SUMMARY REPORT OF 2007 ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT CATAWBA NASSAW TOWN (38YK434), YORK COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

by

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ABSTRACT

Between January and July 2007, the University of North Carolina's Research Laboratories of Archaeology (RLA) conducted archaeological survey and excavations at site 38Yk434 (RLA-SoC643), which contains mid-eighteenth century Catawba Indian village components associated with the former paired towns of Nassaw and Weyapee. These investigations, conducted near present-day Fort Mill in York County, South Carolina, are the fifth season of the Catawba Project, a research program that seeks to trace the historical trajectories of native societies of the Carolina piedmont through the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The 2007 archaeological investigations at 38Yk434 consisted of a systematic metal detecting survey, field school excavations totaling 184 square meters, and mechanical stripping in a portion of the site scheduled for development. These activities resulted in the recovery of more than 35,000 artifacts. Fifty-nine postholes, three daub borrow pits, 20 cob-filled pits, and 12 flat-bottom pits were excavated, and eight graves were identified.

A pipestem regression date of 1761.5, derived from a sample of 370 kaolin pipestems, along with a European ceramic assemblage that contains examples of lead-glazed earthenware but not creamware or pearlware, together indicate the site was occupied during the mid-eighteenth century. As historic records document Catawba abandonment of this area in 1759 due to a devastating smallpox epidemic introduced by warriors returning from the French and Indian War, settlement at 38Yk434 appears to have been relatively brief. This short habitation period is significant because it allows for artifact and feature patterning to be interpretable as the product of discrete, contemporaneous activities. In comparison to later Catawba contexts, the ceramics from 38Yk434 exhibit a diversity of surface treatments, while subsistence practices and criteria used to choose settlement locations appear to have changed less from the mid to late eighteenth century.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Archaeological research at 38Yk434 during 2007 was undertaken in three phases. The initial phase, a reconnaissance survey involving systematic metal detecting and designed to identify site boundaries and provide a preliminary assessment of internal site structure, was conducted by the authors between January and April. Following this survey, the University of North Carolina's 2007 archaeological field school excavated portions of the site over a five-work period between May 15 and June 15. The field crew comprised the three authors, five graduate and undergraduate field supervisors, 10 undergraduate students, and a local student volunteer. Once the field school ended, an additional 10 days were spent mechanically stripping topsoil at the northern edge of the site. This work involved a mini-grader and operator, the authors, and seven field assistants. We would like to acknowledge and thank the following persons who participated in these investigations: Connie Cohn, Paul Eubanks, Johann Furbacher, Kristy Gladstone, Maury Hutchens, Daniel LaDu, Kathleen Loeven, Matt Mirarchi, Ethan Moore, Lillian Ondus, Byron Parker, Amanda Pitcock, Mark Plane, Michelle Schohn, Ben Shields, Erin Stevens, Mark Storch, and Robert Strickland.

Work at 38Yk434 was made possible by Cherokee LLC as part of the planning process for Kanawha, a mixed-use sustainable community. Their support for all phases of investigation and especially their sensitivity toward significant cultural properties within their project site is greatly appreciated. Their approach to developing Kanawha is perhaps best reflected by their close consultation with the Catawba Tribal Historic Preservation Office and willingness to preserve the great majority of site 38Yk434 as undeveloped parkland. In particular, we wish to acknowledge and thank Brian Goray, Mathias Linden, and Alexa Kleysteuber for their continuing support.

Survey and excavation proceeded in consultation with the Catawba Tribal Historic Preservation Office. We appreciate the advice we have received from members of that office, in particular Dr. Wenonah Haire (THPO), Sandra Reinhardt, and Beckee Garris. And, it is our hope that our research at 38Yk434 and other historic Catawba sites investigated by our long-term research will benefit the modern Catawba people and their children.

We also wish to acknowledge the continuing support we have received from the York County Culture and Heritage Museums, specifically Van W. Shields, Director and CEO, and Owen Glendening, Deputy Director of Interpretation. And, we look forward to working with the museum as it develops exhibits that will interpret the mid-eighteenth-century Catawba town of Nassaw.

Finally, as with any large-scale archaeological field project, many individuals contribute to its success in ways that are not obvious and often overlooked. Some of those individuals who furthered our work at 38Yk434 include: Thomas Spratt, who solved our critical problem of where to waterscreen the pickup truck loads of excavated soil from the site when drought eliminated all local possibilities; Byron Hill and Benji Leapheart of B. K. Hill Landscaping, who expertly removed the topsoil from the north edge of the site with their mini-grader so we could locate pits and postholes there; Dr. Thomas Moore of Winthrop University, who for the past five summers has assisted us with our field school housing needs; Dr. James Murphy, dean of the UNC Summer School, for his continuing support of the UNC archaeological field school; and Brenda Moore, RLA department manager, for adeptly managing the project budget and paying the bills.

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INTRODUCTION

Between January and July 2007, the University of North Carolina's Research Laboratories of Archaeology conducted archaeological survey and excavations at site 38Yk434 (RLA-SoC643), which contains mid-eighteenth century Catawba Indian village components associated with the former paired towns of Nassaw and Weyapee. These investigations, conducted near present-day Fort Mill in York County, South Carolina, are the fifth season of the Catawba Project, a research program that seeks to trace the historical trajectories of native societies of the Carolina piedmont through the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Davis and Riggs 2004). Previous field seasons have focused on Federal period components at New Town and Tivoli, and Revolutionary War era components at Old Town, while continuing surveys seek to identify and document additional settlements of the Catawba and related communities.

Work at 38Yk434 has been made possible by Cherokee LLC as part of the planning process for Kanawha, a mixed-use development project. In order to create appropriate preservation and mitigation measures for this significant site, its boundaries needed to be precisely established, as did any spatial variation in the distribution and integrity of mid- eighteenth century deposits. In this report, we address these issues, provide information used to designate 38Yk434 as Nassaw and Weyapee Towns, and present preliminary findings from work at the site. One of these findings is that 38Yk434 appears to have been inhabited for a relatively short span of time during the mid-1700s. This estimate of settlement duration has significant implications for the interpretation of artifact patterning at the site, and by extension our understanding of economic and political strategies enacted by members of the mid-eighteenth century Catawba Nation.

Site 38Yk434 is provisionally identified as representing the paired towns of Nassaw and Weyapee by reference to the John Evans map of 1756 (Figure 1). This identification is supported by the site's internal topology, trade good assemblage, and geographic position with reference to previously identified mid-eighteenth century Catawba settlements. The site itself consists of two discrete loci separated by a spring hollow: one larger, compact circular locus of 7,000 m² (1.73 acres), which appears to be

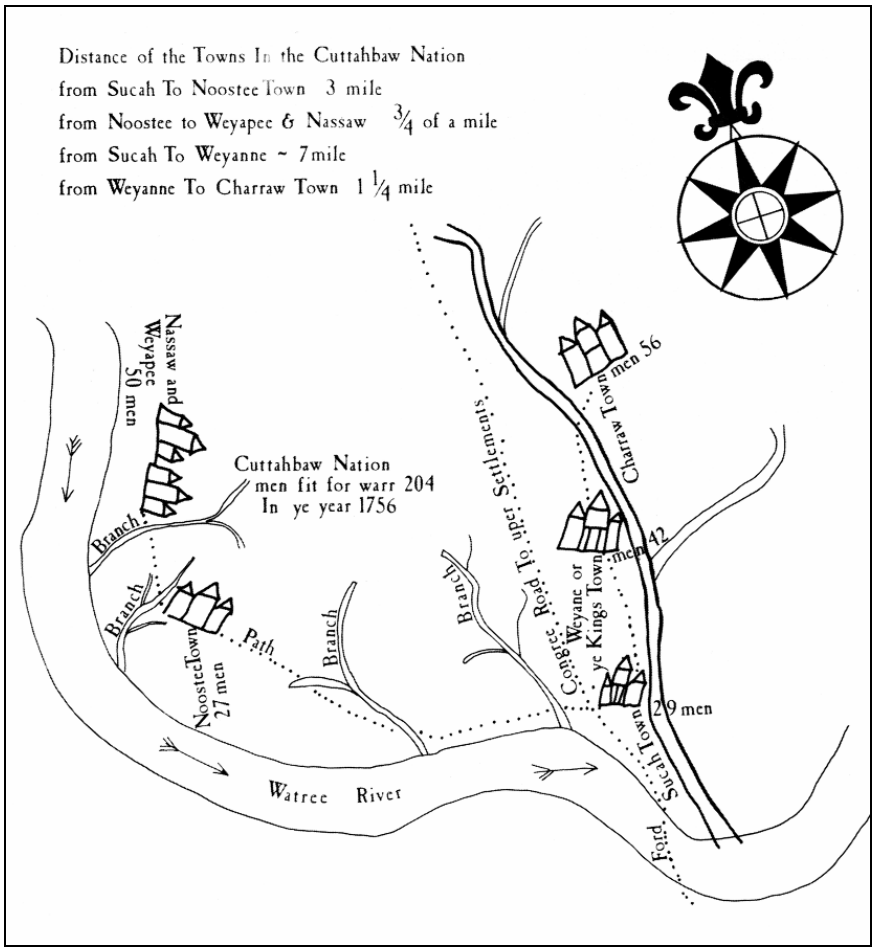

Figure 1. A map drawn by John Evans in 1756 depicting the "Cuttahbaw Nation, men fit for warr 204, In ye year 1756." The estimate of "7 Mile" between Sucah and Weyane is most likely a transcription error, and should probably read "1 Mile" (Merrell 1989).

the remains of Nassaw Town as mapped by Evans, and a smaller locus of 3,000 m² (0.74 acre), which would have been Weyapee given its size and position (Figure 2). A pipestem regression date of 1761.5, derived from a sample of 370 kaolin pipestems (after Binford 1978), along with a European ceramic assemblage that contains examples of lead-glazed earthenware but not creamware or pearlware, together indicate a mid-eighteenth century occupation. Most importantly, the position of 38Yk434 relative to the previously documented contemporaneous settlements of Charraw Town (38Yk17 [SoC630]) and Weyane Town (SoC629), as well as to the extant landmarks of Nation Ford and the Great Trading Path, is consistent with the mapped locations of Nassaw and Weyapee (Figure 3).

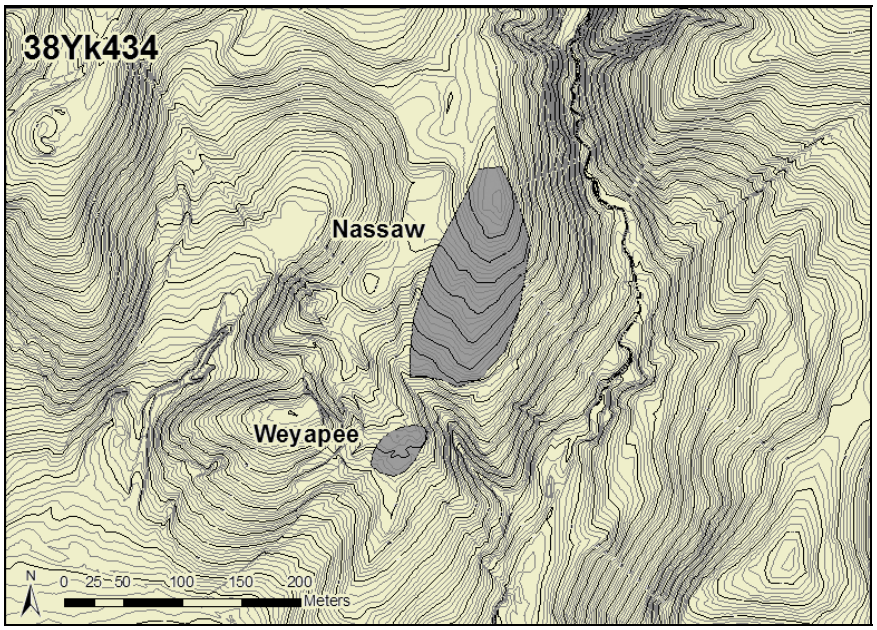

Figure 2. Topography of 38Yk434, showing two discrete loci attributable to Nassaw and Weyapee.

