have both been classified as borrow pits, and Feature 2 at Charraw Town, which is a debris-filled gully. The borrow pit assemblages have been distinguished from other Nassaw contexts based on the presence of large sherds that contain many cross mends—indicative of rapid filling—but low quantities of bottle glass (Chapter 5), high glass bead and carbonized plant material densities but lower proportions of calcined bone (Chapter 5), and a bowl to jar ratio of 1.69:1 as opposed to those of everyday contexts at Nassaw and Charraw, which are below 1:1 (Chapter 6). Further, the borrow pit contexts yield unusually high densities of row-planted crops, particularly maize cupules, as well as high densities of fruits other than peach. The Charraw Town gully also contains cross mends suggesting it was rapidly filled, as well as relatively high bead and carbonized plant material densities but lower proportions of calcined bone (Chapter 5). Unlike the Nassaw borrow pit assemblages, samples from the Charraw gully contain low densities of maize cupules, but high densities of nutshell relative to all other Nation Ford contexts. The following analysis will examine these contexts in more detail, with the goal of identifying further lines of evidence that can be used to develop inferences about the special events that produced them. I refer to these contexts as “special events” rather than “feasts,” since it is not clear from the outset that these events all involved the “ritual” communal consumption of food and drink

(Dietler and Hayden 2001:3-4, Twiss 2012:363-365). All feasts are special events involving food, but not all special events involving food are feasts.

Previous investigations of statistically unusual macrobotanical and faunal assemblages from Southeastern Indian sites have attributed these deposits to Green Corn ceremonies and rituals of purification and revitalization (Kelly 2001, VanDerwarker et al. 2007, VanDerwarker and Idol 2008). Many Eastern Woodland societies practice Green Corn, or harvest ceremonies in the late summer or early fall (Whitthoft 1949). These multi-day events involve episodes of feasting as well as dancing and fasting, and thus produce unusual botanical and faunal assemblages. VanDerwarker et al. (2007:42) interpret the contents of Feature 52 at Upper Saratown (ca. 1650-1670) as debris from a Green Corn or “first fruits” ceremony based on the presence of over 2,000 summer-ripening fruit remains—primarily peaches—and abundant maize kernels and cupules, which may represent consumption of corn of the cob. Another feature from a later context at Upper Saratown (ca. 1670-1710) produced an assemblage that contained over 4,000 maize kernels and other plant foods that are commonly parched and stored, including nutmeats. Feature 170 dates to the height of the Indian Slave Trade, when increased violence and disease threatened Southeastern communities. During this time episodes of house and palisade rebuilding increased at Upper Saratown, possibly as a means of achieving ritual purification and renewal in the wake of increasing mortality and uncertainty (Eastman 1999:231). Due to the presence of large quantities of “traditional” consumable staple foods in the Feature 170 assemblage, but few summer-ripening fruit seeds, VanDerwarker et al. (2007:44-45) interpret this context as the product of a renewal ceremony, possibly associated with a mourning ritual. Further, they suggest the low quantity of peach remains in this assemblage can be interpreted as an assertion of indigenous identity that helped foster community solidarity. For both of the

Upper Saratowen assemblages described by VanDerwarker et al. (2007), large quantities of “everyday” consumable plant items signal special appropriations of time and labor associated with community ritual.

The Nassaw borrow pits and Charraw Town gully, while unusual in comparison to the other mid-eighteenth century Catawba contexts, do not contain great quantities of edible plant materials. While they may not have been created during renewal rituals that involved the intentional destruction of food, the quantity of plant and animal remains in these assemblages may indicate they were made with the exertion of more labor—in a shorter time span—than other Nation Ford contexts. This suggests, at the very least, the participation of people from multiple households. A correspondence analysis of these three contexts shows they can be distinguished from each other with regard to their archaeobotanical and archaeofaunal content (Figure 7.19). All of the included factors have high quality values, indicating they are well-represented by the two illustrated dimensions. The first dimension, which accounts for 75.7% of the variation in the dataset, contrasts the Charraw Town gully and the Nassaw borrow pits. The former has higher hickory nutshell counts than expected, which account for almost 40% of the variation in this dimension, while the both of the Nassaw contexts have more maize cupules, which account for 31% of the variation. Peach endocarp counts, which are higher than expected in the Charraw Town gully, also contribute to this dimension (0.162). Most of the other materials are correlated with, but do not significantly contribute to the first dimension. Grape seed counts and bear bones, in particular, are highly correlated (>90%) with the Charraw Town gully. The vertical axis, on the other hand, highlights the differences between the two Nassaw borrow pits. Simply put, Feature 2a contains more cupules than expected—and not much else—while Feature 1 contains a variety of food remains. Of these, *Rubus* sp. (blackberry/raspberry) seeds contribute

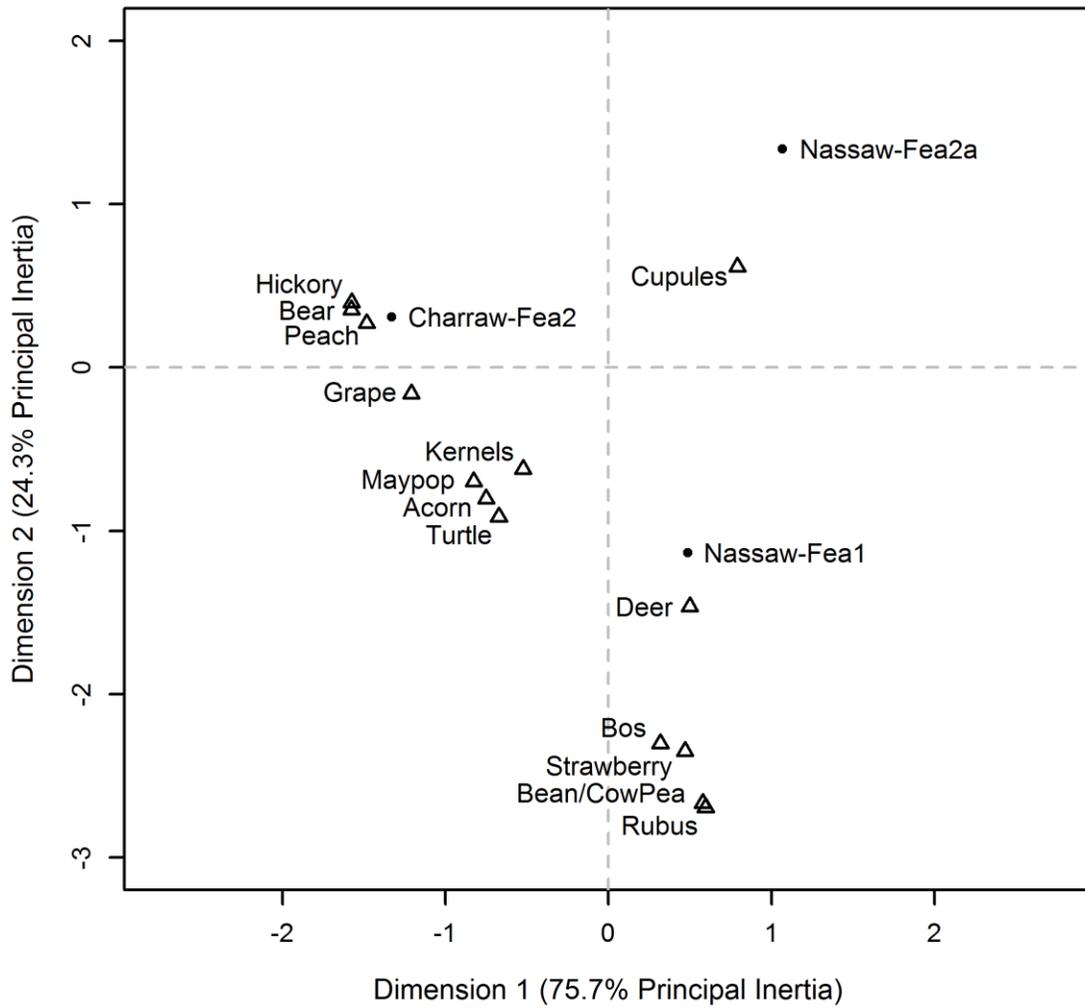


Figure 7.19. Correspondence analysis biplot of archaeobotanical and archaeofaunal materials from the Nassaw borrow pits (Features 1 and 2a) and Charraw Town gully (Feature 2).

the most variation (0.309), followed by beans/cowpeas (0.167), strawberry seeds (0.119), and deer bone (0.105). Cow bone is correlated (0.944) with these other materials, but does not contribute significant variation to this dimension. Given these results, it appears that there is a categorical difference between the Charraw Town gully and the Nassaw borrow pits, while the borrow pits themselves appear to be the result of slightly different events.

The seasonal availability of the items present in these contexts can be used to estimate the time of year during which each event took place. The majority of the plant taxa in the Charraw Town gully—hickory nuts, peaches, and grapes—come from plants with fruits that ripen in the mid- to late summer and fall (Scarry 2003:55). Further, since bear were hunted primarily for making oil, they would most likely have been taken in the fall, after they had consumed mast and replenished their fat stores for the winter. Nassaw Feature 1, on the other hand, appears to have been created during a mid-summer event, as blackberries and raspberries ripen during mid- to late summer, while strawberries are available in early and mid-summer. Since Nassaw Feature 2a yielded primarily maize cupules, which could have been produced by processing stored maize any time of year, no seasonal estimate can be made for this context.

The Charraw Town gully assemblage, as illustrated by the correspondence analysis, is the product of fundamentally different foodways activities from those that created the borrow pits at Nassaw. It contains little maize, and is dominated by the remains of foods that were hunted and collected in the late summer and fall. Unlike the Nassaw borrow pits, Feature 2 at Charraw Town did not contain an unusual quantity of bowl fragments, nor was it intentionally dug. Rather, it contained soil and food waste that has been used to fill a gully, possibly so that a house could be built or repaired in that area, or to prevent damage to an existing structure. Given the combination of hickory nutshell, bear bone, and peach endocarp in this assemblage, it is possible

that Feature 2 was filled at a time when Charraw Town women were processing oil and drying peaches in bulk. The Nassaw borrow pits, on the other hand, appear to have been created during events that involved collective food consumption. The presence of a high bowl to jar ratio, in particular, suggests the distribution of food to many people at once. While Feature 1 could be interpreted as the product of a “first fruits” ceremony, given its mid-summer assemblage, there is little to indicate that Feature 2a was produced by an event of this order. Given the spatial proximity of the borrow pits, however, it is likely they were produced by similar events. For this reason, I look beyond the ceremonial calendar to identify other types of events that could have produced these assemblages. One such class of activities are collective work events in which “commensal hospitality is used to orchestrate voluntary collective labor” (Dietler and Herbich 2001:241). In modeling these events, Dietler and Herbich (2001:242-243) contrast work exchanges with work feasts. In the former, little food is exchanged, and people work with the expectation that the favor will be returned in the future. Scheduling constraints often limit the size of these reciprocal work groups, which are often organized through kin- and friendship networks. In the case of work feasts, reciprocal obligations may be weak or nonexistent, and labor is conscripted with the assistance of lavish hospitality. Work feasts can mobilize labor on a larger scale than work exchanges, and may be more effective in recruiting workers from a range of social contexts. Dietler and Herbich (2001:241-242) also note that a continuum of possible event types can be conceived between these ideal types. Given that Nassaw Features 1 and 2a are borrow pits—places where clay was dug for use in construction projects—it seems reasonable to propose that the unusual assemblages they contain are the product of collective work events.

