

MAPPING CATAWBA COALESCENCE

by
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Abstract

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Naming Catawba

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Documents of Deerskin

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

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

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

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

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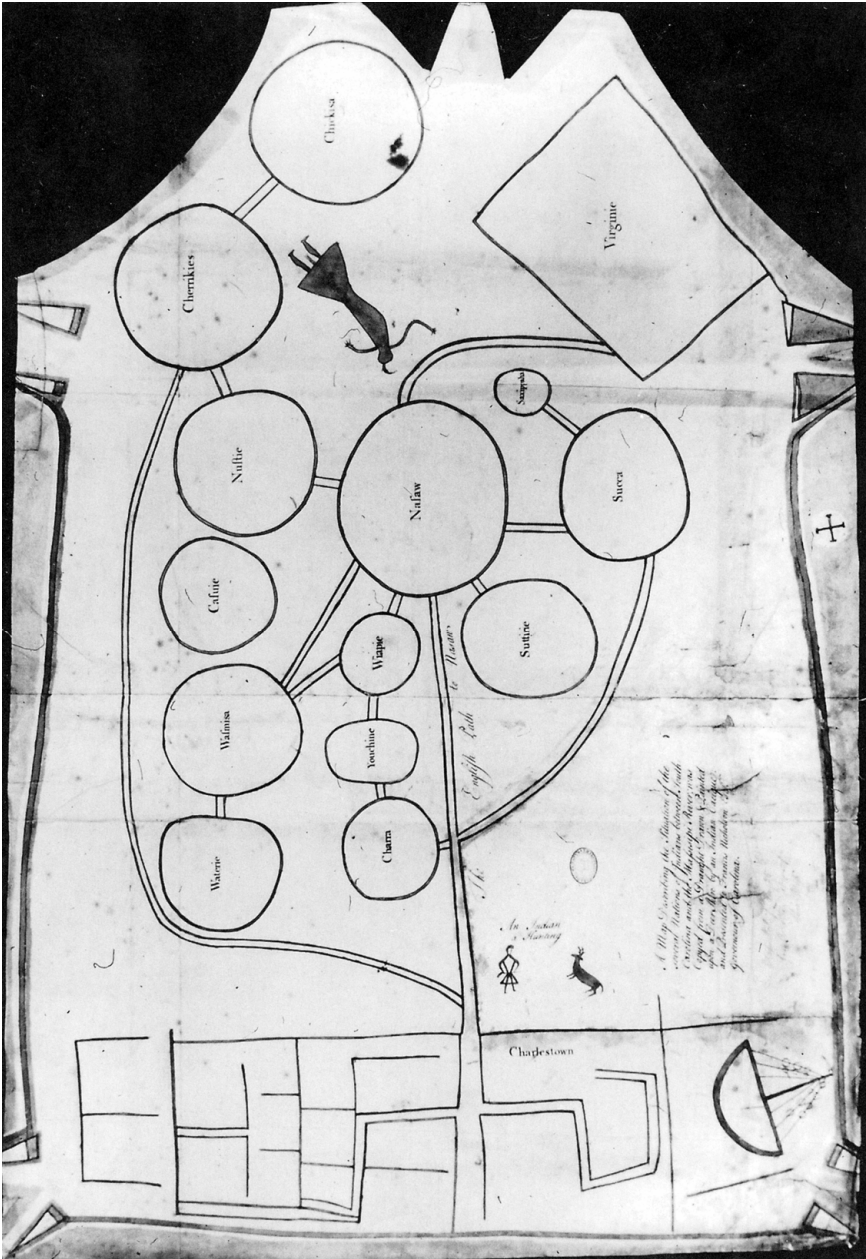


Figure 1. Copy of the deerskin map a Catawba leader presented to South Carolina Governor Nicholson in 1721 (from Waselkov 1989).

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

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

The Carolina mapmaker, and by extension the group of individuals involved in organizing the collective knowledge and understandings the map depicts, *could* in theory have chosen to present the piedmont communities as a single, large circle on the map to assert their political and economic importance. Does the absence of such a depiction indicate a refusal to do so, or an inability to speak with one voice? The latter possibility has often been suggested. Baker (1975:87) notes that Adair’s description of the polyglot “Catawba Nation” has led researchers to the conclusion that the Catawba were “little more than a heterogeneous amalgam of refugees from diverse broken societies.” Besides the variety of languages or dialects Adair recorded, the formation of a cohesive political entity was presumably hampered by variation in the political histories of the piedmont groups. Certain members, such as the Wateree and the Congaree, the latter often considered to have been incorporated within the confederacy despite their omission from the 1721 map (Baker

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1975:63; Merrell 1989:105), were descendents of individuals who lived within the Cofitachique chiefdom. Others, like the Sara (Cheraw), were originally from the northern piedmont of what is today North Carolina, where forms of centralized political organization had not become as entrenched as they did farther south.