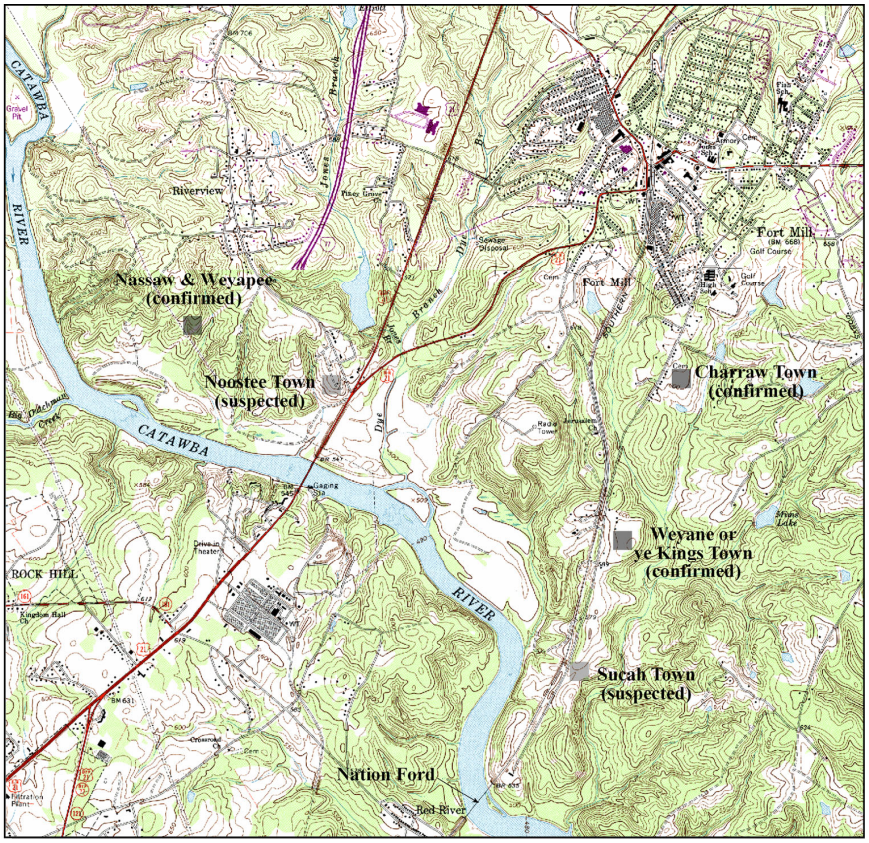

Figure 3. Location of 38Yk343 (Nassaw and Weyapee) relative to contemporaneous settlements and landmarks shown on John Evan's 1756 map.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Although Evans' map identifies Weyane as "ye Kings Town," Nassaw was long recognized as the principal settlement of the Catawba Nation. The term "Nassaw" appears to derive from the Catawban term "Nea Iswa"; that is, Esaw people or River people (Rudes et al. 2004). The "Yssa" are represented in accounts of the Spanish entradas through the region (Hudson 1990:61–63), and seventeenth-century English accounts refer to the "Ushery" or "Iswa re" meaning "Esaw place." In 1701, Lawson (1967[1709]:49) identified the "Esaw Indians, a very large Nation, containing many thousand People" as distinguished from their neighbors, the Kadapau. Twenty years later, an "Indian Cacique" presented a deerskin map to Governor Francis Nicholson; an extant copy of this indigenous rendering of sociopolitical space shows "Nasaw" at the center of a group of smaller affiliated towns or nations, one of which being the adjacent community of "Wiapie" (Waselkov 1989). In 1728, William Byrd noted that "about three-score Miles more bring you to the first [meaning principal] Town of the Catawbas, call'd Nauvasa, situated on the banks of the Santee river" (Rights 1989:56). Notations on Evan's 1756 map attribute a total of 50 warriors to Nassaw and Weyapee (Merrell 1989:163); an estimated population of 200–250 residents can be inferred. Of the six towns represented by Evans (Charraw, Weyane, Sucah, Noostee, Nassaw and Weyapee) only Charraw appears larger, with 56 warriors.

Nassaw, Weyapee, and the remainder of the Catawba settlements clustered near the Great Trading Path (identified as the "Congree Road To upper Settlements" on Evans' map) were abandoned in 1759 due to a devastating smallpox epidemic introduced by Catawba warriors returning from the Fort Duquesne campaign of the French and Indian War. The *South Carolina Gazette* (December 22, 1759, pg. 1) noted: "It is pretty certain that the small-pox has lately raged with great violence among the Catawba Indians, and that it carried off near one half of that Nation." The survivors of this epidemic scattered and then regrouped at Pine Tree Hill (now Camden, South Carolina). When they returned to their old nation in 1761, the numerically diminished Catawbas formed two communities near Twelve Mile Creek, 10 miles south of their former towns

at Nation Ford (Davis and Riggs 2004). Thus, the Nassaw and Weyapee communities are specifically documented as early as 1721, with an unambiguous terminal date of 1759. Site 38Yk434 probably represents the final iterations of these communities; earlier eighteenth-century manifestations of these villages may have been located along the Great Trading Path near Nation Ford.

INITIAL INVESTIGATIONS

The village site is positioned on a long, gently sloping upland ridge, approximately 700 meters (0.4 mile) east-northeast of the Catawba River. The majority of the site is heavily wooded, but surface exposures beneath power transmission lines that crosscut the area revealed relatively dense clusters of ceramic sherds, iron gun parts, and fragments of wine bottles and kaolin pipes; these exposed materials led to the discovery and initial recording of site 38Yk434 in 2005 (Green 2007; Snapp 2007). The full extent and configuration of site 38YK434 were determined through a systematic metal detection survey conducted by the authors over 13 days between January and April, 2007. This survey recovered over 1,500 mid-eighteenth century artifacts in 493 shovel tests, which can be divided into three clusters that partially correspond to topographic features of the landscape (Figure 4). The southernmost cluster comprises approximately 3,000 m² (about 0.75 acre) and largely coincides with the power line exposures. Survey of this area recovered 40 diagnostic mid-eighteenth century artifacts and identified two large pit features, but revealed heavily deflated soils with no intact deposits other than the identified pit features. A defunct spring hollow forms the northern boundary of this locus. Immediately north of this gully is the middle cluster, an oval area of 7,000 m² (1.73 acres) located on the widest, most level portion of the ridge. Systematic metal detecting in this portion of the site resulted in the recovery of 1,400 artifacts in 390 shovel tests. These materials were particularly dense in presumed dumps along the eastern flank of the cluster. Upslope from the middle locus, but separated from it by a 10-meter gap, is the northernmost cluster. Metal detecting in this 1,200 m² (0.3 acre) area, which corresponds with a narrower, more sloping portion of the ridgeback, yielded

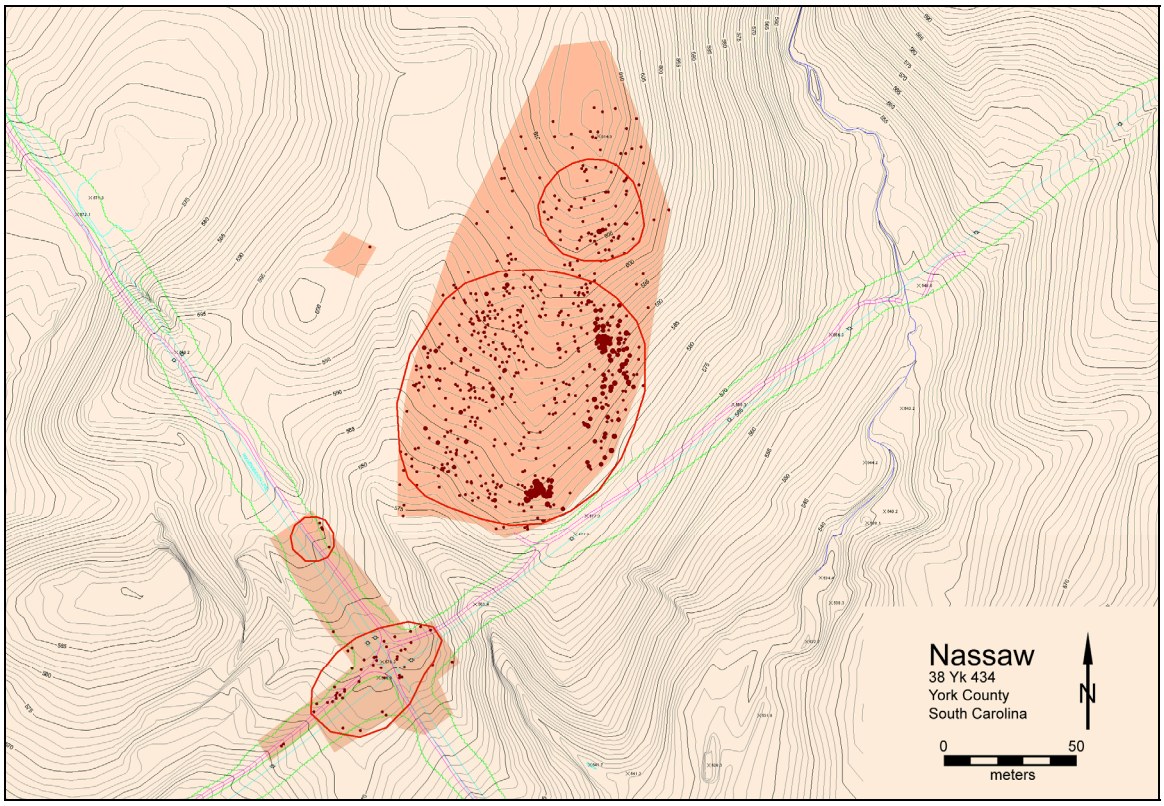

Figure 4. Map showing the distribution of mid-eighteenth-century materials recovered during systematic metal detection survey at 38Yk434; surveyed areas are dark blocks, and artifact clusters are circled in red.

83 mid-eighteenth century artifacts from 62 shovel tests, with a concentration of materials in deeper deposits along the southern edge of the cluster.

The content, scale, density, and configuration of these clusters suggest they are the remains of one large nucleated settlement with northern outliers, and a second, much smaller village or hamlet to the south. It seems reasonable, based on archaeological and documentary evidence, to interpret the largest, densest, and most spatially coherent cluster as representing the main village of Nassaw. Following this line of reasoning, the southernmost cluster may represent the satellite settlement of Weyapee, despite its less coherent spatial integrity. Based on the results of the survey and development plans, it was determined that the central locus would be preserved as an open green space. The northernmost area of the site, which yielded a relatively diffuse scatter of eighteenth-century metal artifacts, is located on a portion of the ridge scheduled for development. The southernmost locus, in contrast, is not located within the development footprint, but is threatened by erosion.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

Findings from the initial investigations at 38Yk434 informed the scope of work for the 2007 UNC summer field school, as well as subsequent fieldwork activities (Figure 5). The northern area of the site, scheduled for development, was the focus of extensive block excavations (Blocks I, J, and K), placed primarily near the concentration of eighteenth-century materials identified during the metal detecting survey; after the field school, this locus was mechanically stripped of topsoil using a Caterpillar mini-grader in order to locate features and postholes outside the hand-excavated blocks.

Unit placement in the central portion of the site was guided by research questions developed from the results of the metal detecting survey. As the oval shape of artifact distribution in the central locus seems to suggest the existence of some kind of bounding mechanism, a series of units (designated Block H) was excavated with the expectation of encountering a palisade line. Other blocks were excavated to assess the character of possible midden deposits identified during survey (Blocks C and F), and to determine the form and spatial distribution of below-ground storage features and the character of associated above-ground architecture (Blocks A, B, D, E, and G); in other words, to learn about the spatial organization of mid-eighteenth century Catawba households.