There is no automatic association, of course, between the excavation of a feature and its contents. However, the stratigraphy of the fill in Feature 1, in particular, suggests this pit was not

left open for any appreciable amount of time after being dug (Figure 7.20). The uppermost layer of fill in Feature 1 was dark yellowish brown (10YR 3/4 to 4/6) sandy loam that was up to 8 cm thick (Figure 7.19). This zone appears to be a wash that filled in the shallow edges of the excavation and capped the cultural deposit. The deepest, basin-shaped portion of Feature 1 contained three additional zones and had a maximum depth of 30 cm. Below the yellowish brown wash was a layer of dark red (2.5YR 3/6) sandy clay with inclusions of reddish yellow (7.5YR 5.5/8) degraded rock. Beneath this clay was dark brown (7.5YR 3/4) sandy loam with abundant small charcoal inclusions that increased in density with depth. Artifacts were particularly numerous in this fill. A dense layer of charcoal on top of red (2.5YR 4/8) clay was present at the bottom of Feature 1. The presence of a dense layer of charcoal on top of the floor of the pit, rather than a lens of wash or re-deposited clay, suggests that the event which produced this burned layer quickly followed the excavation of the pit. This primary deposit was then capped with clay, possibly left over from the construction event. A layer of wash later covered this re-deposited clay and the areas of subsoil that were still exposed. Most of Feature 2a, on the other hand, consisted of a single layer of fill in a shallow depression (Figure 7.21). This fill ranged from very pale brown (10YR 8/4) to light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4) compact sandy loam and was from 1 to 7 cm thick throughout most of the feature. Near the eastern edge of Feature 2a there was a linear depression that sloped down to 18 cm below the plow zone. It measured approximately 3 meters by 1 meter, and the southern portion of the linear depression was filled with a deposit of yellowish red (5YR 5/8) sandy loam that contained more organic material and artifacts than the zone above it. While there was no concentration of charcoal at the base of Feature 2a, neither was there evidence of any naturally accumulating deposit.

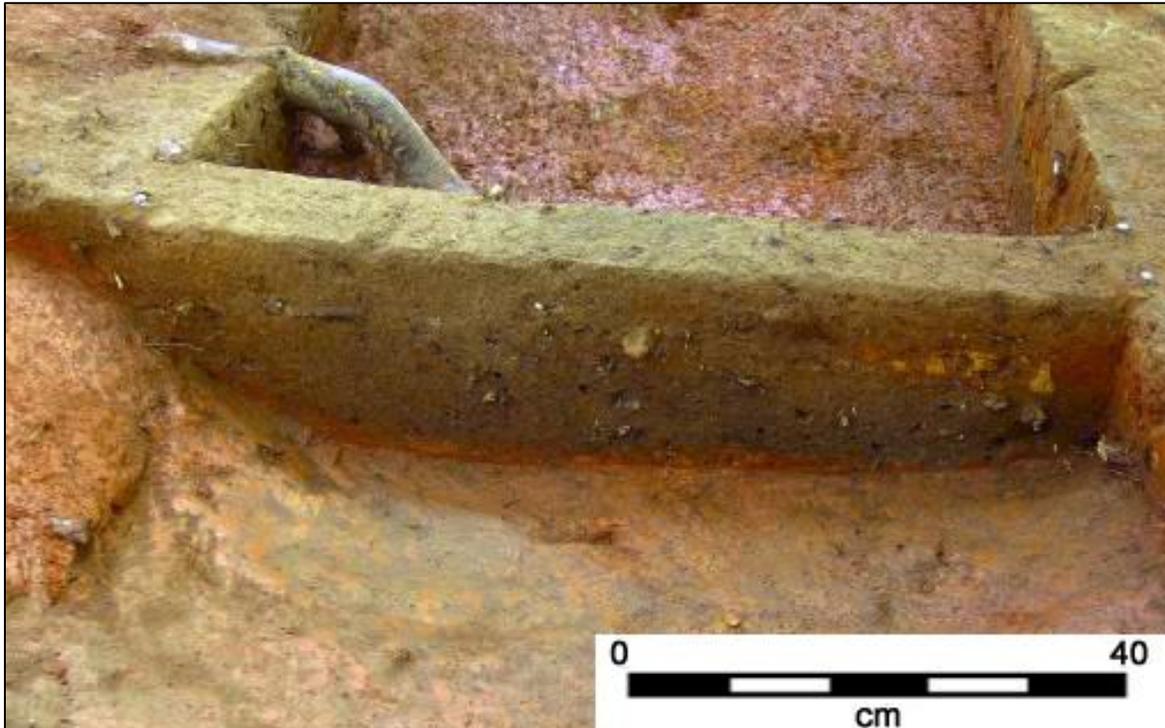


Figure 7.20. Nassaw Feature 1 profile along R581.1 line, view to west.



Figure 7.21. Nassaw Feature 2a profile along the 660 line, view to south.

The stratigraphy of the Nassaw borrow pits is thus consistent with these pits being filled in shortly after their excavation. On the other hand, differences between Features 1 and 2a suggest that if they are deposits associated with collective work events, these undertakings may have differed in scale. Feature 2a, which yielded primarily maize cupules, may have been associated with the efforts of a community work group assembled to build or repair a structure. Feature 1, which yielded not only evidence of maize consumption but also deer and cow bone, beans, and fruit seeds, suggests a more lavish presentation that may have been associated with a work feast that drew labor from surrounding Catawba communities. Even if the large-scale events that produced the deposits in Features 1 and 2a were gatherings for purposes other than house construction and repair, such events would have been attended by men, women, and children, and generated reference points through which Nation Ford communities wove an intergenerational historical consciousness.

Community aggregation was a source of strength for the Catawba Nation. However, by the mid-eighteenth century it was also a source of stress, as the Nation Ford towns became surrounded by settlers, refugee towns were founded in an already crowded landscape, and local resources were depleted. The decline of acorn as a staple in lower Catawba valley diets may have been due in part to this community aggregation and circumscription, as maize is a more nutritionally efficient source of carbohydrates. Charraw Town residents, who settled near the main trading path, found themselves in an extensively anthropogenic environment where commensal fruits such as maypops were widespread. Evidence for the temporal duration of this localized environmental change can be found in the similarity of the Charraw Town and Spratt's Bottom macrobotanical assemblages. While ceramic production at Charraw Town

appears to have been undertaken primarily within the household, elevated kernel-to-cupule ratios and the general absence of deer head elements at Charraw Town may indicate that some processing was taking place off site. Charraw residents may have been trading for shelled maize, but it is also possible that at least some Charraw women joined existing agricultural work groups, and processed maize at one of the other nearby Catawba settlements. At the same time, Nassaw women appear to have been operating as a comparatively autonomous entity. However, collective work events at Nassaw may have drawn in labor from other settlements, strengthening ties between communities.

This analysis has focused on the material remains of activities likely undertaken by Catawba women in an effort to better understand how their productive undertakings contributed to Catawba coalescence and ethnogenesis. While I have used some patterns of material remains—particularly pottery—to argue that community-level work groups encouraged the maintenance of distinct identities, food production networks may have encouraged cooperation between these groups. However, there appears to have been some variation within this realm, as the Nassaw women seem to have operated relatively independently. In general, women's tasks were undertaken at different scales, creating inter-settlement communities of practice for some tasks and maintaining distinctive household craft traditions for others. However, participation in extended networks may have varied from community to community, with women from refugee communities having the most incentive to build external support networks, especially with regard to food production.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

Segments of the original trading paths that connected the eighteenth-century Catawba Nation to the Atlantic world can still be identified in the vicinity of Fort Mill, South Carolina. These unassuming linear depressions flanked by low embankments are overgrown with over a century's worth of successional hardwood forest. In other places these routes are still in use as paved thoroughfares (Fitts 2006:18). While this study has focused on materials people discarded or lost as they went about their daily lives, trails and paths also were produced as they "went about." The resulting "archi-textural meshwork" (Lefebvre 1991, Ingold 2007:80) was a resource that made travel easier not only for lower Catawba valley residents but also for Spanish conquistadors, English traders, and Iroquois raiding parties. Like population aggregation, then, this infrastructure had a dual nature. Whereas population aggregation brought safety and subsistence stress, trails—like the portals that connected the different realms of the Mississippian universe—brought friends and enemies to the lower Catawba valley. Population aggregation and the trading path were also entwined phenomena, such that refugees settled along the trail at Nation Ford, and these refugees made the Nation stronger and ensured the continued significance of the trail.

Living by the trail may have become increasingly challenging as the eighteenth century progressed. The presence of a highly anthropogenic environment in the area along the main

trading path is suggested by the similarity of the macrobotanical assemblages from Spratt's Bottom and Charraw Town. If the site of Spratt's Bottom was an earlier iteration of Nassaw, then it appears that this community had relocated by 1756. The planter William Byrd II wrote that "Nauvasa" was called "the first Town of the Catawbas" by Virginia traders traveling the Great Trading Path at the end of the seventeenth century. Importantly, in recounting information he learned from his father, who was involved in the deerskin trade, Byrd notes that Nassaw was "situated on the banks" of the river (Byrd 2001[1841]:85). This position on the riverbank would likely have been near Nation Ford and the main trading path, making Spratt's Bottom a good candidate for "Nauvasa." Why did Nassaw abandon this advantageous position? One possibility is food insecurity. Since this move likely happened before the drought, food stress might have been associated with soil nutrient depletion or the threat of enemy raids. Alternatively, the move might be associated with a political shift in the Nation. While it is hard to imagine an entire village moving due to a loss of political power, this may have been the case. It is also possible the desire to relocate was driven by a revitalization movement within the Nassaw community. In this case, a move away from the main trading path might have been the result of a shared desire for reduced interaction with the increasing number of strangers who appeared at Nation Ford. Avoidance of Europeans rather than Indian refugees is suggested by the presence of the many bowls with Piedmont Siouan motifs in the Nassaw ceramic assemblage, which at the very least suggests a cosmopolitan acceptance of this otherness by a segment of the population.