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

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

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

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

Living by the Trail

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mapping Catawba

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

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

Trail Routes

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

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

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

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

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

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

Communities of Potters

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

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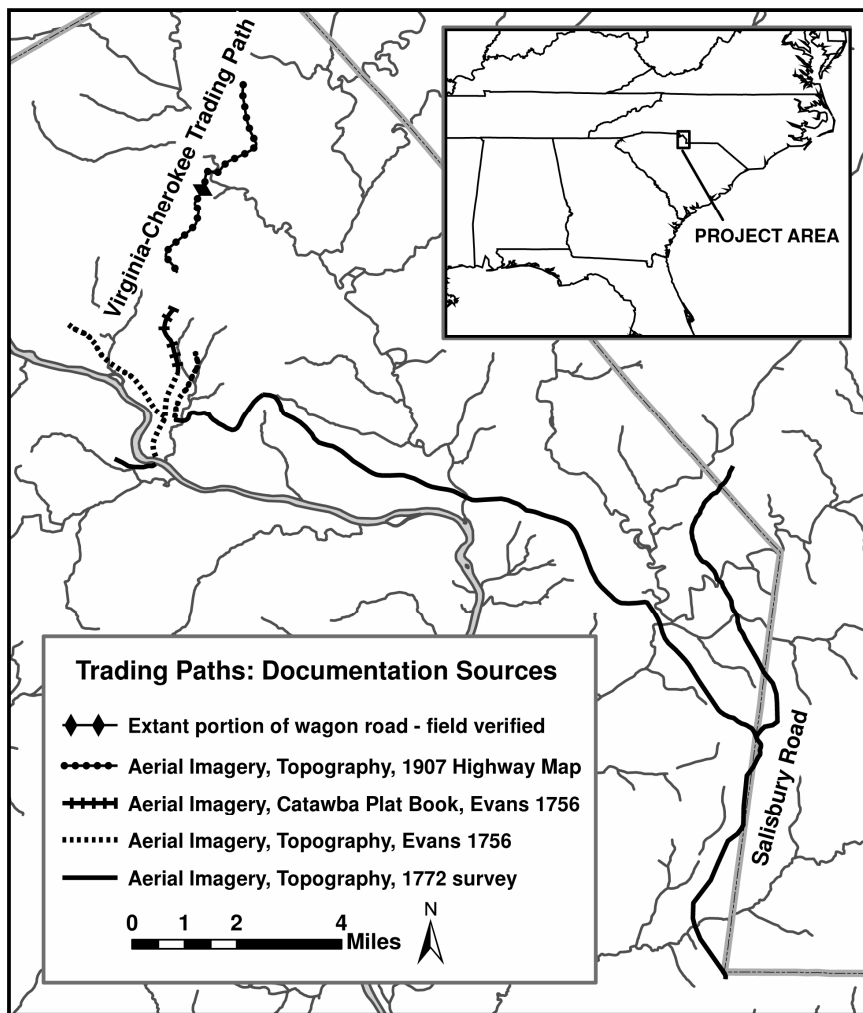


Figure 2. Map of trading path routes based on John Evans' map of 1756 (Merrell 1989), a map of the 1772 NC-SC boundary survey (Darby 1772–1802), plats in the Catawba Plat and Lease Book (Superintendents of the Catawba Nation 1810–1825), topographic survey in the early twentieth century (USGS 1907), modern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