The UNC archaeological field school excavations totaled 184 square meters (approximately 1,980 square feet) distributed in 11 blocks. Within these block areas, general context sediments were hand excavated from one-meter excavation units and dry screened through 1/4" mesh (Figure 6). A minimum of 50% of general contexts were sampled for flotation processing using 10-liter grab samples; more intensive sampling was conducted of features and midden deposits. Upon completion, each unit was troweled, photographed, and mapped (Figures 7, 8, and 9). Pit features were sectioned and excavated in zones by matrix (Figures 10, 11, and 12). In most cases, postholes and postmolds could not be differentiated, so possible posts were excavated as single contexts. Fifteen pit features, 17 postholes, and numerous other soil disturbances were excavated by the field school (see Appendix). With the exception of flotation samples, all feature soil from both pits and possible postholes was bagged and transported to a

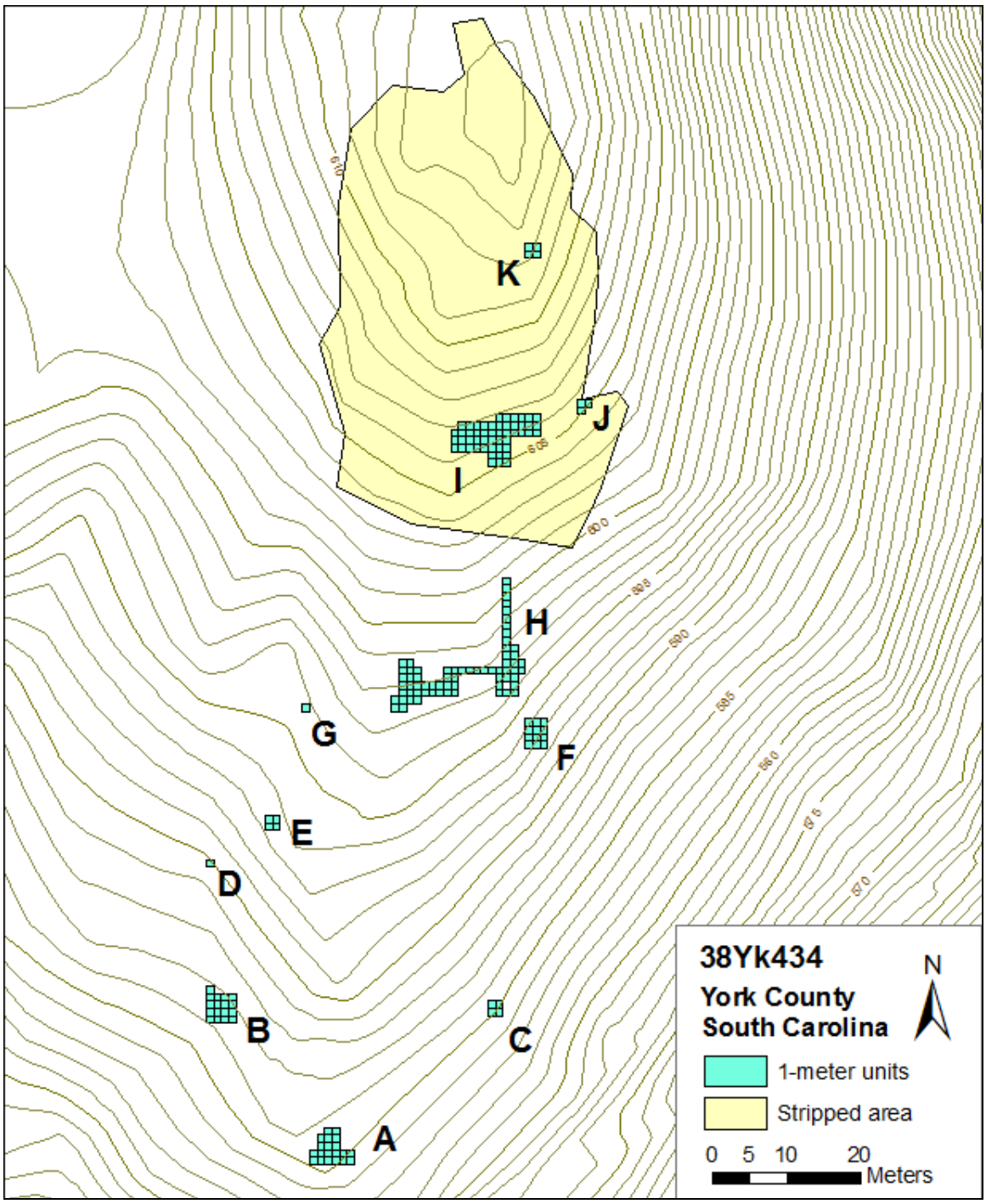

Figure 5. Map of 2007 excavations at 38Yk424, showing the location of 1x1-meter unit blocks dug by hand and the extent of the mechanically stripped area.

Figure 6. UNC field school students excavating and screening topsoil in Block I (view to south).

Figure 7. Troweling units over Feature 1 in Block I prior to photography and mapping (view to west).

Figure 8. Cleaning units in Block A prior to photography and mapping (view to south).

Figure 9. Cleaning the west half of Block H after excavating postholes and features (view to south).

Figure 10. Excavating Feature 1 in Block I (view to north).

Figure 11. Excavating postholes and features in Block B (view to southwest).

Figure 12. Views of Feature 12, a small storage pit in Block B: profile with west half excavated (at left); and river cobbles exposed on top of basal fill zone (at right). View to east.

waterscreening station off-site where this soil was washed through 1/16" mesh. In Block C, where organic midden deposits were identified, a 50-liter waterscreen sample was taken from each unit in addition to a standard flotation sample.

It was expected that burials would be encountered at site 38Yk434, given its status as both a village and the site of a devastating small pox epidemic. The field school excavations exposed the tops of three pits (in Blocks E, H, and I) that were interpreted as probable graves, based on size, shape, and fill characteristics. These excavations also exposed part of what might be a fourth grave in Block E. When identified, the outlines of these pits were mapped, and their location made known to Cherokee LLC and the Catawba Tribal Historic Preservation Office.

Following the field school, additional investigations were conducted at the north edge of the site where a road will be constructed. The purpose of this work was to identify graves, other archaeological features, and postholes. All of these, with the exception of graves, were subsequently excavated. Using a Caterpillar mini-grader, an area almost 2,000 m^2 in size was stripped of topsoil and carefully cleaned with shovels to expose the tops of pits, postholes, and other disturbances (Figures 13 and 14). Twenty-eight pit features were identified; 24 of these were excavated. The four remaining features (probable burial pits) were left intact pending consultation between the Catawba THPO and Cherokee LLC. Thirty-five postholes were identified and excavated; numerous other soil disturbances were excavated which turned out to be natural

Figure 13. Using heavy machinery to exposed features and postholes at the north edge of the site (view to northeast).

Figure 14. Excavating feature and postholes following mechanical stripping of topsoil (view to south).

disturbances such as tree tip-ups or stump holes (Figures 15 and 16). Fill from these excavated features, postholes, and other disturbances was either waterscreened through 1/16" mesh or processed by flotation.

RESULTS

Most difficulties experienced during excavation were related to concurrent drought conditions; lack of moisture made the soil, Cecil clay loam, relatively difficult to dig and screen. Since the effects of drought on the soil were expected to be worse in the exposed power line corridor, work in the southernmost locus of 38Yk434 was postponed. Excavations in the central and northern portions of the site revealed the existence of stratigraphic variation that coincides with topographic position. Of particular note is a compact sandy wash that overlays deposits containing eighteenth-century material in the central portion of the site. This stratum, which is very thin on the northern, highest portion of the ridge, and up to 8 cm thick on the lower, southern portion of the ridge, appears to be the result of extensive land-clearing activities associated with the establishment of Nassaw. The episodes of erosion that produced this stratum may have been intensified by a return to normal weather patterns after the mid-eighteenth-century drought recorded in both historical sources and regional tree-ring growth (Stahle and Cleaveland 1994). Modifications to the landscape were also made during the nineteenth century, when a homestead was established on a landform immediately west of the central site locus. However, use of the 38Yk434 site area during the 1800s appears to have been relatively minor; an absence of plow scars in the subsoil and a light scatter of metal hardware, such as cut nails and wire, suggest the area was used as a yard or pasture, and possibly as the site of an outbuilding.

A much more diverse range of activities characterizes mid-eighteenth-century Catawba construction of houses and dwelling in the landscape of the site area, as evidenced by the presence of postholes, borrow pits, midden deposits, storage pits, cob-filled or "smudge" pits, and burials. Such features correspond to practices of house construction, trash disposal, the creation and maintenance of below-ground storage areas,

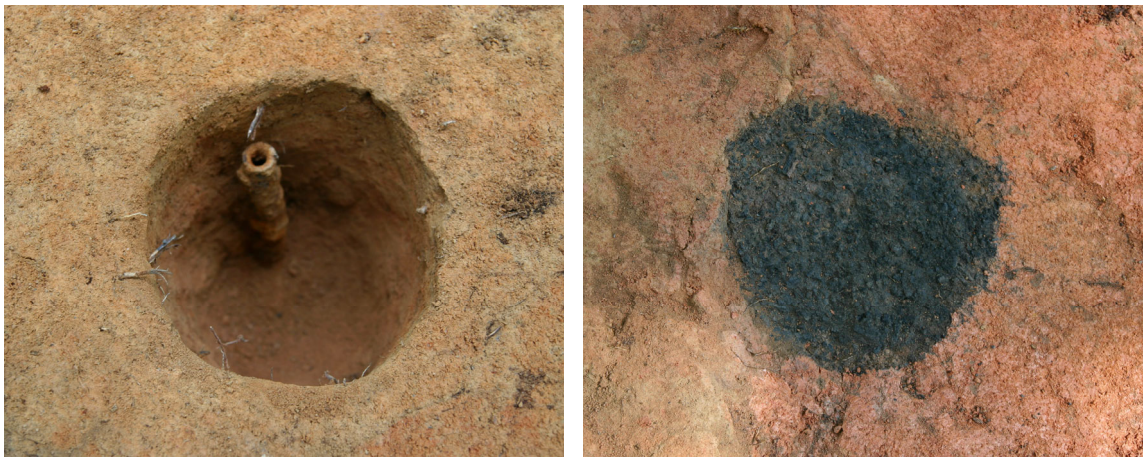

Figure 15. Posthole 36 following excavation with *in situ* pistol barrel (at left, view to west); and Feature 32, a corncob-filled pit, prior to excavation (at right, view to north).

Figure 16. Feature 30, a small storage pit, shown in profile with potsherds resting on top of basal fill (at left, view to east); and Feature 25, a small storage pit, after excavation (at right, view to north).

pottery production, and mourning the deceased. Fifty-nine postholes and three daub borrow pits were identified; however, attempts to delineate complete structures, even in the northern mechanically-stripped area, were not successful. This is not surprising given that the buildings erected at this site were not inhabited long enough to require repairs, and therefore were not subjected to multiple re-building episodes. The presence of post configurations with apparent right angles in Block B and the northern locus would seem to indicate that at least some of the houses were rectangular in form (Figure 17). Trash disposal followed two basic modes: (1) filling discrete, uneven places in the ground such

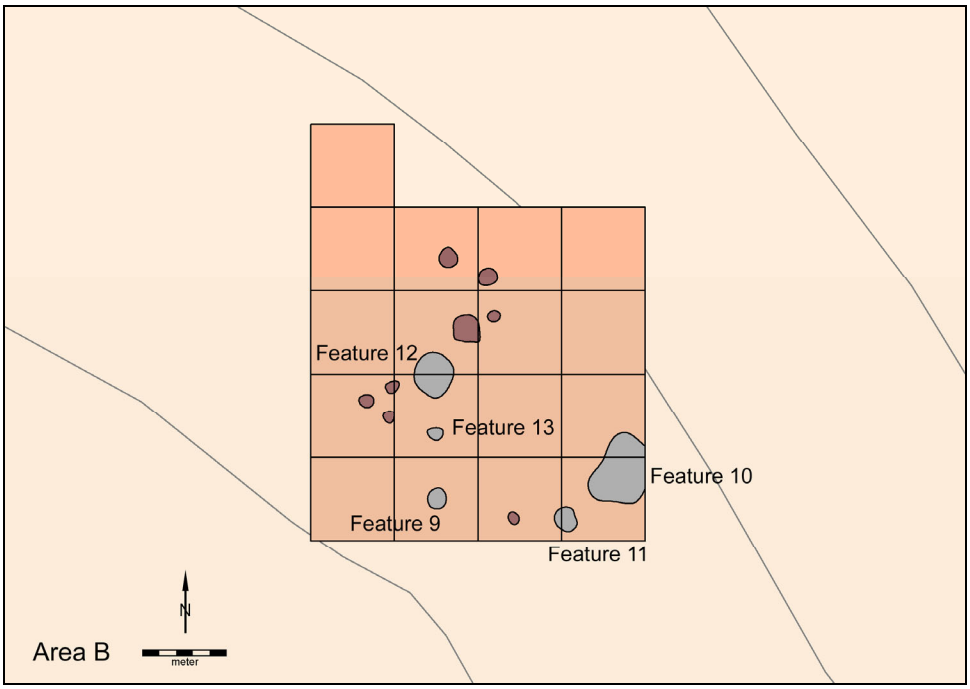

Figure 17. Features (gray) and postholes (brown) excavated in Block B. Note the apparent right angles formed by the postholes northeast and southwest of Feature 12.