The relocation of Nassaw, along with the patterns I have identified in ceramic production and food processing at Nassaw, Weyapee, and Charraw Town, suggest coalescence was not accompanied by uniform changes in the political economy of lower Catawba valley communities. Further, it does not seem that the activities of women can be automatically

attributed to either community autonomy or integration. On the one hand, variation in pottery attributes suggests this particular craft was taught and undertaken in household or matrilineal community groups. Differences in the thickness of vessel walls may indicate that forming conventions varied at Nassaw, Charraw Town, and Weyapee. Further evidence of distinct production communities is suggested by aplastic variation in the Charraw Town assemblage, as the presence of feldspar in some clay bodies suggests that tempering agents, if not clay itself, were obtained from different sources. Charraw Town potters, while experimenting with Mississippian Lamar incised designs, did not systematically attempt to use paddles carved with curvilinear complicated stamped patterns. Thus while mid-eighteenth century Catawba potters may be thought of as belonging to the same constellation of practice, everyday interactions associated with crafting and learning took place within household or village-scale work groups. Further evidence of community boundary maintenance comes in the form of a small but significant difference in the colors of glass beads recovered from Nassaw and Charraw Town. The presence of more red beads in the Charraw Town assemblage may be related to conventions of Southeastern color symbolism in which white entities were considered senior, stable, and high-rank, while red entities were junior, volatile, and low-rank. However, broad similarities between the Nassaw and Charraw Town bead and ceramic assemblages suggest the differences I have identified are the result of cultivated variation within genres sustained by interacting communities. In other words, women were forming vessels and embroidering beadwork with knowledge gained not only from learning at home, but also from encountering the products of women living in neighboring settlements. This dynamic draws attention to the dialogic (*sensu* Bakhtin 1981) character of activities associated with community boundary maintenance.

My analysis of mid-eighteenth century Catawba subsistence activities, on the other hand, suggests that women living in different communities may have been farming together—particularly those living along the trading path near Nation Ford. Elevated kernel-to-cupule ratios and the general absence of deer head elements at Charraw Town suggest that some processing was taking place off site. Charraw residents may have been trading for shelled maize, but it is also possible that at least some women joined existing agricultural work groups, and processed maize at one of the other nearby Catawba settlements. The Charraw Town gully assemblage, however, provides evidence of oil-processing, suggesting that Charraw Town women may have organized their own foraging activities, processing hickory at home. Higher densities of maize cupules in the Nassaw assemblages suggest Nassaw women were farming and processing maize on their own. However, collective work events at Nassaw may have drawn in labor from other settlements, strengthening ties between communities.

There is no question that Catawba households experienced food insecurity during the 1750s. Subsistence stress in the lower Catawba valley was produced by a variety of factors. The threat of attack by Iroquois and French-allied groups produced a climate of anxiety. In 1753 a trader reported that the Catawba could not hunt for fear of the enemy, and in 1754 a Catawba woman who escaped from the Iroquois returned home with the threat that her captors “knew where the Catawbaws fetched their Water and Wood and they would utterly destroy them” (McDowell 1958:454, McDowell 1992:48-49). In addition, increasing European settlement in the area made it difficult for hunting parties to operate without risking settler complaints that could bring diplomatic difficulties. Due to the encouragement of North Carolina’s colonial government there were about 500 settler families within 30 miles of the Catawba towns in 1754 (Saunders 1887,V:124). While these circumscription factors may have affected Catawba hunting

returns more severely than agricultural production, a drought that began in 1755 threatened the production of their staple crop. This drought was mentioned by planters, and has also been identified through dendrochronology of bald cypress forests in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia (Stahle and Cleaveland 1992:1954, Stahle et al. 2000:121). Stress on Catawba agriculture also arose from the decline in hunting, which was not only a source of food but also of commodities. When the threat of Iroquois raids made it difficult for Catawba men to hunt, traders were willing to accept maize as payment instead of deerskins, depleting stores further (McDowell 1958:454).

Contemporary accounts provide some information about strategies Catawba communities adopted in response to food insecurity. For example, it was reported—presumably with exaggeration for emphasis—that they had “lived entirely upon Blackberries” during the summer of 1753 (McDowell 1958:454). In order to compensate for reduced hunting opportunities, Catawba men took hogs and cattle from the proliferating settler homesteads (McDowell 1958:371)—both of which are present in the Nation Ford faunal assemblages. After South Carolina offered to provide maize instead of bullets to the lower Catawba valley, the Catawba also came to view colonial governments as a source of maize. My examination of archaeobotanical and archaeofaunal data from the Nation Ford settlements suggests that Nassaw women intensified agricultural production as a strategy to mitigate food insecurity, while Charraw Town women collected more fruits in the highly anthropogenic landscape along the main trading path. The assemblage of plant food taxa from Charraw Town is both more diverse and equitable than the Nassaw assemblage, which contains higher than expected maize counts. Although few earlier data are available from lower Catawba valley sites, what information exists from Belk Farm and Spratt’s Bottom suggests that maize may have replaced acorns as a staple

carbohydrate around the beginning of the eighteenth century. The apparent intensification of agricultural activities by Nassaw women suggests they were willing to invest more time in agriculture despite the delay between planting and payoff, perhaps because they could schedule ripening times and store and process maize with less effort than acorns. It is also likely that sweet potatoes were an important part of the mid-eighteenth century Catawba diet, but unfortunately they are rarely preserved in macrobotanical assemblages.

The food security crisis of the 1750s had dire consequences for the Nation. The presence of undernutrition in Catawba communities, despite the best efforts of households to feed their families, is suggested by the severity of the epidemic that led to the evacuation of the Nation Ford settlements at the end of the decade. In the fall of 1759, Catawba warriors returning home from the French and Indian War brought the virus with them, and the resulting epidemic killed from one-half to three-quarters of the Catawba population (Merrell 1989:195, McReynolds 2004:52). This result is surprising, given that smallpox had reached the lower Catawba valley numerous times during the first half of the eighteenth century. In other words, this was not a “virgin soil” epidemic. In the eighteenth century, smallpox epidemics were considered severe if they had a mortality rate of one-third (Bernoulli 2004 [1760]:276). Since undernutrition—particularly dietary protein deficiency—impairs immune function (Li et al. 2007), it is possible that the food security crisis of the 1750s contributed to the high mortality rate of the 1759 epidemic. By comparison, an epidemic in Charles Town the following spring was relatively mild. This may have been due in part to an inoculation campaign (South Carolina Gazette, March 1, 1760). This practice, begun in London and Boston in 1721, involved placing exudate from an infected person into a small incision cut on someone who had not yet been infected, inducing a relatively mild case of the disease that imparted immunity (Gronim 2008:248).

During the winter of 1759-1960 there was an inoculation campaign in Charles Town, although many people also caught the disease “the natural Way.” On March 22, the South Carolina Gazette reported that 5,500 people in Charles Town had been ill that winter but that “the Mortality has been among the Acadians and Negroes,” suggesting that class-based nutritional variation may have played a role in differential mortality rates. Kelton (2004) observes that by the mid-eighteenth century, Southeastern Indians had developed smallpox mitigation strategies that involved avoidance, quarantine, and nursing the sick. In 1759, such measures clearly were not sufficient to protect immunocompromised Catawba families. Only wholesale evacuation of the Nation Ford towns could save the Nation.

The persistence of the Catawba Nation seems to defy all odds. In contrast to other Southeastern Indian polities that maintained diplomatic relationships with colonial governments, the Nation was composed not of numerous far-flung towns but rather a group of communities clustered together in a single locale. While this strategy served the Nation well during the first half of the eighteenth century by providing safety in numbers and enabling warriors to mobilize at a moment’s notice, circumstances of the mid-eighteenth century turned this position of strength into one of precariousness. The most limiting of these circumstances—the danger of enemy attacks, the imposition of settler encroachment, and the *precarious* nature of Catawba warriors’ arms supply—are all effects of the colonial ventures that took root along the Atlantic coast in the seventeenth century. The collective effect of these “structural” factors (Galtung 1969, Farmer 2004) was to limit the ability of Catawba households to feed their families during the drought of the 1750s. While structural violence associated with settler colonialism continued to challenge the Nation in the following centuries, the Catawba have persisted and progressed.

In the preceding pages I have provided an account of daily life in mid-eighteenth century Catawba communities using materials excavated from sites Nassaw-Weyapee and Charraw Town. Much more can be learned from these collections. For example, numerous maize cob pits were excavated at Nassaw, and analysis of these materials could address further questions about agricultural practices, such as the maintenance of different maize varieties. Through the analysis of stable isotopes (Fiorentino et al. 2014) it may also be possible to distinguish Catawba-grown maize from the supplemental stores provided by South Carolina. Chemical characterization of potsherds from both sites could help clarify the number of clay sources used by Nation Ford communities, and provide further information about the scale of work groups. In addition, excavation at Catawba sites dating to the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is critical for providing more information regarding settlement organization in the lower Catawba valley during the height of the Indian slave trade. Archaeobotanical data from such sites could provide information to better assess the timing and circumstances surrounding the replacement of acorn by maize in the lower Catawba valley.

This project has examined how Catawba settlement aggregation, refugee incorporation, and political coalescence affected the scale of interaction networks and communities of practice in the lower Catawba River valley during the mid-eighteenth century. While European ideologies regarding individualism and consumerism were being introduced to Indian groups through their participation in the deerskin trade, we should not assume that this prevented people from creating and maintaining cooperative communities of practice, just as they do today. Certain productive activities, like farming, may have been more likely candidates for bringing Catawba women together than others, such as making pottery. On the other hand, it is clear that despite—or perhaps because—they were living in the heart of the Catawba Nation, the Charraw deliberately

set themselves apart from their neighbors through subtle manipulations of style, and conducted certain tasks on their own. Ultimately, this study highlights the double-edged nature of strategies available to American Indian populations seeking to maintain political autonomy in early colonial period contexts. Catawba militarism provided warriors an opportunity to demonstrate their bravery and ensured they were on good terms with colonial authorities, but also put them in a *precarious* position with regard to obtaining the very ammunition necessary to pursue this strategy. Similarly, settlement aggregation may have provided safety, but it also contributed to the circumscription of the Catawba towns by European settlers and enemy raiding parties, and resulted in an increasingly anthropogenic environment near Nation Ford. Nevertheless, these strategies, along with the Catawba's willingness to bridge the cultural divide between themselves and Carolina, enabled them to maintain political autonomy throughout the eighteenth century. In the process, Catawba communities formed lasting bonds with each other and the lower Catawba valley itself. Even after evacuating their settlements in 1759, stricken with the losses of so many family and friends, the Catawba did not remain scattered; the river drew them home.

Appendix A. Characteristics of rim sherds larger than 3 cm from Nassaw-Weyapee (38Yk434).