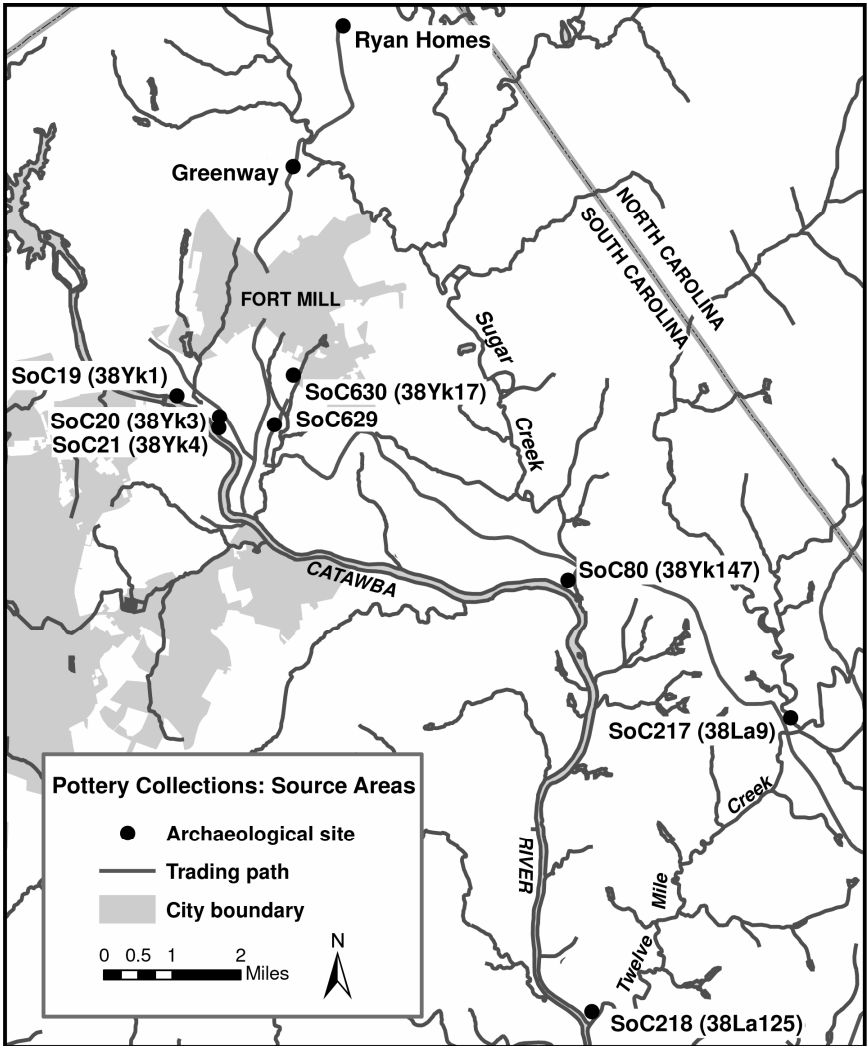


Figure 3. The location of ten archaeological sites in the lower Catawba valley from which the analyzed pottery assemblages were collected.

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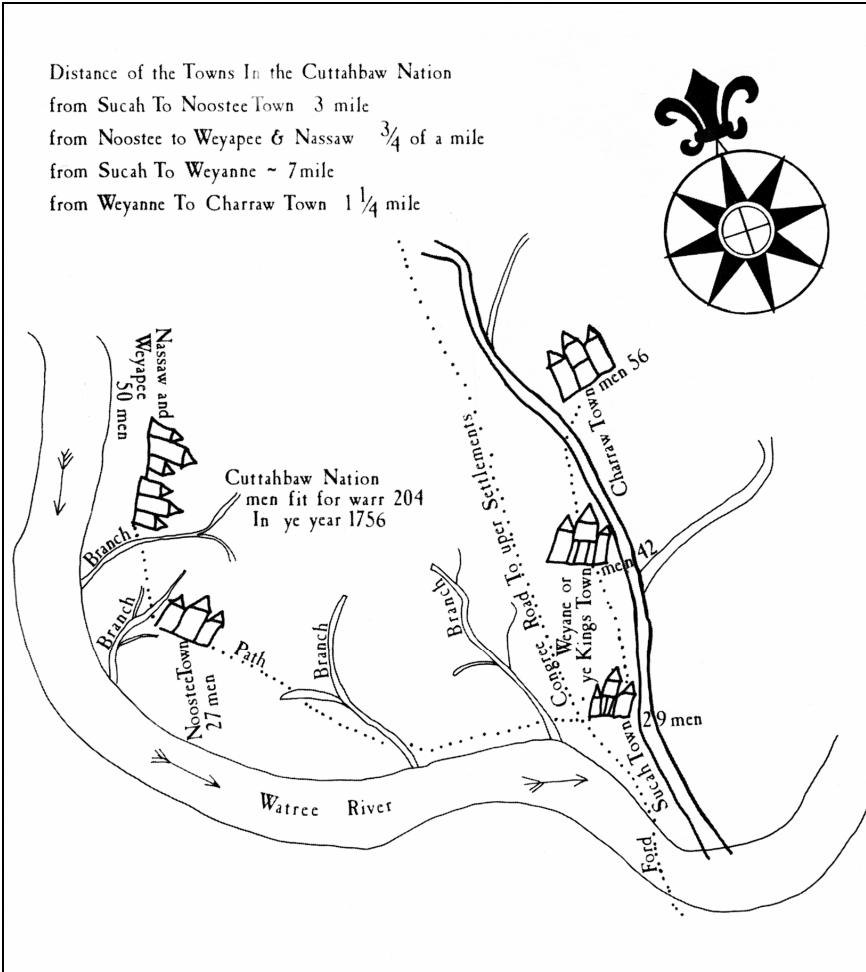