Table 1. Characteristics of 38Yk434 Flat-Bottomed Storage Pits Excavated in 2007.

Feature No.	Location	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Depth (cm)	Profile
5	Block H	40	35	22	bell-shaped
6	Block H	36	30	29	bell-shaped
12	Block B	50	50	29	bell-shaped
16	Stripped Area	167	140	5	unknown
18	Stripped Area	31	27	3	unknown
21	Stripped Area	70	58	24	round
23	Stripped Area	72	56	44	bell-shaped
24	Stripped Area	106	105	41	bell-shaped
25	Stripped Area	77	54	18	unknown
26	Stripped Area	59	47	29	bell-shaped
29	Stripped Area	51	39	23	bell-shaped
30	Stripped Area	74	47	34	bell-shaped

as borrow pits, old storage pits, and stump holes (of which 16 were excavated); and (2) the disposal of daily waste in trash dumps located along the sloping eastern edge of the village. Twelve flat-bottomed storage pits were excavated (Table 1; Figures 12 and 16). Generally oval in plan view and from 30 to 100 cm in length, these features contained a variety of materials ranging from dense botanical deposits to intact strands of glass seed

beads. Twenty cob-filled pits, associated with smudging, or the practice of coating the inside of pots with carbon from smoke, were excavated. Fieldwork activities also identified eight oval or rectangular graves, most of which are oriented approximately north-south.

Investigations at 38Yk434 recovered more than 35,000 artifacts, most all of which date to the mid-eighteenth century (Table 2). This assemblage is marked by high frequencies and exceptional diversity of manufactured trade materials. The weapons, tools and accoutrements, containers, and items of adornment present in the assemblage provide a means of envisioning the material conditions of everyday life in Nassaw town. Seventy gun parts were recovered, mostly from Type G trade guns (Burke 1980), along with 23 gunflints and 45 lead balls. Fragments of brass side plates, trigger guards, butt plates, and iron gun cocks are the most well represented elements of the firearm assemblage (Figure 18). The remains of one brass sword guard and one steel sword blade were also recovered. Clasp and sheath knives are well represented in the trade good assemblage, along with other tools including six awls, four pairs of scissors, three pins, two thimbles, three keys and a padlock, an axe, seven pieces of horse tack, two hoes, and a fragment of the brass rim of a burning glass (Figure 19). Evidence of European-produced containers at the site includes 111 pieces of olive green bottle glass, 86 brass kettle fragments, 24 lead-glazed slipware sherds, and 34 pieces of iron barrel or bucket hoop (Figure 20). The 768 kaolin pipe fragments collected from the site hint at the importance of smoking both in daily social interaction and as personal habit. Ornaments, pleasant to the eye and useful for constructing and conveying social identities, are also well represented. Brass and silver jewelry fall into this category, as do the 10,419 glass beads recovered (Figure 21). The bead assemblage is dominated by white and black seed beads, but it also contains dark blue and aqua seed beads, small type IIB1 drawn beads with white inlaid stripes, Cornaline d' Aleppo beads, and a single large type IIB10 drawn bead with longitudinal blue inlaid stripes (Brain 1979:103–106). The range of trade materials recovered, given the brevity of site occupation, suggests the inhabitants of 38Yk434 enjoyed relatively easy access to items English traders kept in stock during the mid-eighteenth century.

Table 2. Summary of Eighteenth-Century Artifacts Recovered from 38Yk434 during 2007 Investigations.

Artifact Group	Artifact Type	N	Artifact Group	Artifact Type	N
Weaponry	Brass gun part	29	Food Processing	Animal bone	1,799
	Iron gun part	41		Shell	3
	Gunflint	23		Charcoal	136
	Gunflint flake	11		Botanical samples	166
	Lead ball	45			
	Lead sprue	8	Ornaments	Buckle	17
	Sword part	2		Button	7
				Glass bead	10,419
Hand Tools	Awl	6		Other bead	4
	Ax	1		Brass ornaments	20
	File	1		Other ornaments	5
	Burning glass rim	1		Mirror glass	14
	Gig	1			
	Hammerstone	7	Miscellaneous	Horse tack	7
	Hoe	2		Lead bale seal	1
	Knife	29		Kaolin pipe	768
	Spoon	1		Native pipe	95
	Fork	1		Ground stone	4
	Brass thimble	2		Polished stone	8
	Scissors	4		Fired clay	127
	Pin	3		Misc. clay	20
				Misc. stone	17
Hardware	Wire	16		Misc. lead	38
	Wrought nail	154		Misc. iron	210
	Tack	10		Misc. brass	14
	Iron spike	1			
	Padlock	1	Other Artifacts	(other time periods)	299
	Key	3			
				Total	34,960
Containers	Glass bottle fragment	111			
	Kettle fragment	91			
	Native pottery	20,095			
	European pottery	24			
	Iron strap	38			

Figure 18. Gun parts from 38Yk434: (a) trigger guard; (b–d) side plate fragments; (e) ramrod pipe; and (f–g) butt plate fragments.

Figure 19. Tools from 38Yk434: (a) hoe; (b) snaffle bit fragment; (c) scissors; (d) clasp knife; and (e) burning glass rim.

Figure 20. Fragments of European-manufactured containers from 38Yk434: (a) glass bottle necks; (b) lead-glazed slipware sherds; (c) bronze kettle lug; and (d) brass kettle fragment.

Figure 21. Ornaments from 38Yk434: (a) brass jewelry with set stones; (b) brass boss; (c) silver earrings; (d–e) brass cones; (f) brass buckle; (g) glass seed beads; and (h) type IIB10 drawn bead with longitudinal blue inlaid stripes.

This connectivity to the market, as has often been noted, does not dictate an isomorphic relationship between Catawba valuations of commodities and their European counterparts. Brass kettles are the quintessential example of this phenomenon (Martin 1975). While it is possible Nassaw residents used them as containers, it is clear, based on the recovery of brass kettle pieces with cut marks, that they were also conceived of as raw material. Some products of kettle recycling in the 38Yk434 assemblage include ornaments such as tinkling cones, a gun sight, and two projectile points. Other examples of reworked materials include two lead wire coils and a modified brass butt plate. On a different register, kaolin pipes provide an example of a case where trade goods were likely used as their European designers intended. However, the 61 clay and 34 stone pipe fragments also recovered from the site could be considered evidence that kaolin pipes, despite being generally good to smoke with, were not the right kind of pipe for every situation (Figure 22). Further, some of the stone pipes are most likely of Cherokee origin, suggesting their desirability transcended, or perhaps may even have been partially constituted by, ethnic difference.

Investigations at 38Yk434 recovered more than 20,000 ceramic vessel fragments. These ceramic wares exhibit plain, burnished, cordmarked, complicated and simple stamped surfaces, incised decorations, plain rims and rims with pinched or notched rim strips (Figure 23). In general, vessels with rim strips are jars, while plain rims are present on simple and carinated bowls; incised decoration and exterior burnishing are typically associated with the latter (Figure 24). While cord marking, simple stamping, and complicated stamping are techniques of pottery production that were practiced during different time periods in the Southeast, in this case the presence of these surface treatments in trade-good bearing contexts, coupled with the relatively short occupation span reflected by pipestem dating, suggests synchronic diversity of craft practices. Adair (2005[1775]:246) reports that as late as 1743, upwards of 20 languages were spoken by members of the Catawba confederacy. Given the primacy of Nassaw Town in this group of politically allied communities, it seems possible to posit the existence of a somewhat cosmopolitan populace, including potters taught within differing craft traditions (Fitts 2006:47–48), living in the 38Yk434 site area. Given this situation, spatial variation in ceramic distributions may be linked to community residence patterns. Preliminary

Figure 22. Stone (above the dashed line) and clay (below the dashed line) American Indian-produced pipes from 38Yk434.

Figure 23. Examples of rim strips from the 38Yk434 ceramic assemblage: (a and f) from plain jars; (b) from complicated stamped jar; (c) from cordmarked jar; and (d) from simple stamped jar.

Figure 24. Examples of incised sherds from bowls in the 38Yk434 assemblage.

analysis suggests that frequencies of surface treatment do vary by site location: cordmarked sherds are more frequent in the southern portion of the main village, but largely absent from the fill of the borrow pits in the northern portion of the site, where complicated stamped sherds are more numerous (Figure 25).

SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH

The diversity of the ceramics from 38Yk434 contrasts sharply with more homogeneous assemblages of plain or burnished wares with simple rims from later Catawba contexts at Old Town (ca. 1761–1780) and New Town (ca.1781–1820). Pottery from these sites, sometimes called "colonoware," is a Catawban translation of European aesthetics and vessel forms into a set of relatively standardized types that Catawba potters sold to colonists as far away as Charleston (Davis and Riggs 2004:4; Riggs et al. 2006). In this drastic reorientation of craft and economic practice, survivors of the small pox

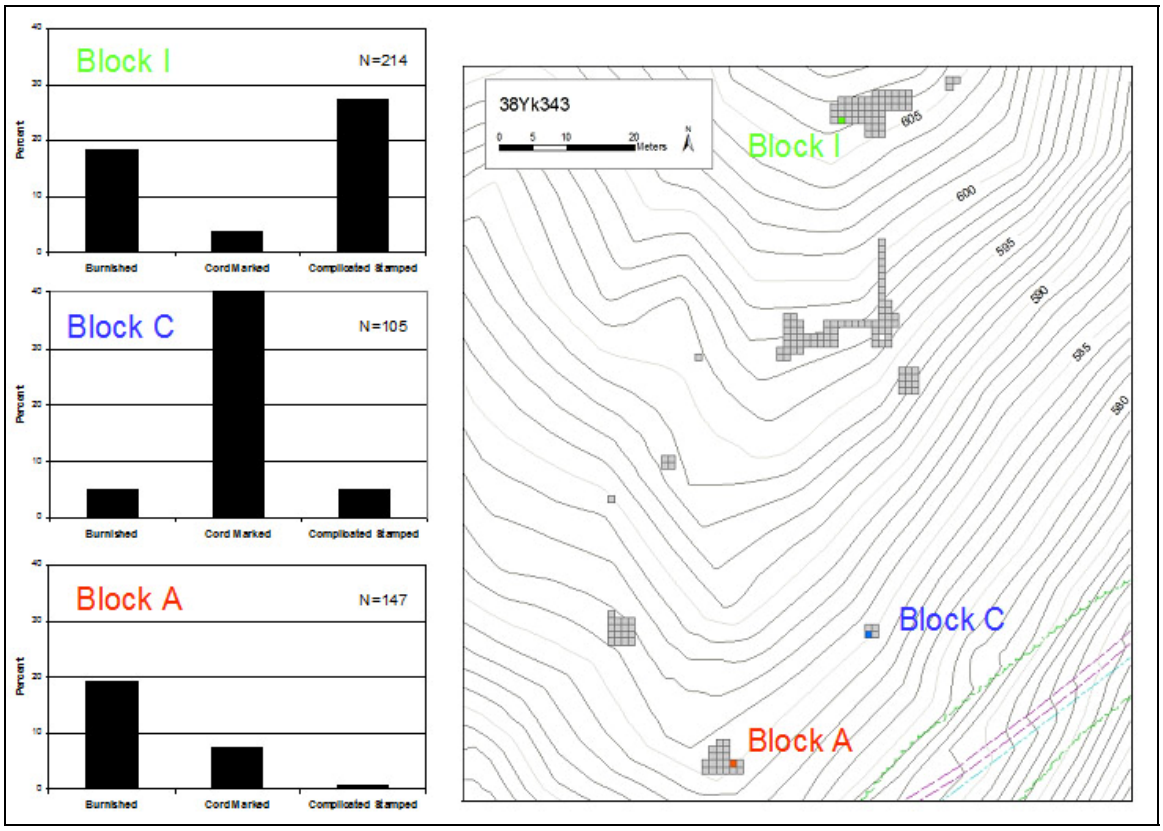

Figure 25. Frequency of burnished, cordmarked, and complicated stamped sherds in three contexts from 38Yk434.

epidemic of 1759 transformed their position in the colonial marketplace by producing their own commodity. This activity played a role in the formation of Catawba ethnic identity during the second half of the eighteenth century, an identity that transcended earlier iterations that were primarily political in character (Fitts 2006: 9–14). Other aspects of daily life, however, either changed slowly or remained constant during the period of time bracketed by the Nassaw and New Town habitations. For example, residents of Nassaw and Old Town lived on a mixture of Old World and New World plants and animals they processed themselves, the most visible species being corn, hickory nuts, peaches, deer, cattle, and pigs. Evidence for food processing on a similar scale is not present in the New Town assemblage, consistent with documentary accounts that suggest decreasing agricultural production and increasing seasonal mobility were characteristic of late eighteenth-century Catawba economic practices (Davis and Riggs 2004:4). Continuities among the assemblages from all three sites can be noted in their

abundance and diversity of European commodities, a sign of access to and engagement with the emergent American marketplace. Further, geographic characteristics of the sites themselves suggest a continuity of the criteria used to select locations for the establishment new settlements. All three sites are located on upland ridges adjacent to small tributaries of the Catawba River, oriented less towards the river than to an ever-increasing network of trails and roads.