Orientation	Rim Type	Lip	Smoothed	Burnished	Cob Marked	Complicated Stamped	Complicated St. + Fabric Impressed	Cord Marked	Fabric Impressed	Simple Stamped	Indeterminate	Indeterminate Stamped
Everted	Indeterminate	Flattened									1	
Everted	Plain	Exterior Bevel	1									1
Everted	Plain	Interior Bevel	2					1				
Everted	Plain	Flattened	10	5		2						1
Everted	Plain	Rounded	6			1						
Everted	Plain	Rounded, Notched	1									
Everted	Plain, Flaring	Flattened	1	1							1	
Everted	Plain, Flaring	Rounded	5	1								
Everted	Plain, Thinned	Interior Bevel	1									
Everted	Plain, Thinned	Flattened	1	1				1				
Everted	Plain, Thinned	Indeterminate	1									
Everted	Plain, Thinned	Rounded		1								
Everted	Rim Strip	Exterior Bevel, Notched										1
Everted	Rim Strip	Interior Bevel									1	
Everted	Rim Strip	Flattened	4			7	1	6			10	5
Everted	Rim Strip	Rounded						1				1
Everted	Plain, Flaring	Flattened				1					2	
Everted	Plain, Flaring	Rounded									1	
Everted	Rim Strip, Thinned	Exterior Bevel									1	
Everted	Rim Strip, Thinned	Interior Bevel										1
Everted	Rim Strip, Thinned	Flattened										1
Everted	Rim Strip, Thinned	Rounded	1									1

Appendix A. Characteristics of rim sherds larger than 3 cm from Nassaw-Weyapee (38Yk434).

Orientation	Rim Type	Lip	Smoothed	Burnished	Cob Marked	Complicated Stamped	Complicated St. + Fabric Impressed	Cord Marked	Fabric Impressed	Simple Stamped	Indeterminate	Indeterminate Stamped
Everted	Thickened	Flattened						1				
Everted	Thickened	Rounded									2	
Indeterminate	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	1									
Indeterminate	Indeterminate	Flattened									1	
Indeterminate	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	1					1				
Indeterminate	Indeterminate	Rounded									1	
Indeterminate	Plain	Exterior Bevel, Notched	3								1	
Indeterminate	Plain	Flattened	7	2		1		1			2	
Indeterminate	Plain	Flattened, Notched	1									
Indeterminate	Plain	Indeterminate	1					1				
Indeterminate	Plain	Rounded	7	1				1			3	
Indeterminate	Plain, Flaring	Flattened	1									
Indeterminate	Plain, Flaring	Rounded									1	
Indeterminate	Plain, Thinned	Acute	1									
Indeterminate	Plain, Thinned	Exterior Bevel	1									
Indeterminate	Plain, Thinned	Flattened	2	1		1						
Indeterminate	Plain, Thinned	Indeterminate	1									
Indeterminate	Plain, Thinned	Rounded	4			1						
Indeterminate	Rim Strip	Flattened				1		2			16	
Indeterminate	Rim Strip	Indeterminate				1		1			4	
Indeterminate	Rim Strip	Rounded	1					1			9	3
Indeterminate	Rim Strip, Thinned	Exterior Bevel, Notched									2	

Appendix A. Characteristics of rim sherds larger than 3 cm from Nassaw-Weyapee (38Yk434).

Orientation	Rim Type	Lip	Smoothed	Burnished	Cob Marked	Complicated Stamped	Complicated St. + Fabric Impressed	Cord Marked	Fabric Impressed	Simple Stamped	Indeterminate	Indeterminate Stamped
Indeterminate	Rim Strip, Thinned	Flattened				1					3	
Indeterminate	Rim Strip, Thinned	Indeterminate				1					1	
Indeterminate	Rim Strip, Thinned	Rounded									2	
Inverted	Plain	Exterior Bevel	1									
Inverted	Plain	Exterior Bevel, Notched	1									
Inverted	Plain	Flattened	30	7				3				1
Inverted	Plain	Rounded	2	2								
Inverted	Plain, Flaring	Flattened	1									
Inverted	Plain, Thinned	Flattened	10	1				1				
Inverted	Plain, Thinned	Rounded	1	1								
Inverted	Rim Strip	Flattened						1			2	
Inverted	Rim Strip	Rounded	1									
Vertical	Plain	Flattened	43	7				3		1	2	4
Vertical	Plain	Rounded	7					1	1		1	1
Vertical	Plain, Thinned	Flattened	8	2								
Vertical	Plain, Thinned	Rounded	2									
Vertical	Rim Strip	Exterior Bevel						1				
Vertical	Rim Strip	Flattened	2		1	3		6			17	3
Vertical	Rim Strip	Rounded						1				
Vertical	Rim Strip, Thinned	Flattened	1								4	
Vertical	Thickened	Exterior Bevel				1						
Vertical	Thickened	Flattened									1	2

Appendix A. Characteristics of rim sherds larger than 3 cm from Nassaw-Weyapee (38Yk434).

Specimen Number	Rim Type	Orientation	Surface Treatment	Diameter (cm)	Percent Present	Vessel Type	Punctuation Stylus Form	Motif
2521p1662	Rim Strip	Everted	Indeterminate Stamped	30	<5	Jar	Finger	
2521p1664	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	25	<5	Bowl		
2521p1664	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	13	5-10	Indeterminate		
2521p1700	Plain, Flaring	Everted	Burnished	23	<5	Indeterminate		
2521p1631	Plain, Thinned	Vertical	Smoothed	25	<5	Bowl		
2521p1637	Rim Strip	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	25	5-10	Jar		
2521p1644	Rim Strip	Everted	Cord Marked	32	<5	Jar		
2521p1601	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	30	<5	Indeterminate	Finger	
2521p1601	Rim Strip	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	31	<5	Jar	Rectangular	
2521p1588	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	33	<5	Bowl		Horizontal
2521p1585	Plain, Flaring	Everted	Smoothed	10	5-10	Miniature		
2521p1585	Plain	Everted	Smoothed	19	5-10	Indeterminate		
2521p1621	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	25	<5	Shallow Bowl		
2521p1606	Plain	Inverted	Cord Marked	30	5-10	Bowl		Nested Concave Arc
2521p1538	Plain	Everted	Smoothed	?	<5	Pan		
2521p1538	Rim Strip	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	24	5-10	Jar	Finger	
2521p1528	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	30	<5	Indeterminate		
2521p1517	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	30	<5	Indeterminate		
2521p1507	Plain, Thinned	Inverted	Smoothed	25	<5	Carinated Bowl		Horizontal
2521p1501	Plain, Thinned	Everted	Smoothed	24	5-10	Bowl		
2521p1467	Plain, Thinned	Vertical	Smoothed	30	<5	Indeterminate		

Appendix A. Characteristics of rim sherds larger than 3 cm from Nassaw-Weyapee (38Yk434).

Specimen Number	Rim Type	Orientation	Surface Treatment	Diameter (cm)	Percent Present	Vessel Type	Punctuation Stylus Form	Motif
2521p1478	Plain	Everted	Smoothed	18	5-10	Bowl		Horizontal
2521p1435	Rim Strip	Inverted	Indeterminate	30	<5	Bowl	Circular	
2521p1448	Plain	Indeterminate	Smoothed	30	5-10	Bowl		Chevron-HatchedBelow
2521p1431	Rim Strip, Thinned	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	45	<5	Jar	ThinRect	
2521p1405	Plain	Everted	Smoothed	20	<5	Indeterminate		
2521p1404	Plain	Vertical	Indeterminate Stamped	26	<5	Bowl		
2521p1367	Rim Strip	Vertical	Indeterminate	27	<5	Jar	Indeterminate	
2521p1340	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	35	<5	Bowl		Horizontal
2521p1347	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	20	<5	Indeterminate		
2521p1336	Plain	Inverted	Cord Marked	25	10-15	Carinated Bowl		Horizontal
2521p1336	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	30	<5	Shallow Bowl		
2521p1329	Rim Strip	Vertical	Complicated Stamped	23	5-10	Jar	Indeterminate	
2521p1329	Rim Strip	Vertical	Cord Marked	25	<5	Indeterminate	Finger	
2521p1329	Plain, Flaring	Everted	Smoothed	20	<5	Bowl		
2521p1315	Plain	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	25	<5	Bowl		
2521p1311	Plain	Vertical	Cord Marked	20	<5	Bowl		
2521p1304	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	18	5-10	Bowl		Halved Circles
2521p1304	Rim Strip	Indeterminate	Cord Marked	32	<5	Jar		
2521p1295	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	20	<5	Bowl		
2521p1181	Rim Strip	Vertical	Cord Marked	25	<5	Jar	Finger	
2521p1181	Plain	Vertical	Simple Stamped	20	5-10	Bowl		
2521p1202	Rim Strip	Vertical	Cord Marked	25	5-10	Jar	Finger	
2521p1202	Rim Strip	Vertical	Complicated Stamped	28	<5	Jar		

Appendix A. Characteristics of rim sherds larger than 3 cm from Nassaw-Weyapee (38Yk434).

Specimen Number	Rim Type	Orientation	Surface Treatment	Diameter (cm)	Percent Present	Vessel Type	Punctuation Stylus Form	Motif
2521p1202	Plain	Vertical	Cord Marked	30	<5	Bowl		
2521p1212	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	30	<5	Carinated Bowl		Nested Concave Arc
2521p1239	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	35	<5	Bowl		Horizontal
2521p1283	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	18	<5	Carinated Bowl		
2521p1290	Plain	Vertical	Cord Marked	30	<5	Indeterminate		
2521p1139	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	20	<5	Bowl		
2521p1113	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	23	<5	Bowl		
2521p1121	Plain	Everted	Smoothed	30	5-10	Carinated Bowl		Horizontal
2521p1121	Rim Strip	Everted	Indeterminate	16	5-10	Jar	Indeterminate	
2521p1121	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	20	<5	Bowl		
2521p1130	Rim Strip	Vertical	Indeterminate	17	10-15	Jar	Indeterminate	
2521p1130	Rim Strip	Everted	Cord Marked	25	<5	Jar	Indeterminate	
2521p1090	Plain	Everted	Smoothed	22	<5	Bowl		
2521p1099	Plain	Vertical	Indeterminate Stamped	24	<5	Bowl		Nested Chevron
2521p1099	Plain	Everted	Smoothed	25	<5	Bowl		
2521p1105	Plain, Thinned	Inverted	Smoothed	20	<5	Bowl		Horizontal
2521p1105	Rim Strip	Everted	Indeterminate Stamped	18	5-10	Jar	Finger	
2521p1067	Plain	Vertical	Indeterminate Stamped	22	<5	Indeterminate	Rectangular	
2521p1074	Rim Strip	Everted	Indeterminate	21	5-10	Jar	Indeterminate	
2521p1074	Plain	Everted	Burnished	25	<5	Indeterminate		
2521p1080	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	20	5-10	Bowl		Nested V
2521p1047	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	25	<5	Indeterminate		

Appendix A. Characteristics of rim sherds larger than 3 cm from Nassaw-Weyapee (38Yk434).