Figure 4. Map by John Evans, 1756: “Cuttawhaw Nation, men fit for Warr 204....” The estimate of “7 Mile” between Suchah and Weyane is most likely a transcription error, and should probably read “1 Mile” (Merrell 1989).

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

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

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

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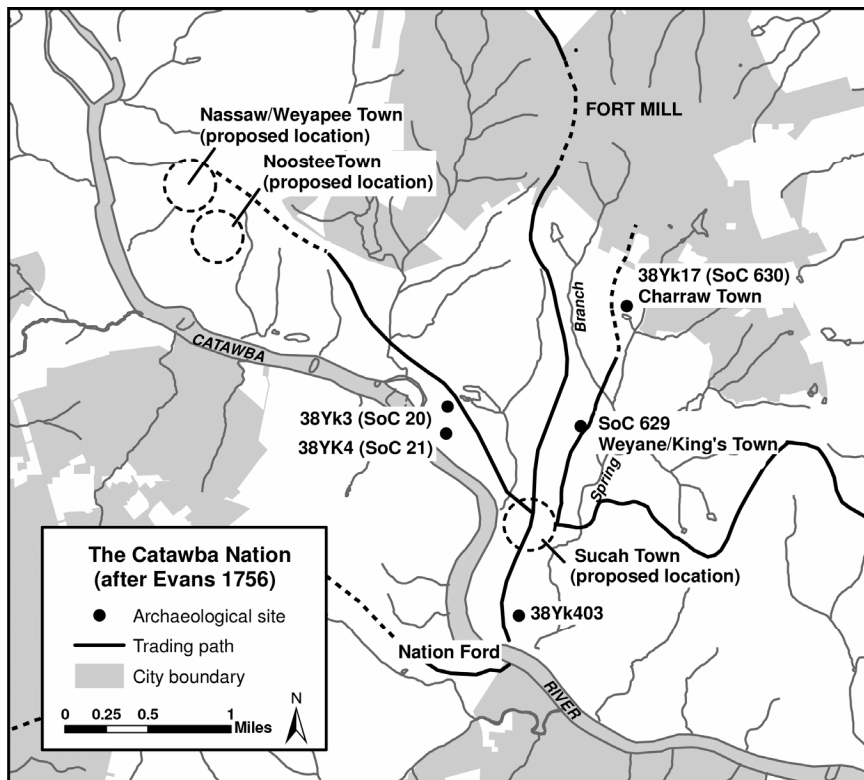


Figure 5. A region of the lower Catawba valley thought to approximate the area mapped by Evans in 1756, showing paths, recorded archaeological sites, and the proposed locations of villages.

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

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

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Table 1 continued.