The spatial extent of 38Yk434, the frequency and diversity of artifacts it contains, and the range of cultural deposits present are all particularly striking given the apparent brevity of Catawba settlement at this location. This short habitation period, evidenced by pipestem dating and historic accounts, is significant because it allows for artifact and feature patterning to be interpretable as the product of discrete, contemporaneous activities. As noted earlier, 38Yk434 seems to represent the latest in a series of settlements named Nassaw. As such, it would have been laid out following a set of idealized guidelines and contingent practicalities considered appropriate for a settlement of such political and economic import. The fact that the site was only briefly inhabited means that the conditions of its establishment should be accessible by examining the distribution of houses, trash dumps, open spaces, and other features of the landscape.

Future research at Nassaw Town will be directed towards realizing the interpretive potential of the site by learning more about the built environment that members of the Catawba Nation constructed at this location in the middle of the eighteenth century. For example, the 2007 excavations did not yield any evidence of a defensive palisade wall, the existence of which had been postulated based on the seemingly bounded character of artifact distribution in the central portion of the site. Future work at 38Yk434 will again seek to identify a palisade wall, the presence or absence of which may be interpreted as a measure of the degree to which Nassaw community members felt threatened by the possibility of violent outsiders attacking their settlement. Work will also be directed towards documenting the architectural form of the houses at Nassaw Town which, in conjunction with continuing analyses of ceramic, floral, and faunal data, may help to address the question of whether ethnic difference played a role in community organization. As part of the Catawba Project, research at 38Yk434 will add to a growing collection of archaeological materials that document the

lived experience of eighteenth-century Catawba community members, information that may be used to both enrich and revise historical narratives based solely on European-authored documents.

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APPENDIX

TABLES AND MAPS OF EXCAVATED CONTEXTS AT 38YK434

Table A1. Summary of Areas Excavated at 38Yk434 in 2007.

Excavation Block	No. of 1x1-m units	Area (m^2)
Block A	20	20
Block B	17	17
Block C	4	4
Block D	1	1
Block E	4	4
Block F	12	12
Block G	1	1
Block H	67	67
Block I	51	51
Block J	3	3
Block K	4	4
Mechanically Stripped Area (excluding Blocks I, J, and K)	-	1,955
Total	184	2,139

Table A2. Summary of Features, Postholes, and Disturbances Identified at 38Yk434 in 2007 (length, width, and depth measurements are in centimeters).

Context	Block	Location	L	W	D	Category
Feature 1	Block I	663.50R581.50	543	185	25	Soil Borrow Pit
Feature 2	Block I	663.00R577.50	105	83	4	Soil Borrow Pit
Feature 2a	Block I	661.05R575.00	553	352	2-10	Soil Borrow Pit
Feature 3	Block I	659.00R579.00	140	112	-	Burial Pit
Feature 4	Block E	609.70R548.60	115	74	-	Burial Pit
Feature 5	Block H	628.00R566.80	40	35	22	Storage Pit
Feature 6	Block H	629.20R566.80	36	30	29	Storage Pit
Feature 7	Block H	632.00R581.50	93	62	-	Burial Pit
Feature 8	Block A	568.52R557.14	35	32	12	Cob-Filled Pit
Feature 9	Block B	583.50R541.50	14	14	23	Cob-Filled Pit
Feature 10	Block B	583.80R543.76	86	66	30	Storage Pit
Feature 11	Block B	583.25R543.05	30	26	9	Cob-Filled Pit
Feature 12	Block B	585.00R541.50	50	50	29	Storage Pit
Feature 13	Block B	584.27R541.50	19	17	5	Cob-Filled Pit
Feature 14	Block H	630.06R567.12	31	26	5	Cob-Filled Pit
Feature 15	Stripped Area	653.00R573.15	122	77	-	Burial Pit
Feature 16	Stripped Area	653.71R573.23	167	140	5	Storage Pit
Feature 17	Stripped Area	660.18R587.09	151	105	-	Burial Pit
Feature 18	Stripped Area	661.93R587.23	31	27	3	Storage Pit
Feature 19	Stripped Area	663.70R572.97	11	7	6	Cob-Filled Pit
Feature 20	Stripped Area	665.04R574.43	23	19	12	Cob-Filled Pit
Feature 21	Stripped Area	665.97R572.78	70	58	24	Storage Pit
Feature 22	Stripped Area	666.83R587.04	136	107	-	Burial Pit
Feature 23	Stripped Area	667.86R571.52	72	56	44	Storage Pit
Feature 24	Stripped Area	667.92R572.84	106	105	41	Storage Pit
Feature 25	Stripped Area	672.02R571.51	77	54	18	Storage Pit
Feature 26	Stripped Area	672.70R570.99	59	47	29	Storage Pit
Feature 27	Stripped Area	674.58R588.90	36	29	5	Cob-Filled Pit
Feature 28	Stripped Area	675.51R574.35	33	23	14	Cob-Filled Pit
Feature 29	Stripped Area	679.32R578.76	51	39	23	Storage Pit
Feature 30	Stripped Area	681.07R579.63	74	47	34	Storage Pit
Feature 31	Stripped Area	681.63R580.29	29	22	9	Cob-Filled Pit
Feature 32	Stripped Area	688.71R583.28	34	32	20	Cob-Filled Pit
Feature 33	Stripped Area	689.58R573.11	33	33	13	Cob-Filled Pit
Feature 34	Stripped Area	694.55R573.78	28	20	17	Cob-Filled Pit
Feature 35	Stripped Area	694.96R577.64	36	36	8	Cob-Filled Pit
Feature 36	Stripped Area	695.95R582.05	27	25	13	Cob-Filled Pit
Feature 37	Stripped Area	697.41R580.37	45	33	>14	Burial Pit
Feature 38	Stripped Area	698.03R566.22	39	29	12	Cob-Filled Pit
Feature 39	Stripped Area	698.98R585.33	45	45	15	Cob-Filled Pit
Feature 40	Stripped Area	699.85R582.77	64	45	13	Cob-Filled Pit
Feature 41	Stripped Area	700.71R579.95	43	31	4	Cob-Filled Pit
Feature 42	Stripped Area	701.81R582.35	30	25	26	Cob-Filled Pit
Posthole 1	Block A	568.46R556.85	19	18	30	Posthole
Posthole 2	Block B	583.27R542.42	15	13	20	Posthole
Posthole 3	Block B	584.48R540.94	20	20	22	Posthole
Posthole 4	Block B	584.68R540.67	20	19	12	Posthole

Table A2 continued.

Context	Block	Location	L	W	D	Category
Posthole 5	Block B	584.86R540.97	20	18	8	Posthole
Posthole 6	Block B	585.55R541.85	20	20	15	Posthole
Posthole 7	Block B	585.70R542.19	15	15	41	Posthole
Posthole 8	Block B	586.40R541.64	24	21	42	Posthole
Posthole 9	Block B	586.16R542.11	20	20	40	Posthole
Posthole 10	Block D	604.32R540.81	10	10	21	Posthole
Posthole 11	Block H	627.87R568.66	23	18	32	Posthole
Posthole 12	Block H	627.70R581.24	29	21	11	Posthole
Posthole 13	Block H	628.24R567.94	21	15	11	Posthole
Posthole 14	Block H	629.02R581.18	34	34	21	Posthole
Posthole 15	Block H	632.57R580.56	15	14	?	Posthole
Posthole 16	Block H	634.13R580.12	20	19	?	Posthole
Posthole 17	Block I	662.92R575.55	20	20	39	Posthole
Posthole 18	Stripped Area	663.39R572.63	27	19	43	Posthole
Posthole 19	Stripped Area	663.84R573.62	18	18	9	Posthole
Posthole 20	Stripped Area	664.17R573.57	20	20	11	Posthole
Posthole 21	Stripped Area	665.67R573.99	18	18	43	Posthole
Posthole 22	Stripped Area	668.55R572.24	12	11	8	Posthole
Posthole 23	Stripped Area	670.99R569.77	16	16	29	Posthole
Posthole 24	Stripped Area	671.24R569.69	21	21	32	Posthole
Posthole 25	Stripped Area	671.37R577.62	19	19	30	Posthole
Posthole 26	Stripped Area	672.67R579.47	25	20	18	Posthole
Posthole 27	Stripped Area	672.99R577.85	19	19	30	Posthole
Posthole 28	Stripped Area	673.14R570.08	30	30	24	Posthole
Posthole 29	Stripped Area	673.22R573.30	9	9	11	Posthole
Posthole 30	Stripped Area	673.27R582.45	24	22	31	Posthole
Posthole 31	Stripped Area	673.70R580.30	13	13	9	Posthole
Posthole 32	Stripped Area	673.83R570.10	22	22	30	Posthole
Posthole 33	Stripped Area	673.84R569.10	12	12	8	Posthole
Posthole 34	Stripped Area	674.02R581.11	20	20	40	Posthole
Posthole 35	Stripped Area	674.69R578.35	28	25	22	Posthole
Posthole 36	Stripped Area	674.95R570.54	20	20	28	Posthole
Posthole 37	Stripped Area	675.63R569.30	14	14	9	Posthole
Posthole 38	Stripped Area	675.93R577.87	19	19	38	Posthole
Posthole 39	Stripped Area	676.22R580.33	19	18	10	Posthole
Posthole 40	Stripped Area	676.33R582.41	20	18	12	Posthole
Posthole 41	Stripped Area	676.44R570.64	19	19	22	Posthole
Posthole 42	Stripped Area	676.51R569.39	19	18	37	Posthole
Posthole 43	Stripped Area	676.69R568.27	14	14	23	Posthole
Posthole 44	Stripped Area	677.44R579.40	23	21	6	Posthole
Posthole 45	Stripped Area	677.82R582.33	17	13	23	Posthole
Posthole 46	Stripped Area	679.15R582.73	16	16	21	Posthole
Posthole 47	Stripped Area	680.43R581.84	19	19	24	Posthole
Posthole 48	Stripped Area	686.37R579.42	18	16	27	Posthole
Posthole 49	Stripped Area	689.80R576.51	17	17	7	Posthole
Posthole 50	Stripped Area	696.13R573.63	19	16	19	Posthole (prehist.)
Posthole 51	Stripped Area	696.28R582.38	18	18	30	Posthole (prehist.)
Posthole 52	Stripped Area	697.64R579.20	23	23	30	Posthole

Table A2 continued.