Specimen Number	Rim Type	Orientation	Surface Treatment	Diameter (cm)	Percent Present	Vessel Type	Punctuation Stylus Form	Motif
2521p1047	Rim Strip	Vertical	Indeterminate	17	<5	Jar		
2521p1038	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	19	<5	Bowl		Horizontal
2521p1031	Plain, Thinned	Vertical	Smoothed	15	5-10	Bowl		Horizontal
2521p1023	Plain	Vertical	Indeterminate	35	<5	Indeterminate	Finger	
2521p1757	Plain, Thinned	Vertical	Smoothed	33	<5	Bowl		Horizontal
2521p1757	Plain	Inverted	Burnished	20	15-20	Carinated Bowl		Nested Concave Arc
2521p3202	Rim Strip	Vertical	Indeterminate	37	<5	Jar	Rectangular	
2521p3199	Rim Strip, Thinned	Everted	Indeterminate Stamped	14	5-10	Jar	Finger	
2521p3295	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	18	<5	Bowl		
2521p3295	Plain	Vertical	Indeterminate Stamped	20	<5	Bowl		
2521p3387	Plain, Flaring	Everted	Smoothed	18	5-10	Bowl		
2521p3340	Plain, Flaring	Everted	Smoothed	10	<5	Bowl		
2521p3176	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	29	<5	Bowl		
2521p3290	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	18	5-10	Bowl		
2521p2230	Plain	Everted	Burnished	30	5-10	Bowl		
2521p2138	Rim Strip, Flaring	Everted	Complicated Stamped	34	<5	Jar	Finger	
2521p2138	Rim Strip	Vertical	Smoothed	28	5-10	Jar		
2521p2138	Rim Strip	Everted	Indeterminate Stamped	13	10-15	Jar		
2521p2212	Plain	Indeterminate	Smoothed	20	<5	Bowl		Nested Concave Arc
2521p2268	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	15	<5	Carinated Bowl		

Appendix A. Characteristics of rim sherds larger than 3 cm from Nassaw-Weyapee (38Yk434).

Specimen Number	Rim Type	Orientation	Surface Treatment	Diameter (cm)	Percent Present	Vessel Type	Punctuation Stylus Form	Motif
2521p2277	Plain	Everted	Complicated Stamped	33	5-10	Bowl		
2521p3702	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	18	5-10	Bowl		Horizontal
2521p2889	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	6	15-20	Miniature		
2521p2865	Rim Strip	Everted	Cord Marked	19	15-20	Jar	Finger	
2521p2028	Rim Strip	Everted	Smoothed	25	5-10	Jar	Rectangular	
2521p2138	Rim Strip	Everted	CompSt-FabricMk	20	10-15	Jar		
2521p3549	Plain	Everted	Indeterminate Stamped	22	<5	Bowl		
2521p3564	Thickened	Everted	Indeterminate	18	5-10	Indeterminate	Finger	
2521p3564	Thickened	Vertical	Indeterminate Stamped	35	<5	Jar		
2521p3579	Plain	Inverted	Burnished	27	<5	Bowl		
2521p3523	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	35	<5	Shallow Bowl		
2521p3523	Rim Strip, Thinned	Vertical	Indeterminate	24	<5	Jar	Rectangular	
2521p3440	Rim Strip	Vertical	Cord Marked	23	5-10	Jar	Finger	
2521p3589	Rim Strip	Vertical	Indeterminate	23	<5	Jar	Finger	
2521p3234	Plain	Everted	Smoothed	38	<5	Indeterminate		
2521p3469	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	30	<5	Bowl		Horizontal
2521p3610	Rim Strip	Vertical	Indeterminate	17	5-10	Jar	Finger	
2521p3411	Thickened	Everted	Indeterminate	10	5-10	Indeterminate	Finger	
2521p3531	Rim Strip	Vertical	Indeterminate	28	<5	Jar	Finger	
2521p3596	Rim Strip	Vertical	Cord Marked	25	<5	Jar	ThinRect	
2521p3596	Plain	Everted	Burnished	21	<5	Jar		
2521p3596	Plain, Thinned	Inverted	Smoothed	25	<5	Bowl		Nested V
2521p3596	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	26	<5	Shallow Bowl		Horizontal

Appendix A. Characteristics of rim sherds larger than 3 cm from Nassaw-Weyapee (38Yk434).

Specimen Number	Rim Type	Orientation	Surface Treatment	Diameter (cm)	Percent Present	Vessel Type	Punctuation Stylus Form	Motif
2521p3330	Rim Strip	Vertical	Indeterminate	15	5-10	Jar	Finger	
2521p2893	Plain, Flaring	Everted	Burnished	14	5-10	Jar		
2521p2893	Rim Strip	Vertical	Indeterminate Stamped	35	<5	Jar	Indeterminate	
2521p3021	Plain, Flaring	Everted	Indeterminate	15	5-10	Jar		
2521p2966	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	14	5-10	Carinated Bowl		Nested Concave Arc
2521p2912	Rim Strip	Vertical	Indeterminate	20	<5	Jar	Rectangular	
2521p2902	Plain, Thinned	Inverted	Smoothed	25	<5	Carinated Bowl		Chevron-Hatched Above
2521p2825	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	25	<5	Carinated Bowl		Horizontal
2521p2977	Plain	Vertical	Burnished	28	5-10	Carinated Bowl		
2521p2402	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	28	15-20	Carinated Bowl		Oblique Right
2521p2366	Plain, Flaring	Everted	Smoothed	14	<5	Bowl		Horizontal
2521p3003	Rim Strip	Everted	Cord Marked	34	15-20	Jar	Rectangular	
2521p4146	Plain	Everted	Cord Marked	35	<5	Indeterminate		
2521p4146	Plain	Inverted	Burnished	26	<5	Bowl		Horizontal
2521p4133	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	27	<5	Carinated Bowl		Horizontal
2521p4133	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	27	<5	Bowl		Nested Concave Arc
2521p4274	Thickened	Everted	Cord Marked	23	<5	Jar		
2521p4158	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	32	<5	Carinated Bowl		Horizontal
2521p4123	Rim Strip	Everted	Cord Marked	30	5-10	Jar	Finger	
2521p4123	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	30	5-10	Carinated Bowl		Nested Concave Arc

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Specimen Number	Rim Type	Orientation	Surface Treatment	Diameter (cm)	Percent Present	Vessel Type	Punctuation Stylus Form	Motif
2521p4179	Rim Strip	Everted	Cord Marked	28	5-10	Jar	Finger	
2521p4039	Rim Strip	Everted	Complicated Stamped	31	5-10	Jar	Rectangular	
2521p4039	Rim Strip	Everted	Complicated Stamped	20	<5	Jar	Rectangular	
2521p3987	Thickened	Vertical	Complicated Stamped	14	20-25	Jar		
2521p3877	Rim Strip	Vertical	Cob Marked	14	10-15	Jar	Finger	
2521p3877	Plain	Vertical	Cord Marked	19	5-10	Carinated Bowl		
2521p1974	Plain	Everted	Smoothed	13	5-10	Indeterminate		
2521p1867	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	29	<5	Indeterminate		
2521p1800	Plain, Thinned	Everted	Smoothed	23	5-10	Carinated Bowl		Chevron-Hatched Above
2521p1800	Plain	Everted	Burnished	29	<5	Hemispherical Bowl		
2521p1793	Plain	Inverted	Burnished	34	<5	Carinated Bowl		
2521p1819	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	38	<5	Bowl		Horizontal
2521p1824	Plain	Inverted	Burnished	18	5-10	Carinated Bowl		
2521p1825	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	19	<5	Bowl		
2521p2125	Plain	Vertical	Burnished	21	<5	Bowl		
2521p1805	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	27	5-10	Bowl		
2521p2177	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	28	<5	Bowl		Nested Concave Arc
2521p1676	Rim Strip	Vertical	Indeterminate Stamped	15	<5	Jar		
2521p1676	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	18	5-10	Bowl		
2521p1676	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	15	5-10	Indeterminate		

Appendix A. Characteristics of rim sherds larger than 3 cm from Nassaw-Weyapee (38Yk434).

Specimen Number	Rim Type	Orientation	Surface Treatment	Diameter (cm)	Percent Present	Vessel Type	Punctuation Stylus Form	Motif
2521p1922	Rim Strip	Everted	Complicated Stamped	24	10-15	Jar	Finger	
2521p2197	Plain, Thinned	Vertical	Burnished	28	10-15	Carinated Bowl		Nested Concave Arc
2521p2197	Rim Strip	Everted	Complicated Stamped	25	20-25	Jar	Finger	
2521p2203	Rim Strip	Everted	Smoothed	25	15-20	Jar	Rectangular	
2521p1818	Plain	Vertical	Burnished	18	5-10	Carinated Bowl		Chevron-Hatched Above
2521p1834	Plain, Thinned	Inverted	Burnished	6	10-15	Miniature		
2521p1834	Rim Strip	Vertical	Indeterminate	20	5-10	Jar		
2521p2023	Plain	Vertical	Burnished	22	>25	Hemispherical Bowl		
2521p2043	Rim Strip	Everted	Complicated Stamped	20	20-25	Jar	Rectangular	
2521p2043	Rim Strip	Everted	Indeterminate Stamped	20	5-10	Jar		
2521p2043	Rim Strip	Everted	Indeterminate Stamped	30	<5	Jar	Rectangular	Chevron
2521p2043	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	14	5-10	Bowl		Nested V
2521p2043	Plain	Everted	Burnished	24	5-10	Hemispherical Bowl		
2521p2058	Plain, Thinned	Inverted	Smoothed	14	5-10	Carinated Bowl		Nested Concave Arc
2521p2058	Rim Strip	Everted	Smoothed	35	<5	Jar	Rectangular	
2521p3777	Rim Strip	Everted	Complicated Stamped	27	10-15	Jar	Rectangular	
2521p1223	Rim Strip	Vertical	Cord Marked	33	<5	Jar		
2521p1762	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	24	5-10	Bowl		Horizontal
2521p4072	Rim Strip	Everted	Cord Marked	21	20-25	Jar	Finger	

Appendix A. Characteristics of rim sherds larger than 3 cm from Nassaw-Weyapee (38Yk434).

Specimen Number	Rim Type	Orientation	Surface Treatment	Diameter (cm)	Percent Present	Vessel Type	Punctuation Stylus Form	Motif
2521p2310	Plain	Everted	Complicated Stamped	12	20-25	Jar		
2521p3952	Plain	Inverted	Burnished	19	>25	Bowl		
2521p1779	Rim Strip, Thinned	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	20	5-10	Jar		
2521p1770	Rim Strip, Thinned	Vertical	Smoothed	25	<5	Jar	Rectangular	
2521p1762	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	25	5-10	Bowl		
2521p1741	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	30	<5	Bowl		Nested Concave Arc
2521p1739	Plain, Thinned	Vertical	Smoothed	23	<5	Bowl		Horizontal
2521p1739	Rim Strip, Thinned	Vertical	Indeterminate	35	<5	Jar	Rectangular	
2521p1728	Rim Strip	Everted	Indeterminate	30	<5	Jar	Finger	
2521p1725	Plain	Everted	Smoothed	25	<5	Bowl		
2521p1759	Rim Strip	Everted	Complicated Stamped	27	5-10	Jar	Rectangular	
2521p1755	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	23	5-10	Bowl		
2521p1739	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	40	<5	Bowl		Horizontal
2521p1714	Rim Strip, Flaring	Everted	Indeterminate	16	5-10	Jar		
2521p1714	Rim Strip, Thinned	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	16	5-10	Jar	Indeterminate	
2521p1695	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	25	<5	Bowl		Horizontal
2521p1695	Plain, Thinned	Vertical	Smoothed	23	<5	Bowl		Horizontal
2521p1677	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	23	<5	Bowl		Horizontal
2521p1716	Rim Strip	Indeterminate	Indeterminate	38	<5	Jar	Finger	
2521p1755	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	32	<5	Bowl		Horizontal

Appendix A. Characteristics of rim sherds larger than 3 cm from Nassaw-Weyapee (38Yk434).