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

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

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

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

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

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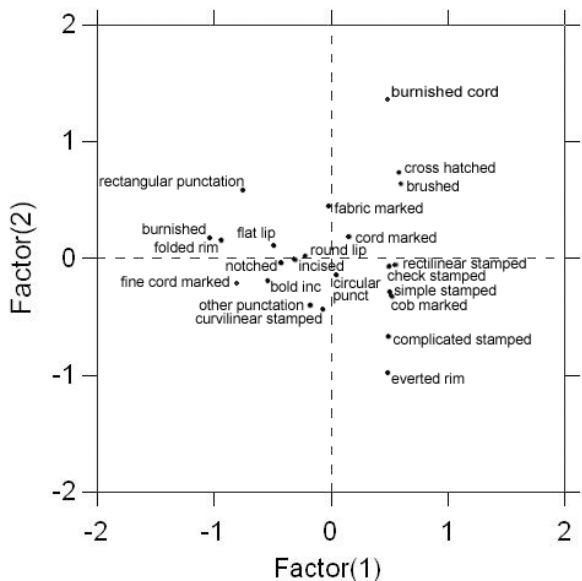
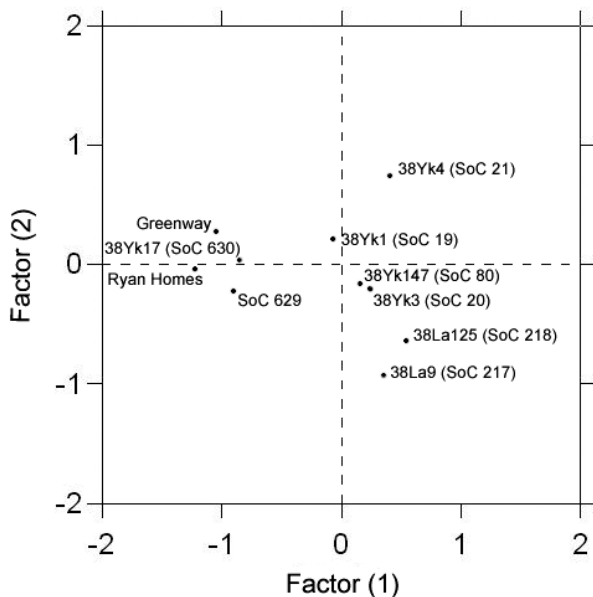


Figure 6. Biplot illustrating the results of correspondence analysis of ten ceramic assemblages from the lower Catawba valley. The results for the dependent variables (archaeological sites) are on top, and those for the independent variables (pottery attributes) are on the bottom.

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

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

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

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

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of surface treatment have high positive loadings on Factor 1. This sorting appears to distinguish late seventeenth and early eighteenth century ceramic production practices that have been termed Caraway (Coe 1995) and Cowan's Ford (Moore 2002) from earlier methods of pottery production.⁷ Factor 2, on the other hand, appears to distinguish burnished cord-marked and cross-hatched sherds in general⁸ from complicated-stamped sherds. Assemblages that contain greater numbers of complicated-stamped sherds have high negative loadings on Factor 2, while assemblages containing burnished cord-marked and over-stamped sherds have high positive loadings for Factor 2. This distinction also appears to have chronological significance, separating assemblages dominated by surface treatment characteristics generally attributed to the Late Woodland period (Anderson 1990; West 2000[1987]) from those created during the Mississippian period (Coe 1995; Moore 2002; Williams and Shapiro 1990).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