Context	Block	Location	L	W	D	Category
Posthole 53	Stripped Area	699.53R581.33	14	11	31	Posthole
Posthole 54	Stripped Area	699.55R577.69	16	15	13	Posthole
Posthole 55	Stripped Area	699.78R581.12	13	12	10	Posthole (prehist.)
Posthole 56	Stripped Area	699.80R577.54	17	15	25	Posthole (prehist.)
Posthole 57	Stripped Area	701.19R578.43	25	21	24	Posthole
Posthole 58	Stripped Area	706.85R580.08	19	19	22	Posthole
Posthole 59	Stripped Area	706.99R578.57	15	15	10	Posthole
Disturbance	Block A	564.61R558.65	18	15	5	Depression
Disturbance	Block A	565.45R555.85	25	22	-	Depression
Disturbance	Block A	565.50R558.98	18	14	30	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block A	566.60R556.20	139	88	10	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block A	566.75R557.11	34	20	?	Depression
Disturbance	Block A	567.40R555.98	34	32	17	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block A	567.50R555.58	36	20	6	Depression
Disturbance	Block A	567.91R556.65	26	14	25	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block A	567.62R556.89	25	20	21	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block A	567.85R557.43	24	21	3	Depression
Disturbance	Block A	568.18R556.23	15	10	<10	Depression
Disturbance	Block A	568.10R557.03	29	25	<5?	Depression
Disturbance	Block A	568.43R557.57	30	25	<6	Depression
Disturbance	Block A	568.37R557.89	21	21	<6	Depression
Disturbance	Block E	610.00R549.50	118	30	5	Depression
Disturbance	Block E	609.53R549.90	14	13	4	Depression
Disturbance	Block F	622.41R585.10	37	21	5	Depression
Disturbance	Block H	626.66R566.17	37	19	22	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block H	627.93R569.95	33	21	30	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block H	627.25R571.61	41	30	18	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block H	628.58R566.97	22	19	13	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block H	628.65R571.78	35	28	-	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block H	628.54R572.34	35	14	-	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block H	630.77R567.93	18	15	8	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block H	630.76R567.94	17	17	9	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block H	630.58R581.34	32	30	7	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block H	631.51R566.89	17	15	12	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block H	631.03R567.93	15	15	44	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block H	631.31R580.36	17	17	5	Depression
Disturbance	Block H	632.36R580.48	37	23	11	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block H	635.35R580.07	20	16	4	Depression
Disturbance	Block H	641.53R580.38	26	22	9	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block I	661.22R579.50	30	25	37.5	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block I	661.99R580.43	27	16	35	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block I	662.20R574.92	23	16	10	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block I	662.75R581.95	27	20	42	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block I	663.37R576.38	38	30	-	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block I	663.11R583.45	28	27	32	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block I	664.85R580.80	40	30	-	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Block I	664.31R584.37	19	15	-	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Stripped	660.17R592.28	250	165	-	Tree Disturbance
Disturbance	Stripped	672.24R580.73	90	90	-	Tree Disturbance

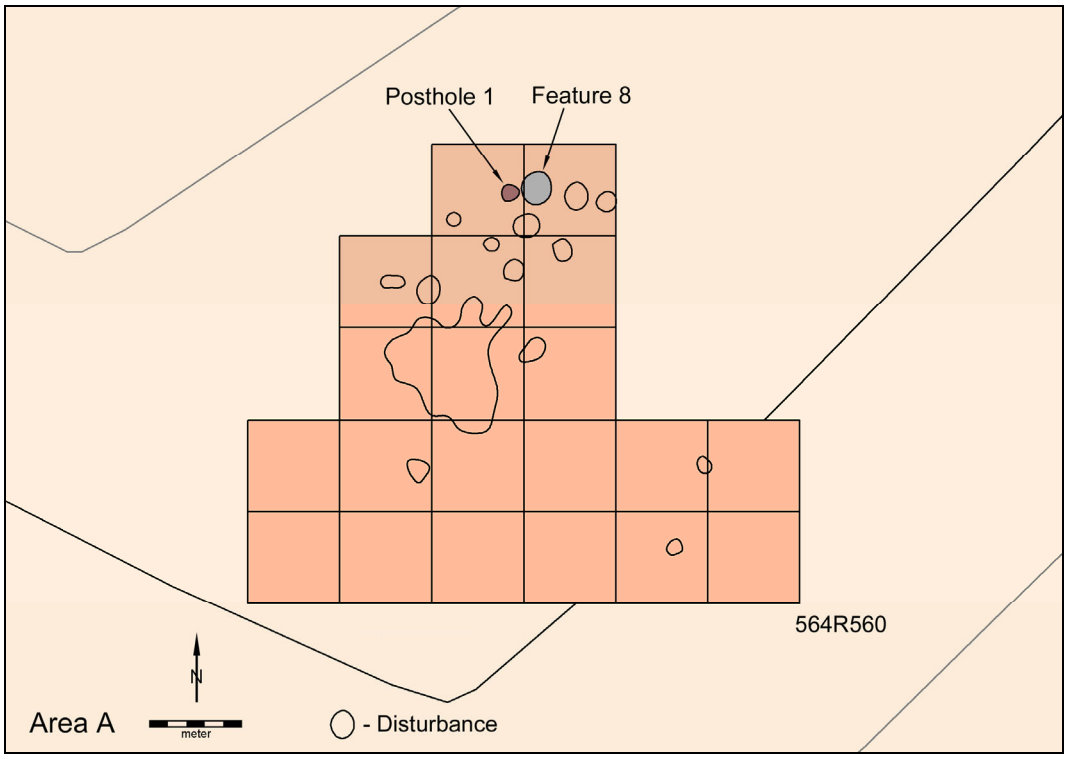

Figure A1. Excavation plan of Block A at 38Yk434.

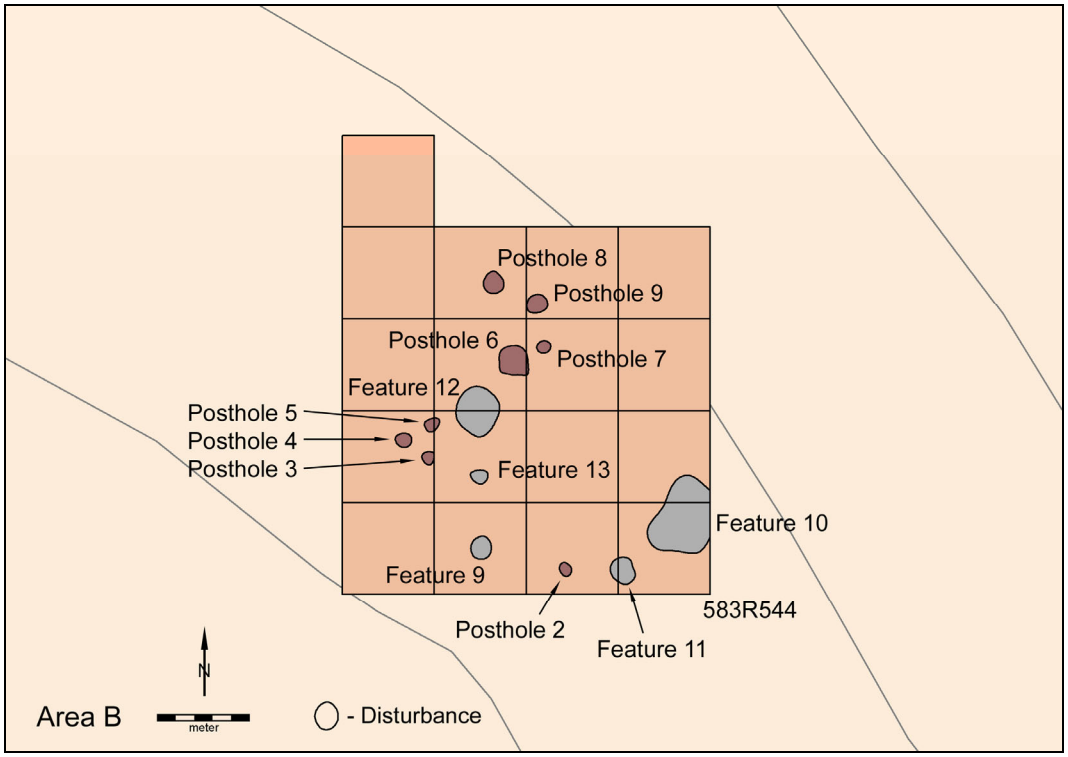

Figure A2. Excavation plan of Block B at 38Yk434.

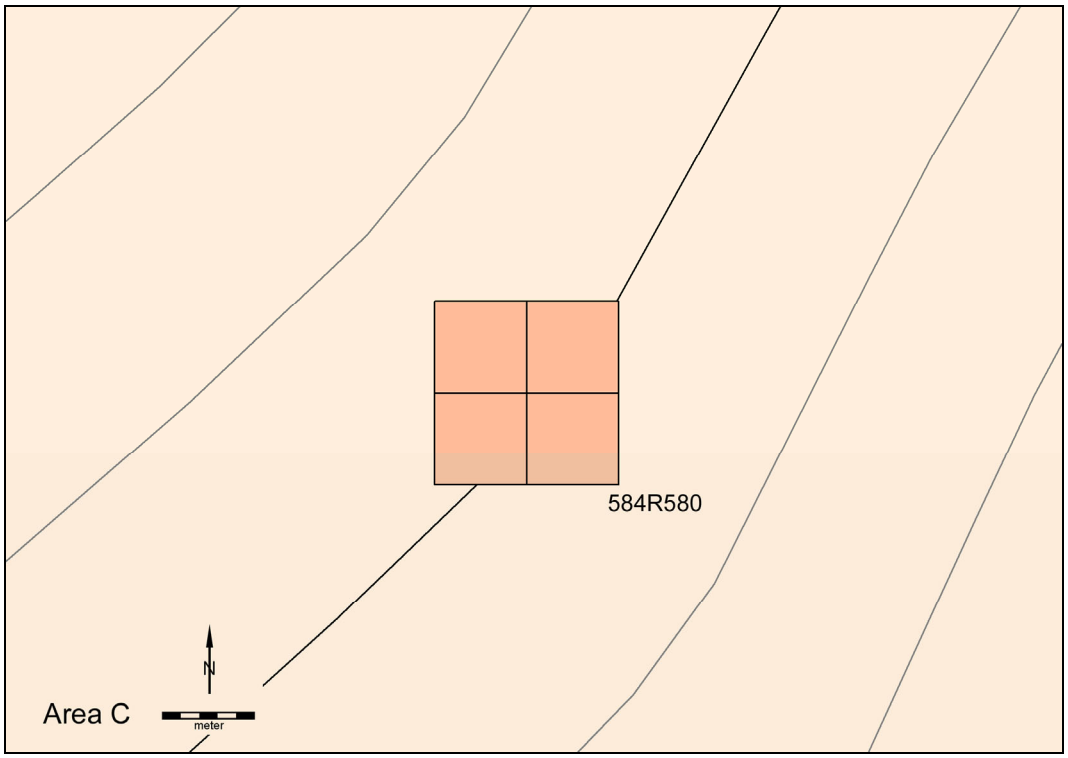

Figure A3. Excavation plan of Block C at 38Yk434.

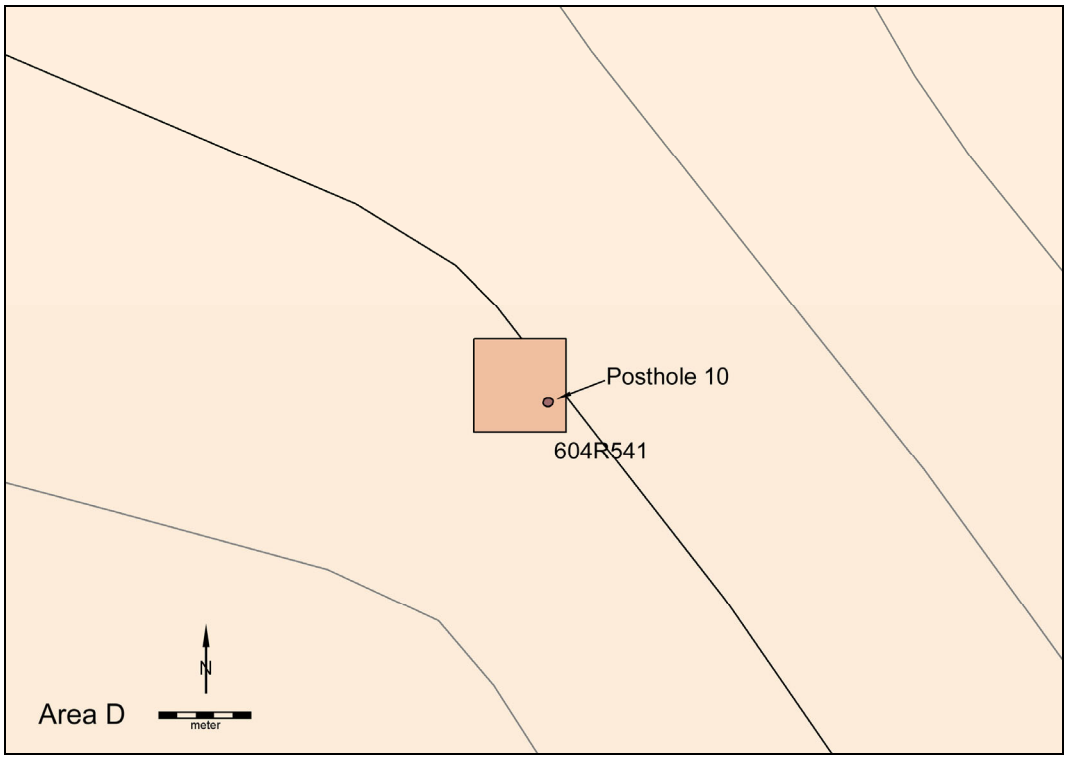

Figure A4. Excavation plan of Block D at 38Yk434.