Specimen Number	Rim Type	Orientation	Surface Treatment	Diameter (cm)	Percent Present	Vessel Type	Punctuation Stylus Form	Motif
2521p1692	Plain	Indeterminate	Smoothed	25	<5	Bowl	Finger	
2521p1685	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	30	<5	Bowl		
2521p1628	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	25	<5	Bowl		Halved Circles
2521p1660	Indeterminate	Everted	Indeterminate	23	5-10	Indeterminate		

Appendix B. Characteristics of rim sherds larger than 3 cm from Charraw Town (38Yk17).

Orientation	Rim type	Lip	Smoothed	Burnished	Cob Marked	Cord Marked	Fabric Impressed	Indeterminate	Indeterminate Stamped
Everted	Applique Strip Below Lip	Flattened						1	
Everted	Applique Strip Below Lip	Rounded	1						
Everted	Indeterminate	Flattened	1					1	
Everted	Indeterminate	Indeterminate					1	1	
Everted	Plain	Exterior Bevel				1			
Everted	Plain	Flattened	11	4					2
Everted	Plain	Rounded	5	1					1
Everted	Plain, Flaring	Flattened		1				1	2
Everted	Plain, Flaring	Rounded	2						
Everted	Rim Strip	Exterior Bevel						1	
Everted	Rim Strip	Interior Bevel				3		1	
Everted	Rim Strip	Flattened	4	1		7		10	4
Everted	Rim Strip	Indeterminate				1		1	
Everted	Rim Strip	Rounded	1					8	
Everted	Rim Strip, Flaring	Flattened						2	
Everted	Rim Strip, Flaring	Rounded				1		2	
Inverted	Indeterminate	Flattened						1	
Inverted	Plain	Exterior Bevel	1						
Inverted	Plain	Flattened	20	7		1		1	
Inverted	Plain	Flattened, Notched	3						
Inverted	Plain	Rounded	3	2					
Inverted	Plain, Flaring	Rounded	1						
Inverted	Plain, Thinned	Bevel-Interior	1						

Appendix B. Characteristics of rim sherds larger than 3 cm from Charraw Town (38Yk17).

Orientation	Rim type	Lip	Smoothed	Burnished	Cob Marked	Cord Marked	Fabric Impressed	Indeterminate	Indeterminate Stamped
Inverted	Plain, Thinned	Flattened	1						
Inverted	Rim Strip	Flattened	1			1		1	
Inverted	Rim Strip, Thinned	Flattened						1	
Vertical	Indeterminate	Flattened	1					3	
Vertical	Indeterminate	Rounded						1	
Vertical	Plain	Interior Bevel, Notched	1						
Vertical	Plain	Flattened	16	9		3		1	3
Vertical	Plain	Flattened, Notched	4	1					
Vertical	Plain	Rounded	5			1		1	
Vertical	Plain	Rounded, Notched	1						
Vertical	Plain, Flaring	Indeterminate						1	
Vertical	Plain, Thinned	Rounded	1						
Vertical	Rim Strip	Flattened	3		1	5		26	
Vertical	Rim Strip	Rounded	1					2	1
Vertical	Rim Strip	Rounded, Notched						1	
Vertical	Rim Strip, Thinned	Flattened						4	1
Vertical	Rim Strip, Thinned	Rounded						2	
Indeterminate	Indeterminate	Indeterminate				1		1	
Indeterminate	Applique Strip Below Lip	Flattened						1	
Indeterminate	Indeterminate	Flattened						1	
Indeterminate	Indeterminate	Indeterminate		1				3	
Indeterminate	Indeterminate	Rounded	1					2	
Indeterminate	Plain	Exterior Bevel	1						

Appendix B. Characteristics of rim sherds larger than 3 cm from Charraw Town (38Yk17).

Orientation	Rim type	Lip	Smoothed	Burnished	Cob Marked	Cord Marked	Fabric Impressed	Indeterminate	Indeterminate Stamped
Indeterminate	Plain	Flattened	1			1			
Indeterminate	Plain	Indeterminate	1						
Indeterminate	Plain	Rounded						2	
Indeterminate	Plain, Thinned	Flattened	1						
Indeterminate	Plain, Thinned	Rounded	1						
Indeterminate	Rim Strip	Flattened						3	
Indeterminate	Rim Strip	Indeterminate						8	
Indeterminate	Rim Strip, Thinned	Flattened	1						

Specimen Number	Rim type	Orien-tation	Surface treatment	Diameter (cm)	Percent Present	Vessel Form	Punctuation Stylus Form	Incision Motif
2556p369	Rim Strip	Everted	Indeterminate	30	<5	Jar	Rectangular	
2556p379	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	25	<5	Bowl		
2556p402	Plain	Vertical	Burnished	32	<5	Bowl		
2556p417	Plain	Everted	Smoothed	25	5	Jar		
2556p488	Rim Strip	Inverted	Indeterminate	13	10	Jar	Thin Rectangular	
2556p539	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	14	5-10	Bowl		
2556p552	Plain	Everted	Smoothed	14	5	Jar		
2556p561	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	20	<5	Carinated Bowl		Chevron
2556p563	Plain	Everted	Indeterminate Stamped	15	<5	Jar		
2556p570	Rim Strip	Everted	Cord Marked	20	10	Jar	Finger	

Appendix B. Characteristics of rim sherds larger than 3 cm from Charraw Town (38Yk17).

Specimen Number	Rim type	Orien- tation	Surface treatment	Diameter (cm)	Percent Present	Vessel Form	Punctuation Stylus Form	Incision Motif
2556p580	Rim Strip	Vertical	Indeterminate	23	<5	Jar	Thin Rectangular	
2556p580	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	25	<5	Bowl		Alternate Oblique
2556p587	Rim Strip	Everted	Indeterminate Stamped	25	10	Jar	Indeterminate	
2556p593	Plain	Vertical	Burnished	26	5	Bowl		
2556p596	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	30	5	Bowl		
2556p604	Rim Strip	Everted	Cord Marked	20	10	Jar	Finger	
2556p606	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	25	<5	Bowl		Alternate Oblique
2556p610	Rim Strip	Vertical	Cord Marked	35	<5	Jar	Rectangular	
2556p610	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	25	5	Bowl		Nested Concave Arc
2556p88	Rim Strip, Flaring	Everted	Indeterminate	25	<5	Jar	Finger	
2556p127	Rim Strip	Vertical	Indeterminate	30	<5	Jar		
2556p129	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	25	<5	Indetermi nate		
2556p132	Plain	Inverted	Burnished	18	5	Bowl		
2556p141	Plain	Everted	Smoothed	15	5	Bowl		
2556p145	Plain	Everted	Burnished	25	<5	Bowl		
2556p145	Plain, Flaring	Everted	Burnished	20	<5	Indetermi nate		
2556p145	Plain	Vertical	Indeterminate	20	<5	Indetermi nate		
2556p152	Plain	Inverted	Burnished	20	<5	Bowl		
2556p159	Plain	Everted	Smoothed	15	5	Jar		
2556p159	Plain	Vertical	Cord Marked	26	<5	Bowl		
2556p176	Plain	Everted	Indeterminate Stamped	20	<5	Indetermi nate		
2556p190	Plain	Inverted	Burnished	23	<5	Bowl		

Appendix B. Characteristics of rim sherds larger than 3 cm from Charraw Town (38Yk17).

Specimen Number	Rim type	Orien- tation	Surface treatment	Diameter (cm)	Percent Present	Vessel Form	Punctuation Stylus Form	Incision Motif
2556p238	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	25	<5	Bowl		
2556p244	Plain	Vertical	Burnished	25	<5	Bowl		
2556p268	Rim Strip	Vertical	Indeterminate	15	<5	Jar	Rectangular	
2556p277	Rim Strip	Vertical	Indeterminate	18	<5	Jar	Rectangular	
2556p277	Rim Strip, Flaring	Everted	Indeterminate	17	5	Jar	Finger	
2556p287	Plain	Everted	Smoothed	20	5	Bowl		
2556p302	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	20	<5	Bowl		
2556p315	Rim Strip	Vertical	Smoothed	25	5	Jar		
2556p315	Rim Strip	Vertical	Smoothed	25	5	Jar		
2556p623	Plain	Everted	Cord Marked	26	5	Bowl		
2556p634	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	22	5	Jar		
2556p647	Rim Strip	Vertical	Smoothed	27	<5	Jar		
2556p665	Applique Strip Below Lip	Everted	Smoothed	25	5-10	Jar	Indeterminate	
2556p688	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	22	5	Bowl		
2556p697	Rim Strip	Vertical	Indeterminate	19	5	Jar	Thin Rectangular	
2556p729	Plain	Inverted	Burnished	27	5	Carinated Bowl		
2556p746	Rim Strip	Everted	Cord Marked	20	10	Jar	Finger	
2556p751	Rim Strip, Flaring	Everted	Indeterminate	25	<5	Jar	Finger	
2556p762	Plain, Thinned	Vertical	Smoothed	31	<5	Bowl		
2556p777	Plain	Inverted	Burnished	26	<5	Bowl		
2556p777	Plain	Vertical	Burnished	29	5	Bowl		
2556p777	Indeterminate	Everted	Smoothed	19	5	Indetermi nate		

Appendix B. Characteristics of rim sherds larger than 3 cm from Charraw Town (38Yk17).

Specimen Number	Rim type	Orien- tation	Surface treatment	Diameter (cm)	Percent Present	Vessel Form	Punctuation Stylus Form	Incision Motif
2556p789	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	20	<5	Indetermi- nate		
2556p794	Rim Strip	Everted	Indeterminate	40	<5	Jar		
2556p794	Rim Strip	Everted	Smoothed	25	5	Jar		
2556p794	Rim Strip	Everted	Indeterminate	30	<5	Jar	Indeterminate	
2556p794	Rim Strip	Everted	Cord Marked	35	<5	Jar	Rectangular	
2556p794	Rim Strip	Everted	Indeterminate Stamped	25	10	Jar	Indeterminate	
2556p802	Rim Strip, Thinned	Vertical	Indeterminate	34	<5	Jar	Rectangular	
2556p806	Plain	Inverted	Smoothed	34	<5	Bowl		
2556p857	Rim Strip	Vertical	Indeterminate Stamped	25	5	Jar	Rectangular	
2556p860	Rim Strip	Everted	Indeterminate	34	<5	Jar	Rectangular	
2556p868	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	40	<5	Bowl		
2556p868	Plain	Everted	Smoothed	16	10	Pinch Pot	Indeterminate	Horizontal lines and small punctations
2556p876	Indeterminate	Vertical	Indeterminate	25	<5	Indetermi- nate	Indeterminate	
2556p884	Plain	Everted	Smoothed	15	5-10	Bowl		
2556p884	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	25	<5	Bowl		Alternate Oblique
2556p900	Rim Strip	Vertical	Smoothed	19	5	Indetermi- nate		
2556p900	Plain, Thinned	Inverted	Smoothed	30	<5	Bowl		
2556p900	Rim Strip	Everted	Cord Marked	37	<5	Jar		
2556p917	Plain	Vertical	Burnished	22	<5	Bowl		
2556p932	Rim Strip	Indeterm- inate	Indeterminate	35	<5	Jar		
2556p960	Plain	Vertical	Indeterminate Stamped	29	<5	Indetermi- nate		

Appendix B. Characteristics of rim sherds larger than 3 cm from Charraw Town (38Yk17).