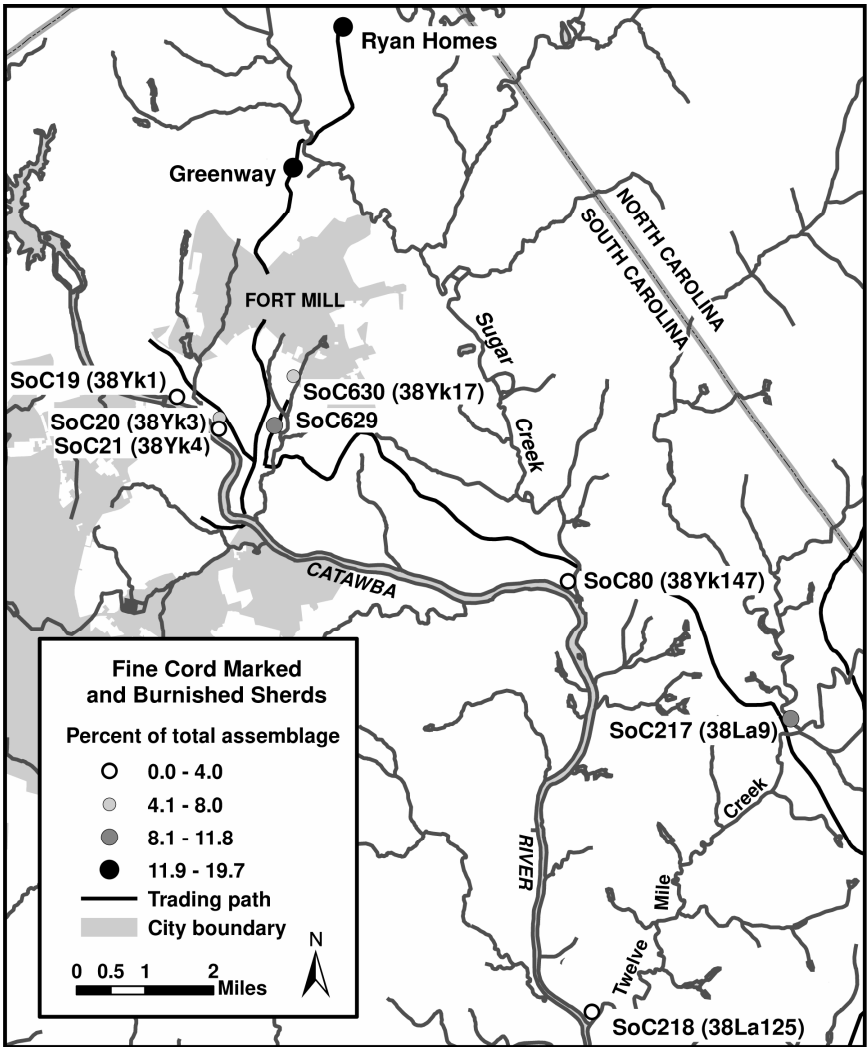


Figure 7. Distribution of fine cord-marked and burnished sherds in the lower Catawba valley, expressed as a percentage of the total number of sherds in each assemblage.

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

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

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

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

^c Expressed as sherd counts.

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

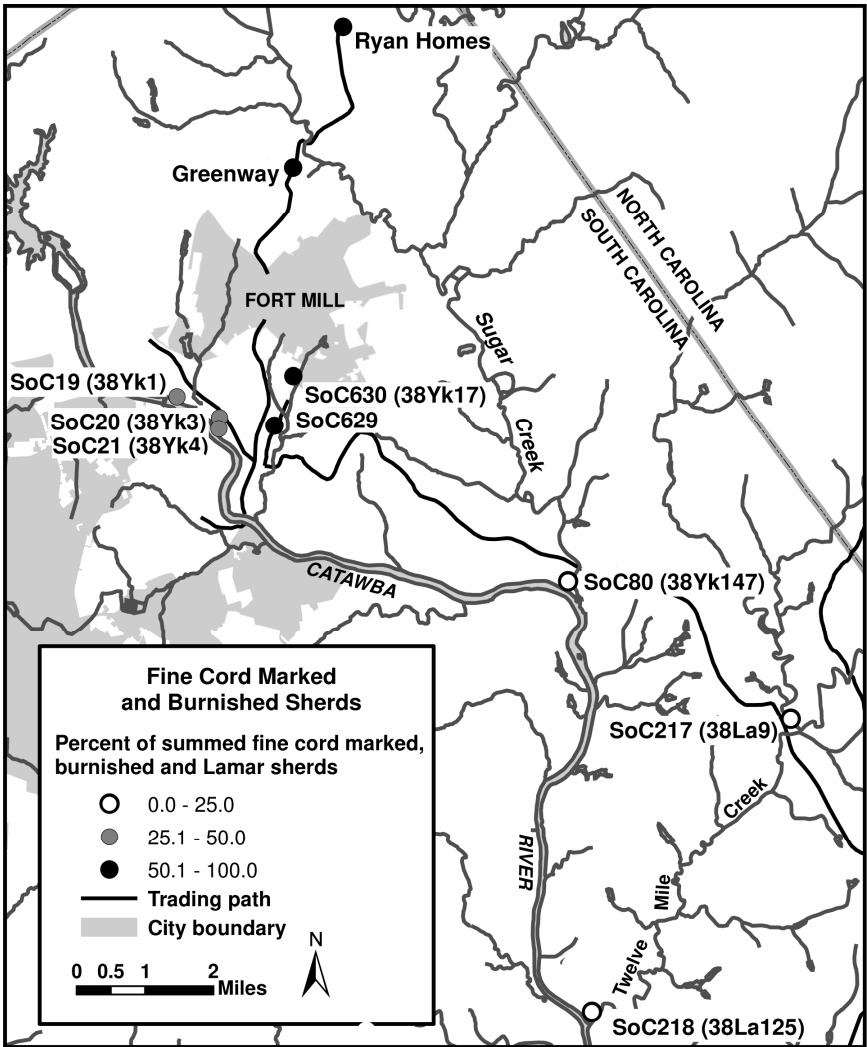


Figure 8. Distribution of fine cord-marked and burnished sherds in the lower Catawba valley, calculated as a percentage of the summed total of burnished, fine cord-marked, and Lamar sherds in each assemblage.