Figure A5. Excavation plan of Block E at 38Yk434.

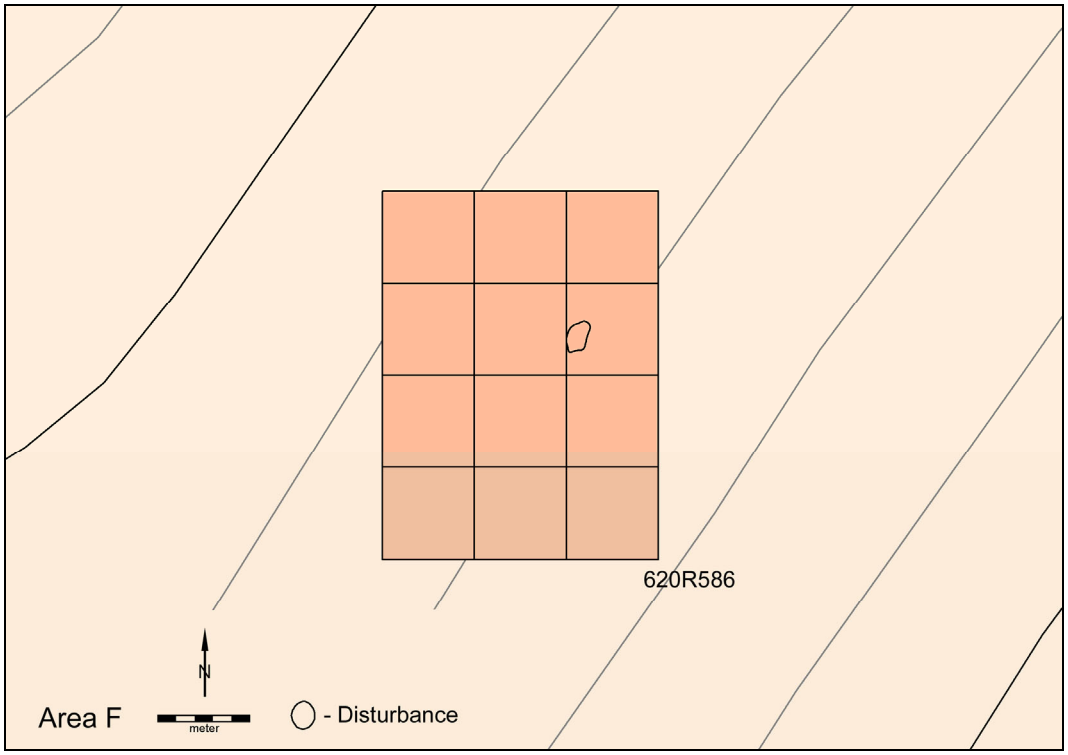

Figure A6. Excavation plan of Block F at 38Yk434.

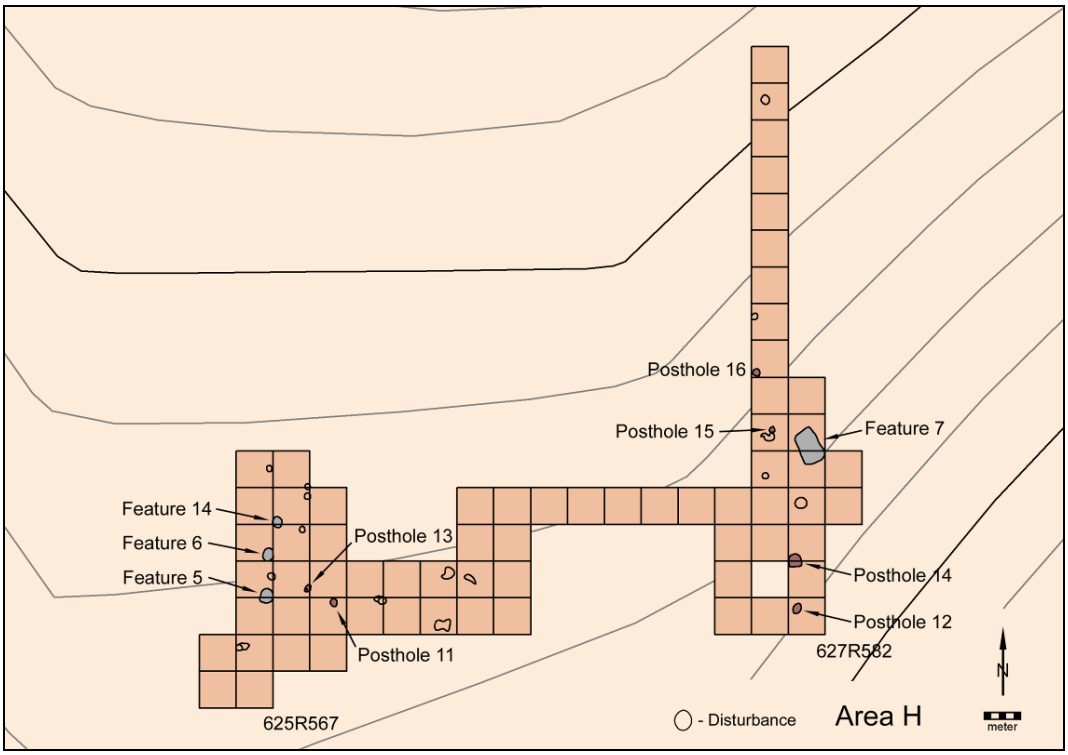

Figure A7. Excavation plan of Block H at 38Yk434.

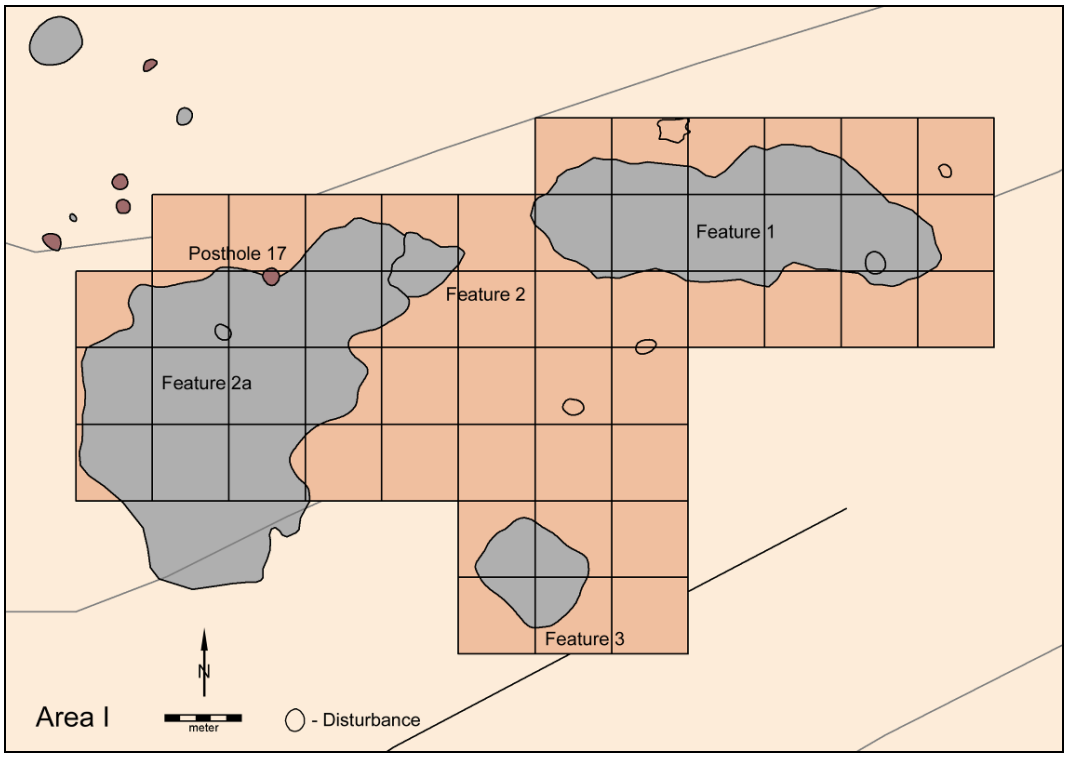

Figure A8. Excavation plan of Block I at 38Yk434.

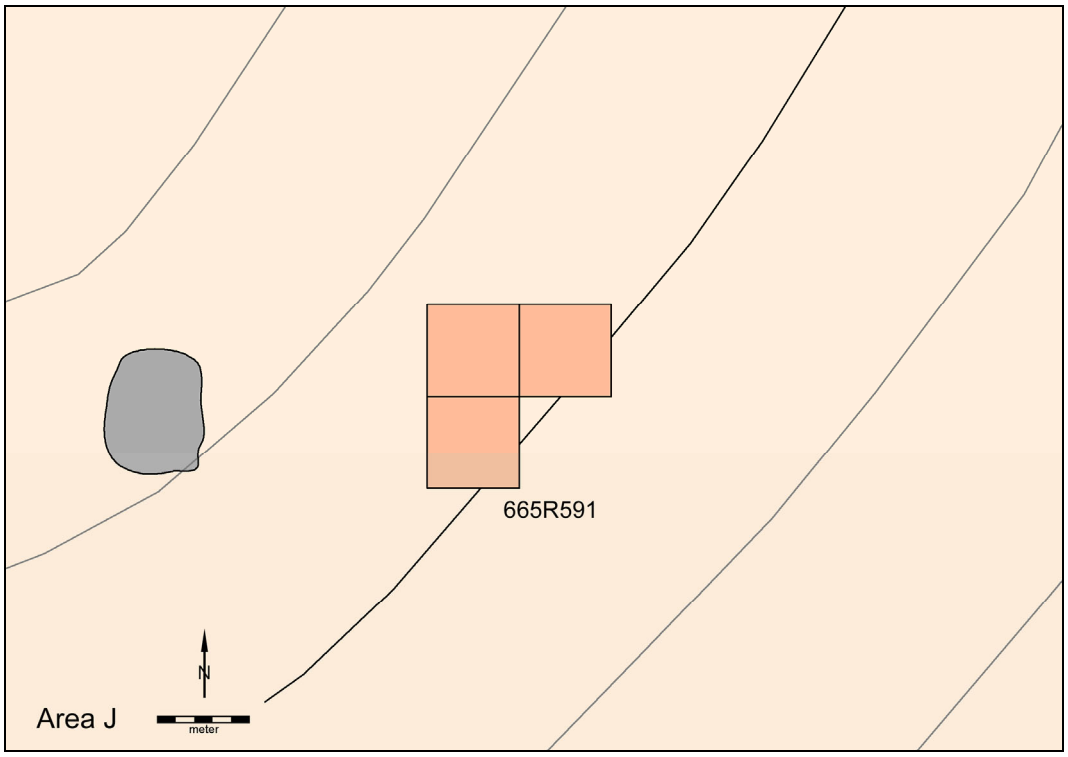

Figure A9. Excavation plan of Block J at 38Yk434.