Specimen Number	Rim type	Orien- tation	Surface treatment	Diameter (cm)	Percent Present	Vessel Form	Punctuation Stylus Form	Incision Motif
2556p970	Rim Strip	Vertical	Cord Marked	35	<5	Jar	Rectangular	
2556p981	Rim Strip	Vertical	Indeterminate	35	5	Jar	Finger	
2556p1002	Plain	Everted	Burnished	20	5	Bowl		
2556p1002	Rim Strip	Vertical	Cob Marked	34	<5	Jar		
2556p1002	Rim Strip	Everted	Indeterminate Stamped	25	5	Jar		
2556p1002	Plain	Everted	Smoothed	35	<5	Jar		
2556p1002	Plain	Everted	Smoothed	20	5	Jar		
2556p1015	Rim Strip	Everted	Smoothed	20	<5	Jar		
2556p1015	Rim Strip	Vertical	Cord Marked	30	5	Jar		
2556p1033	Rim Strip	Everted	Smoothed	20	15	Jar		
2556p1033	Rim Strip	Vertical	Indeterminate	37	5	Jar	Thin Rectangular	
2556p1046	Rim Strip	Everted	Indeterminate	25	10	Jar	Rectangular	
2556p1064	Rim Strip	Everted	Smoothed	20	15	Jar		
2556p1078	Plain	Inverted	Burnished	20	5	Bowl		
2556p1084	Plain, Flaring	Everted	Smoothed	20	5	Jar		
2556p1115	Plain	Vertical	Burnished	15	15	Bowl		
2556p1115	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	17	5	Bowl		
2556p1134	Rim Strip, Flaring	Everted	Cord Marked	25	5	Jar	Thin Rectangular	
2556p1134	Plain	Vertical	Smoothed	24	<5	Bowl		Nested Concave Arc
2556p1174	Rim Strip	Everted	Burnished	16	15	Jar		
2556p1230	Rim Strip	Vertical	Indeterminate	15	5	Jar		

Appendix C. Plant remains from Charraw Town (38Yk17) by context.

	Feature 1	Feature 2	Feature 3	Feature 4	Feature 5	Feature 6	Feature 7	West Midden	Post Hole 1
Number of samples	2	8	1	1	1	1	1	26	1
Total volume	3.5	88.5	13	14.5	26	10.5	4.5	206.5	4.5
Wood (g)	0.5	10.58	11.28	4.14	3.13	1.17	1.74	19.35	1.77
Total carbonized plant weight (g)	0.59	23.74	14.93	5.22	4.29	1.65	2.65	25.95	3.26
cf. Maize kernel	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
cf. Maize kernel (g)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<0.01	0
Maize kernel >2mm	0	21	9	1	3	2	2	27	0
Maize kernel >2mm (g)	0	0.22	0.1	<0.01	0.1	0.02	0.02	0.12	0
Maize kernel <2mm	0	15	6	3	2	0	0	45	0
Maize kernel <2mm (g)	0	0.04	0.01	<0.01	<0.01	0	0	0.03	0
Maize cob row section	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	1	2
Maize cob row section cupule count estimate	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	2	5
Maize cob row section (g)	0	0	0.28	0	0	0	0	0.04	0.13
Maize cupule fragment >2mm	2	72	102	10	16	5	10	275	42
Maize cupule fragment >2mm (g)	0.02	0.79	0.8	0.14	0.2	0.02	0.13	1.7	0.45
Maize cupule fragment <2mm	0	44	110	0	4	3	2	270	24
Maize cupule fragment <2mm (g)	0	0.1	0.25	0	0.01	0.01	<0.01	0.42	0.05
cf. Maize cupule fragment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
cf. Maize cupule fragment (g)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<0.01	0
Cowpea	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cowpea (g)	0	0	0.13	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cowpea fragment	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	0
Cowpea fragment (g)	0	0	0.03	0.02	0	0	0.02	0	0
Bean/Cowpea fragment >2mm	2	1	7	3	11	3	2	0	0
Bean/Cowpea fragment >2mm (g)	0.02	0.01	0.06	0.02	0.09	0.04	0.01	0	0
Bean/Cowpea fragment <2mm	0	1	11	0	2	0	0	0	0
Bean/Cowpea fragment <2mm (g)	0	<0.01	<0.01	0	<0.01	0	0	0	0

Appendix C. Plant remains from Charraw Town (38Yk17) by context.

	Feature 1	Feature 2	Feature 3	Feature 4	Feature 5	Feature 6	Feature 7	West Midden	Post Hole 1
Squash rind fragment >2mm	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Squash rind fragment >2mm (g)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<0.01	0
Squash rind fragment <2mm	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Squash rind fragment <2mm (g)	0	0	0	0	0	0	<0.01	0	0
Squash seed fragment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Hickory nutshell >2mm	0	221	11	8	4	3	11	42	9
Hickory nutshell >2mm (g)	0	5.72	0.22	0.11	0.08	0.18	0.16	0.38	0.24
Hickory nutshell <2mm	0	68	0	0	4	1	2	18	0
Hickory nutshell <2mm (g)	0	0.21	0	0	0.01	<0.01	0.01	0.02	0
cf. Hickory nutshell	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
cf. Hickory nutshell (g)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.01	0
Acorn nutshell >2mm	1	14	1	0	0	0	2	6	0
Acorn nutshell >2mm (g)	<0.01	0.09	0.09	0	0	0	0.01	0.02	0
Acorn nutshell <2mm	0	42	2	0	2	1	0	25	1
Acorn nutshell <2mm (g)	0	0.11	<0.01	0	<0.01	<0.01	0	~0.07	<0.01
cf. Acorn nutshell	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
cf. Acorn nutshell (g)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<0.01	0
Hazel nutshell	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hazel nutshell (g)	0	0	<0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gum seed fragment	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Gum seed (g)	0	0	0	0.03	0	0	0	0	0
Persimmon seed fragment	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Persimmon seed fragment (g)	0	0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
cf. Persimmon seed fragment	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peach endocarp fragment >2mm	0	82	21	7	11	6	17	102	28
Peach endocarp fragment >2mm (g)	0	4.01	0.53	0.23	0.23	0.11	0.22	0.71	0.62
Peach endocarp fragment <2mm	0	45	3	1	5	1	11	198	9
Peach endocarp fragment <2mm (g)	0	0.1	0.01	<0.01	0.01	<0.01	0.03	0.4	0.04

Appendix C. Plant remains from Charraw Town (38Yk17) by context.

	Feature 1	Feature 2	Feature 3	Feature 4	Feature 5	Feature 6	Feature 7	West Midden	Post Hole 1
cf. Peach endocarp fragment	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
cf. Peach endocarp fragment (g)	0	0	0.01	0	0	0	0	<0.01	0
Peach seed fragment	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peach seed fragment (g)	0	0.04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Plum/Cherry endocarp fragment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Plum/Cherry endocarp fragment (g)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.01	0
Watermelon seed fragment	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maypop seed	1	2	7	1	0	0	0	1	0
Maypop seed fragment	0	21	99	3	1	1	0	50	4
Grape seed	0	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Grape seed fragment	0	12	18	2	1	0	1	13	2
Rubus seed	0	3	2	1	0	0	1	7	0
Rubus seed fragment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	0
cf. Rubus seed	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Strawberry seed	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Weedy Legume seed	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	6	0
Purslane seed	0	2	8	0	2	2	1	9	0
Tobacco seed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0
Spurge seed	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	5	0
Verbena seed	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Myrica seed fragment	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
cf. Myrica seed fragment	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Pokeweed seed	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
cf. Pokeweed seed fragment	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Grass seed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
cf. Scirpus seed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0

Appendix D. Plant remains from Nassaw (38Yk434) Features 1 – 30.

	Feature 1 Borrow Pit	Feature 2a Borrow Pit	Feature 12	Feature 16	Feature 18	Feature 21	Feature 23	Feature 24	Feature 26	Feature 29	Feature 30
Samples	10	8	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1
Volume (L)	57	62.5	14	7	1	6	6	24	7	6	6.5
Wood (g)	36.11	7.04	9.86	1.38	0.07	1.63	3.55	10	3.14	1.88	0.47
Total carbonized plant weight (g)	43.8	8.42	11.93	1.57	0.09	3.3	4.17	10.43	9.59	2.02	0.53
Maize kernel >2mm	27	3	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maize kernel >2mm (g)	0.3	0.04	0.05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maize kernel <2mm	5	2	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maize kernel <2mm (g)	<0.01	<0.01	0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maize cob row section	9	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	16	0	0
Maize cob row section cupule count estimate	23	11	5	0	0	0	0	0	40	0	0
Maize cob row section (g)	0.87	0.31	0.2	0	0	0	0	0	1.01	0	0
Maize cupule fragment >2mm	204	289	62	4	1	0	19	13	177	2	6
Maize cupule fragment >2mm (g)	1.84	2.77	0.5	0.02	0.01	0	0.1	0.09	1.09	0.01	0.05
Maize cupule fragment <2mm	171	196	57	4	1	0	22	8	97	1	5
Maize cupule fragment <2mm (g)	0.32	0.35	0.1	0.01	<0.01	0	0.03	0.02	0.12	<0.01	0.01
Cowpea	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cowpea (g)	0.21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cowpea fragment	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cowpea fragment (g)	0.03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bean/Cowpea	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bean/Cowpea (g)	0.03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bean/Cowpea fragment >2mm	37	0	2	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
Bean/Cowpea fragment >2mm (g)	0.42	0	0.04	0	0	0.03	0	0	0	0	0
Bean/Cowpea fragment <2mm	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix D. Plant remains from Nassaw (38Yk434) Features 1 – 30.