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

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

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

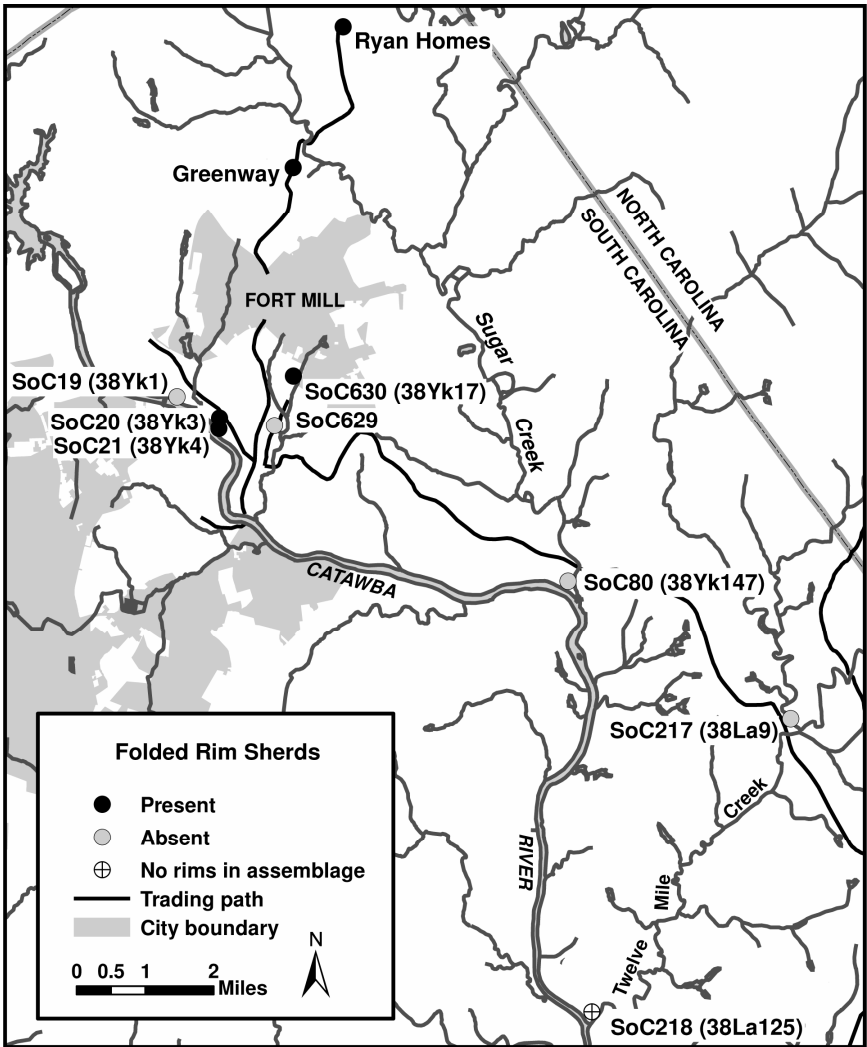


Figure 9. The spatial distribution of folded rim sherds in ten assemblages from the lower Catawba valley.