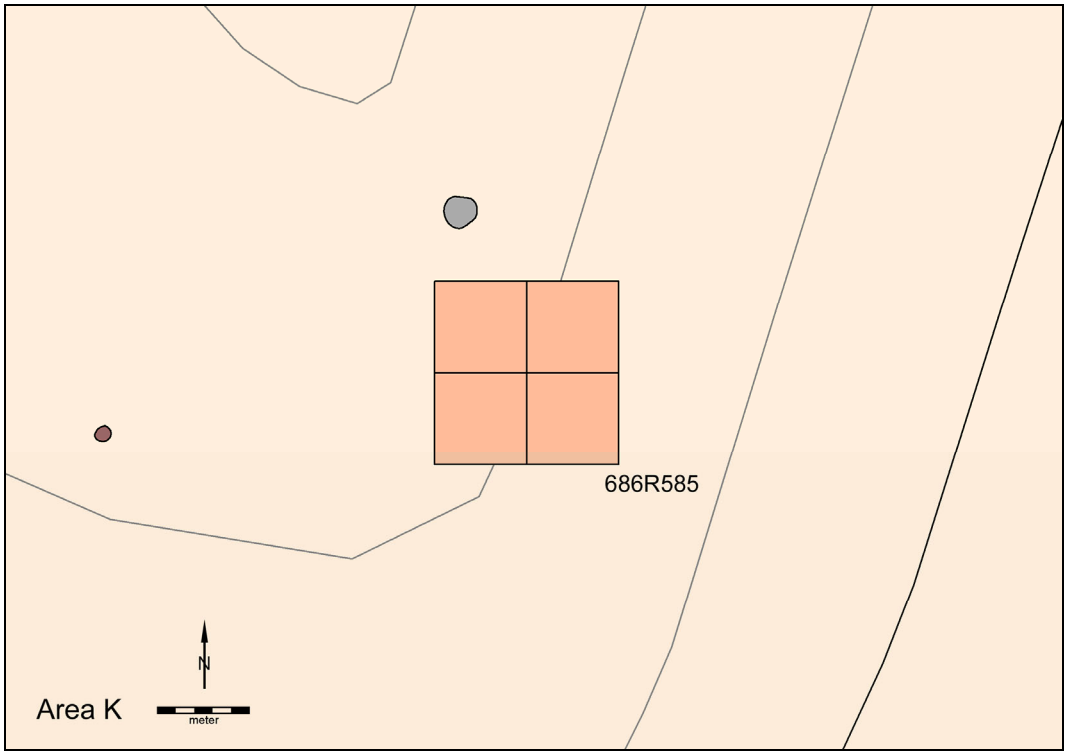

Figure A10. Excavation plan of Block K at 38Yk434.

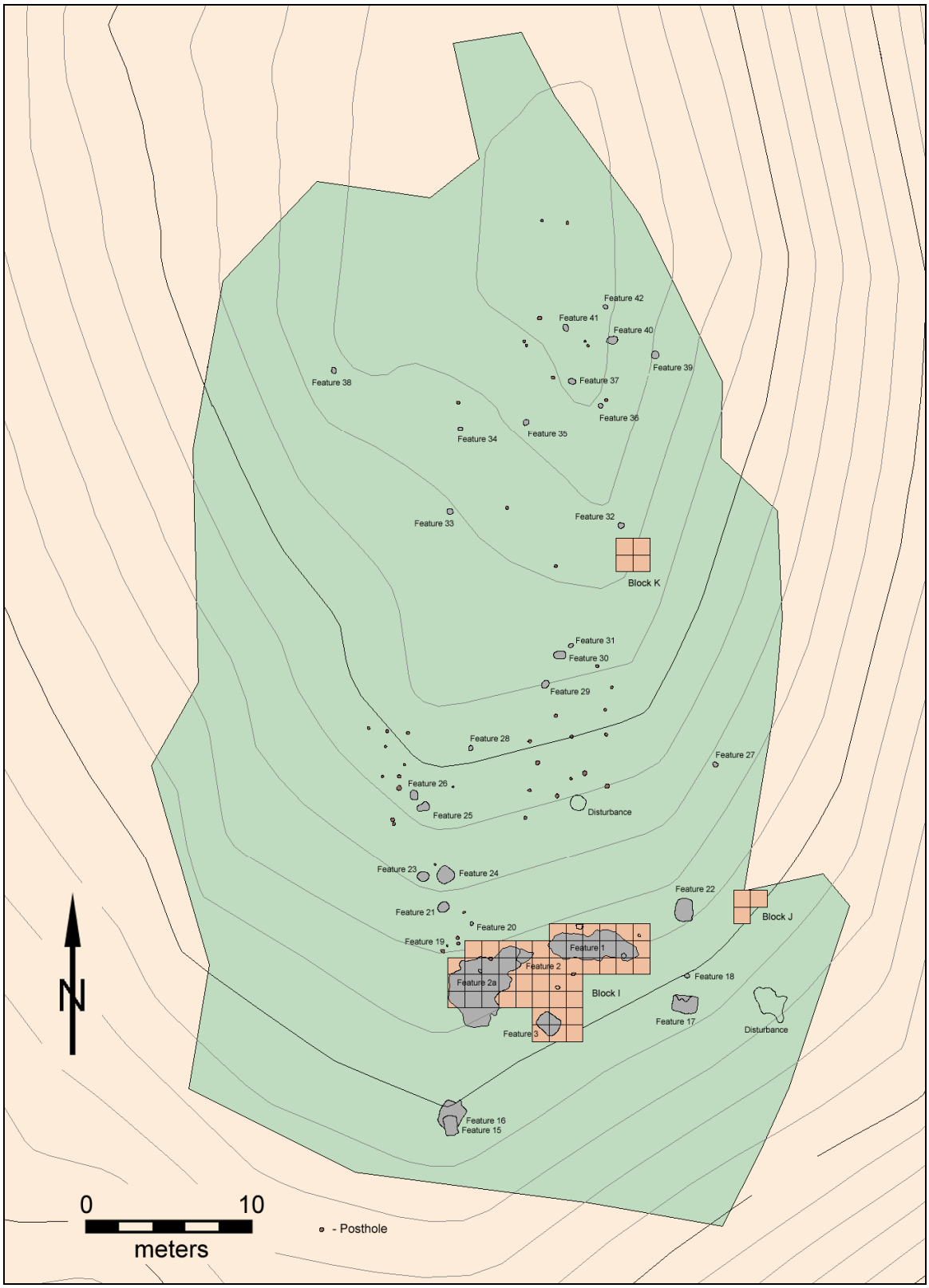

Figure A11. Overall excavation plan of Stripped Area at 38Yk434.

Figure A12. Excavation plan for south portion of Stripped Area at 38Yk434.

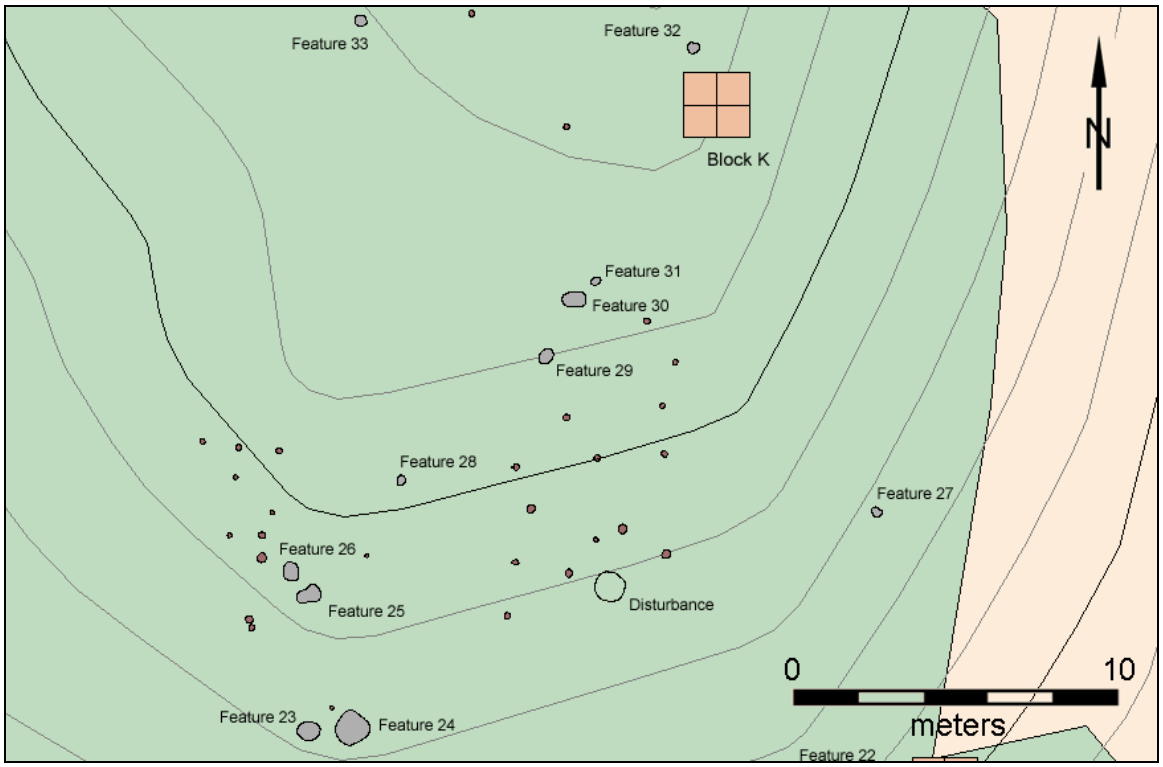

Figure A13. Excavation plan for central portion of Stripped Area at 38Yk434.

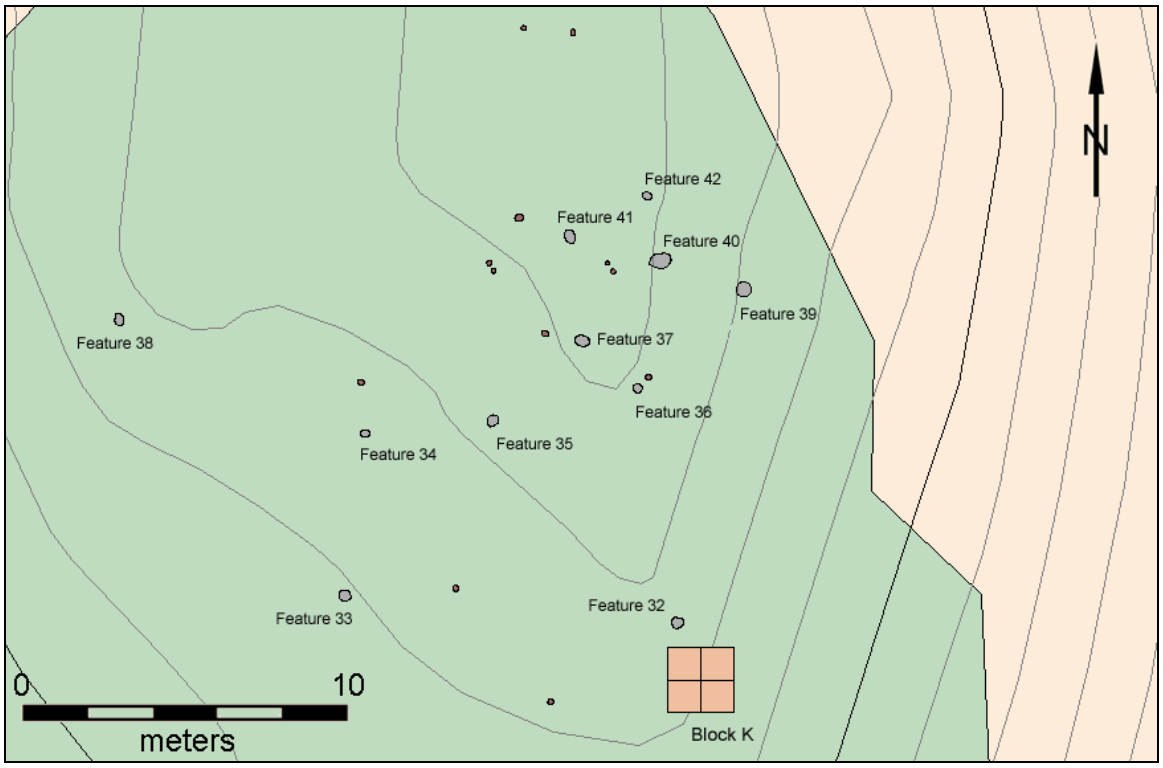

Figure A14. Excavation plan for north portion of Stripped Area at 38Yk434.