	Feature 1 Borrow Pit	Feature 2a Borrow Pit	Feature 12	Feature 16	Feature 18	Feature 21	Feature 23	Feature 24	Feature 26	Feature 29	Feature 30
Bean/Cowpea fragment <2mm (g)	<0.01	0	0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Squash rind fragment >2mm	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Squash rind fragment >2mm (g)	0.03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Squash rind fragment <2mm	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iva/Sunflower seed fragment	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iva/Sunflower seed fragment (g)	<0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hickory nutshell >2mm	26	1	17	2	0	0	0	0	8	1	0
Hickory nutshell >2mm (g)	1.23	0.02	0.38	0.02	0	0	0	0	0.08	0.01	0
Hickory nutshell <2mm	10	1	10	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hickory nutshell <2mm (g)	0.02	<0.01	0.03	<0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Acorn nutmeat	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Acorn nutmeat (g)	0.05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.02	0	0	0
Acorn nutshell >2mm	14	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	3	0	0
Acorn nutshell >2mm (g)	0.14	0	0.01	0	<0.01	0	0.01	0	0.01	0	0
Acorn nutshell <2mm	29	0	6	0	11	0	1	0	0	0	0
Acorn nutshell <2mm (g)	0.02	0	<0.01	0	0.01	0	<0.01	0	0	0	0
Peach endocarp fragment >2mm	19	1	17	2	0	0	3	1	0	0	0
Peach endocarp fragment >2mm (g)	0.88	<0.01	0.29	0.02	0	0	0.03	0.01	0	0	0
Peach endocarp fragment <2mm	2	0	12	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0
Peach endocarp fragment <2mm (g)	<0.01	0	0.04	0	0	0	0.01	<0.01	0	0	0
Peach seed fragment	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peach seed fragment (g)	0.02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
cf. Apple core	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maypop seed	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix D. Plant remains from Nassaw (38Yk434) Features 1 – 30.

	Feature 1 Borrow Pit	Feature 2a Borrow Pit	Feature 12	Feature 16	Feature 18	Feature 21	Feature 23	Feature 24	Feature 26	Feature 29	Feature 30
Maypop seed fragment	8	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Grape seed	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Grape seed fragment	1	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rubus seed	72	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Rubus seed fragment	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Strawberry seed	39	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Purslane seed	3	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	22	0	0
Tobacco seed	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	0
Pokeweed seed	1	0	0	0	1	0	8	2	0	0	0
Grass seed	0	0	0	2	0	79	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix E. Plant remains from Nassaw (38Yk434) Features 52 – 62.

	Feature 52	Feature 53	Feature 54	Feature 55	Feature 56	Feature 57	Feature 58	Feature 59	Feature 60	Feature 61	Feature 62
Samples	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2
Volume (L)	8	8.5	15	8	12	8	20	9	8.5	9	20.5
Wood (g)	27.04	3.74	2.18	9.53	5.39	4.1	16.46	0.33	26.81	8.42	4.97
Total carbonized plant weight (g)	28.85	5.6	2.63	9.75	5.88	4.66	19.13	0.42	27.44	8.87	5.87
Maize kernel >2mm	2	5	0	0	1	0	6	1	0	2	0
Maize kernel >2mm (g)	0.03	0.04	0	0	<0.01	0	0.04	0.01	0	0.01	0
Maize kernel <2mm	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	2	3	0
Maize kernel <2mm (g)	<0.01	0	0	0	0	0	<0.01	0	<0.01	0.01	0
Maize cob row section	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Maize cob row section cupule count estimate	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	16
Maize cob row section (g)	0	0	0	0.08	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.34
Maize cupule fragment >2mm	12	5	10	6	22	1	24	0	0	4	36
Maize cupule fragment >2mm (g)	0.15	0.03	0.07	0.04	0.12	<0.01	0.19	0	0	0.02	0.2
Maize cupule fragment <2mm	2	1	6	5	8	8	22	0	0	2	18
Maize cupule fragment <2mm (g)	0.01	<0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.03	0	0	<0.01	0.03
Bean fragment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Bean fragment (g)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.03	0	0
Bean/Cowpea fragment >2mm	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Bean/Cowpea fragment >2mm (g)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.01	0	0	0	0
Squash rind fragment <2mm	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Squash rind fragment <2mm (g)	0	0	<0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hickory nutshell >2mm	27	29	0	2	4	11	18	0	1	4	2
Hickory nutshell >2mm (g)	0.49	1	0	0.02	0.07	0.18	0.48	0	0.01	0.03	0.1

Appendix E. Plant remains from Nassaw (38Yk434) Features 52 – 62.

	Feature 52	Feature 53	Feature 54	Feature 55	Feature 56	Feature 57	Feature 58	Feature 59	Feature 60	Feature 61	Feature 62
Hickory nutshell <2mm	3	0	2	0	0	2	6	0	0	0	0
Hickory nutshell <2mm (g)	0.01	0	<0.01	0	0	0.01	0.02	0	0	0	0
Acorn nutmeat	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Acorn nutmeat (g)	0.01	0	0	0	0	0.02	0	0	0	0	0
Acorn nutshell >2mm	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Acorn nutshell >2mm (g)	<0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Acorn nutshell <2mm	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Acorn nutshell <2mm (g)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<0.01	0
Persimmon seed fragment	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Persimmon seed fragment (g)	0.06	0	0	0	0	0	0.02	0	0	0	0
Peach endocarp fragment >2mm	2	1	0	1	5	2	5	1	0	2	0
Peach endocarp fragment >2mm (g)	0.04	0.07	0	0.01	0.03	0.02	0.85	0.01	0	0.08	0
Peach endocarp fragment <2mm	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	2	0
Peach endocarp fragment <2mm (g)	<0.01	0	0	0	0	0	0.01	<0.01	0	0.01	0
Apple seed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Maypop seed	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maypop seed fragment	1	2	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	2
Grape seed fragment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Strawberry seed	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Purslane seed	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Spurge seed	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pokeweed seed	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0
Grass seed	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Amaranthus seed	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix F. Plant remains from Nassaw (38Yk434) general excavation contexts.

	North Midden	South Midden	North Activity Area	South Activity Area	North House Area	South House Area	West House Area
Samples	11	3	10	6	7	5	19
Volume (L)	92	16.5	62.5	37	55.5	42.5	185
Wood (g)	9.29	5.12	9.38	7.3	2.1	8.99	6.7
Total carbonized plant weight (g)	11.73	9.77	12.65	11.33	2.57	10.73	10.6
Maize kernel >2mm	6	1	5	5	0	8	1
Maize kernel >2mm (g)	0.09	0.01	0.08	0.02	0	0.08	0.01
Maize kernel <2mm	0	1	1	1	0	2	1
Maize kernel <2mm (g)	0	<0.01	<0.01	<0.01	0	<0.01	<0.01
Maize cob row section	0	1	0	0	0	1	27
Maize cob row section cupule count estimate	0	3	0	0	0	2	70
Maize cob row section (g)	0	0.09	0	0	0	0.09	1.88
Maize cupule fragment >2mm	118	196	101	97	75	25	454
Maize cupule fragment >2mm (g)	0.89	2.22	0.98	0.8	0.65	0.23	3.57
Maize cupule fragment <2mm	42	39	49	45	46	6	248
Maize cupule fragment <2mm (g)	0.09	0.12	0.12	0.11	0.07	<0.01	0.39
Bean/Cowpea fragment >2mm	0	0	0	6	0	1	0
Bean/Cowpea fragment >2mm (g)	0	0	0	0.05	0	<0.01	0
Bean/Cowpea fragment <2mm	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Bean/Cowpea fragment <2mm (g)	0	0	0	0.02	0	0	0
Squash seed fragment	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Squash seed fragment (g)	0	0	0	0.01	0	0	0
Hickory nutshell >2mm	8	32	33	40	0	5	0
Hickory nutshell >2mm (g)	0.11	0.63	1.06	0.74	0	0.1	0
Hickory nutshell <2mm	8	4	16	8	1	1	2
Hickory nutshell <2mm (g)	0.02	0.01	0.05	0.03	<0.01	<0.01	<0.01
Acorn nutmeat	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Acorn nutmeat (g)	0	0	0	0.02	0	0	0
cf. Acorn nutmeat	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
cf. Acorn nutmeat (g)	0	0	0	0	0	0.02	0
Acorn nutshell >2mm	2	3	0	0	0	1	1
Acorn nutshell >2mm (g)	0.01	0.02	0	0	0	<0.01	<0.01
Acorn nutshell <2mm	2	3	6	0	0	3	3
Acorn nutshell <2mm (g)	<0.01	<0.01	<0.01	0	0	<0.01	<0.01
cf. Chestnut nutshell	0	0	0	1	0	0	0

Appendix F. Plant remains from Nassaw (38Yk434) general excavation contexts.

cf. Chestnut nutshell (wt)	0	0	0	<0.01	0	0	0
Dogwood seed fragment	0	0	5	0	0	0	0
Dogwood seed fragment (g)	0	0	0.02	0	0	0	0
Peach endocarp fragment >2mm	35	49	18	29	2	0	4
Peach endocarp fragment >2mm (g)	0.32	2.05	0.32	0.64	0.01	0	0.05
Peach endocarp fragment <2mm	25	15	26	11	5	0	3
Peach endocarp fragment <2mm (g)	0.06	0.05	0.07	0.02	0.01	0	0.01
Maypop seed	2	1	0	2	0	0	0
Maypop seed fragment	3	9	4	11	0	0	0
Grape seed fragment	2	3	1	0	0	2	0
Rubus seed	2	0	1	0	0	0	1
Rubus seed fragment	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Strawberry seed	0	11	0	1	0	0	0
Weedy Legume seed	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Weedy Legume seed fragment	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sumac seed	0	0	6	0	1	0	0
Sumac seed fragment	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
Purslane seed	0	0	4	1	1	0	4
Mustard family seed	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Plantain seed	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Myrica seed fragment	10	1	0	0	0	0	0
Grass seed	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Scirpus seed	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix G. Plant remains from Weyapee (38Yk434).

	Sq. 490R486	Feature 44	Feature 46	Feature 47	Feature 48
Samples	1	1	2	1	1
Volume (L)	10	12	23	8	6.5
Wood (g)	0.82	2.71	10.82	0.8	1.15
Total carbonized plant weight (g)	0.88	5.1	11.32	1.01	1.24
Maize kernel >2mm	0	0	1	0	0
Maize kernel >2mm (g)	0	0	0.09	0	0
Maize cupule fragment >2mm	1	0	1	2	0
Maize cupule fragment >2mm (g)	<0.01	0	0.01	0.02	0
Maize cupule fragment <2mm	2	0	0	0	0
Maize cupule fragment <2mm (g)	<0.01	0	0	0	0
Acorn nutshell >2mm	0	0	1	0	0
Acorn nutshell >2mm (g)	0	0	0.01	0	0
Acorn nutshell <2mm	0	0	0	0	1
Acorn nutshell <2mm (g)	0	0	0	0	<0.01
Persimmon seed fragment	0	0	0	0	1
Persimmon seed fragment (g)	0	0	0	0	<0.01
Peach endocarp fragment >2mm	1	9	8	0	0
Peach endocarp fragment >2mm (g)	<0.01	0.37	0.07	0	0
Peach endocarp fragment <2mm	1	0	5	0	0
Peach endocarp fragment <2mm (g)	<0.01	0	0.01	0	0
Rubus seed	0	0	1	0	0
Rubus seed fragment	0	0	1	0	0
Spurge seed	0	0	1	0	0
Pokeweed seed	0	0	1	0	0

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