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

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

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

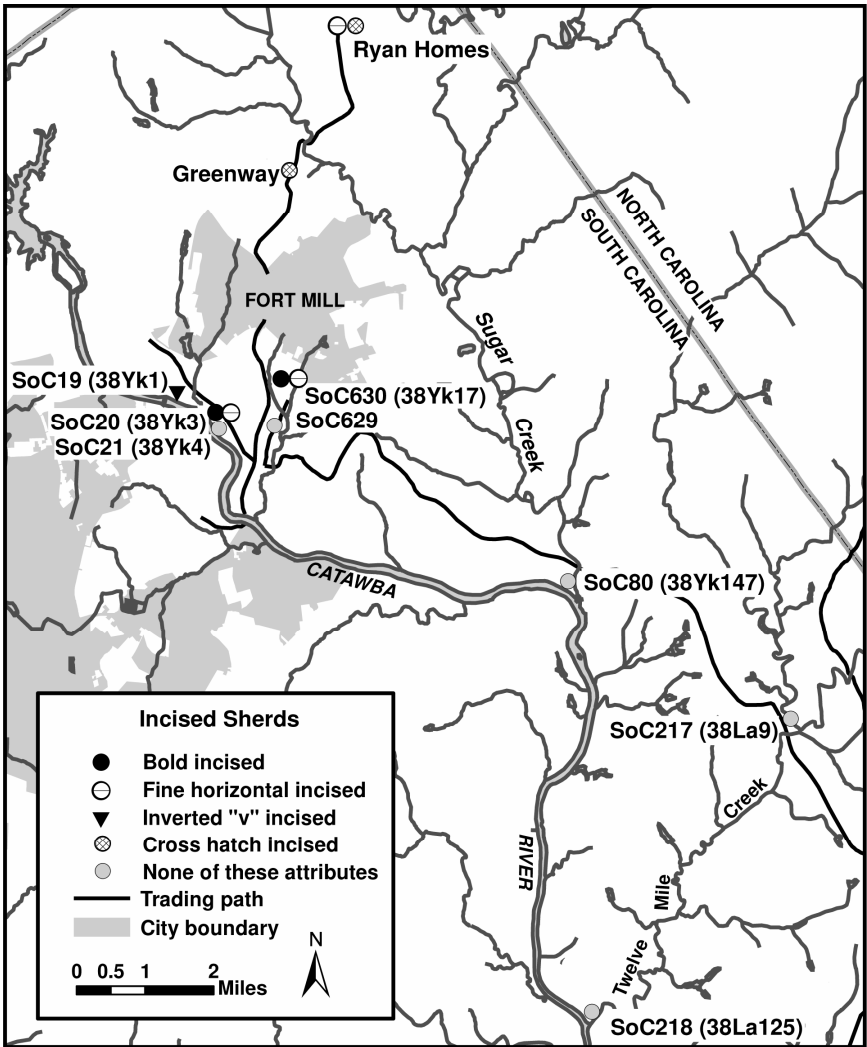


Figure 10. The spatial distribution of incised patterns in ten assemblages from the lower Catawba valley.

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

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

Potters and Politics

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Naming Catawba (Reprise)

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

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

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

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

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

Notes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Attribute	Ryan Homes	Green-way	SoC629	38Yk17 (SoC630)	38La9 (SoC217)	38La125 (SoC218)	38Yk1 (SoC19)	38Yk3 (SoC20)	38Yk4 (SoC21)	38Yk147 (SoC80)
Surface Treatment										
Smoothed*	157	51	7	114	4	10	11	142	40	9
Burnished	14	10	0	2	1	0	1	9	5	0
Cord marked	2	4	0	1	1	0	5	28	13	2
Fine cord marked	16	4	1	9	3	1	0	19	2	0
Burnished cord	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	0
Simple stamped	0	0	0	1	1	6	0	19	6	1
Cross-hatched ¹	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	16	22	0
Brushed	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	10	14	0
Fabric marked	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	3	4	1
Cob marked	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	6	1	0
Check stamped	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	13	4	1
Rectilinear st.	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	7	4	0
Curvilinear st.	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	2	0
Complicated st.	0	0	0	0	18	2	1	49	6	2
Unid stamped*	0	1	1	7	0	14	5	94	40	3
Total	191	71	9	137	34	35	25	417	173	19
Punctuation										
Rectangular	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0
Circular	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1
Other	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	3	0	0
Notched	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	1	0
Incising										
Bold (Lamar)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Fine horizontal	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Cross-hatched	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Inverted "v"	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Other	0	2	0	3	1	1	1	8	3	1

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Appendix A continued.

Attribute	Ryan Homes	Green- way	SoC629	38Yk17 (SoC630)	38La9 (SoC217)	38La125 (SoC218)	38Yk1 (SoC19)	38Yk3 (SoC20)	38Yk4 (SoC21)	38Yk147 (SoC80)
Rim Treatment										
Folded rim	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	0
Everted rim	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0
Rounded lip	2	1	1	4	2	0	0	7	5	2
Flattened lip	5	2	0	4	0	0	1	10	4	1

* Excluded from correspondence analysis.

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