AN ANALYSIS OF CERAMICS FROM HISTORIC CHEROKEE TOWNS

by

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BRIAN JOHN EGLOFF. An Analysis of Ceramics From Historic Cherokee Towns. (Under the direction of JOFFRE E. COE.)

This thesis makes available data concerning the distribution of various ceramic types within the Cherokee area of eastern Tennessee, western North Carolina and northern Georgia. Samples of pottery were obtained from thirteen historic Cherokee towns and analyzed with the intent of discerning the similarities or differences which marked the historic ceramics of the five regions of the Cherokee area.

The analysis of ceramics indicates that the tripartite division of the Cherokees into Lower, Middle and Overhill Towns as major spheres of social interaction is further reflected in their differing ceramic traditions. Ceramics from the Valley and Out Towns are similar to and should be placed within the greater sphere of the Middle Towns.

The Lower Towns at the fringes of the Blue Ridge Mountains have been strongly influenced by the Piedmont complicated stamped tradition. The Overhill Towns in the Great Valley of Tennessee have been dominated by a Mississippian shell tempered tradition. The Middle Towns have had their ceramic tradition markedly affected by the complicated stamped tradition which developed in central Georgia. To some degree the difference was masked during historic times by the Lamar style horizon which is manifested in the Qualla Series.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The position, size and importance of the Cherokee Indian in the eighteenth century is a well known story and the subsequent attrition and destruction of this nation, in broad outline, is equally well known. Under the relentless pressure of an energetic and land-hungry pioneer population the Cherokee were pushed from their mountain domain. The Cherokee who struggled for nationalism and survival were an Indian tribe sustained by a strong cultural tradition. Although the history and ethnology are reasonably well documented, Cherokee protohistory and prehistory have heretofore remained neglected and the Cherokee culture has not been placed in the greater picture of Southeastern cultural development.

The purpose of this work is to present a description of Cherokee ceramics, all of which were collected from known historic sites upon the major trade routes. A comparison of ceramics from the major regions of the Cherokee Nation will serve as a basis upon which the direct historical approach may be applied in studies dealing with prehistoric Cherokee ceramics.

Historic Cherokee ceramics have been placed in a vague horizon category which has been applied to a wide variety of
complexes in the Southeast. This paper offers a departure from what has been accepted as standard terminology. The prodigious "Lamaroid" classification into which Cherokee ceramics have been lumped is abandoned. In its place the Qualla Series has been developed and described to offer a meaningful category for historic Cherokee ceramics.

Although this paper deals primarily with historic Cherokee ceramics, depth is given to the study by the inclusion of prehistoric sherds. The Connestee, Etowah, Pigeon and Pisgah Series are represented in the ceramics analyzed.

In conclusion I wish to thank Dr. Joffre L. Coe who has made available the facilities of the Research Laboratories of Anthropology, without which this paper would not have been possible. This work is part of a National Science Foundation project which is devoted to studying the cultural and ecological base of the Cherokee Nation.
CHAPTER II
PHYSIOGRAPHY

The Cherokee were divided into distinct settlements which reflected historical factors as well as the physiography of the Southern Appalachian Highlands. The Lower Towns were found at the foot of the Blue Ridge escarpment along the major rivers which flow southeast into the Atlantic Ocean. The Middle Towns were located along the headwaters and tributaries of the Little Tennessee River. The Valley Towns were a western division of the Middle Towns and were grouped along the Valley, Nottely and Hiwassee Rivers. The Out Towns lay to the north of the Middle Towns along the banks of the Tuckasegee and Oconaluftee Rivers. The Overhill Towns, sometimes referred to as the Upper Towns, were found in the Appalachian Great Valley Province. These divisions were used by the British Colonial government as a basis for establishing and controlling trade.

The geographical location of the Cherokee peoples would not appear to be conducive to the fostering of a large and prosperous population. A. L. Kroeber points out that in many instances mountains acted as boundaries between aboriginal Americans. A mountainous area is especially limiting to cultural development when the mainstay of the culture is agriculture (Kroeber, 1963: 95). The Cherokee culture is
peculiar in that it developed, flourished and continues today in a mountainous area. The lush mountain valleys whose soil was enriched yearly by floods were the dominant element in determining Cherokee settlement patterns.

LOWER TOWNS

The three Lower Towns with which this study is concerned are located on the Tugaloo River. Here the wide river bottoms provided adequate rich soil for agriculture. The valley narrows considerably as one proceeds upstream from Chauga to Estatoe, where it is 2,000 feet wide. The sides of the valley are bordered by large mountains which provide a local relief of approximately 600 feet.

CHAUGA

Chauga lies at the confluence of the Tugaloo and Chauga Rivers. It is situated on a low eminence on the north bank of the Tugaloo River 1,200 feet upstream from the mouth of the Chauga River (Kelly and Neitzel, 1961: 2). The mound at this location was at least twelve feet high and had a basal dimension of over 100 feet square, prior to reduction during historic times. The mound and the associated village area underwent excavation by a University of Georgia field party as a part of the Hartwell Basin salvage operation (Kelly and Neitzel, 1961).

Excavation of the mound revealed ten stages of mound construction. The initial stages are associated with Etowah ceramics and the final ones with Qualla ceramics. The mound displays a continuum of rebuilding that can be clearly asso-
ciated with the Cherokee (Kelly and Neitzel, 1961: 59-60). In contrast with Tugalo and Estatoe, Chauga did not appear to have a prolonged occupation during historic times (Kelly and Neitzel, 1961: 111). The precise location of square S60-70 E90-100, which provided the ceramics for this study is given in *The Chauga Site in Oconee County, South Carolina* (Kelly and Neitzel, 1960: Plate 12). The ten foot square unit S60-70 E90-100 has a number of intrusive elements, the largest of which is a portion of Burial 59. The remainder of the intrusions appear to be post holes. The unit was excavated in four arbitrary levels. No stratigraphic information is available regarding the nature of deposit.

**TUGALO**

Tugalo is six miles downstream from Estatoe. Specific information regarding the excavation is delayed pending preparation of the report. The site is to a great extent coeval with Chauga, but Tugalo evidences a prolonged and intensive occupation during historic times. Material analyzed came from excavations in the village midden and from a deeply filled ditch. The ditch was an erosional feature which at one time served as a pathway from the village to the river (Kelly, 1965). This ditch filled with accumulated village debris late in the occupation of Tugalo. The precise location of Unit 15 and Unit 17 in the village is unknown.

**ESTATOE**

Estatoe is located upon the west bank of the Tugaloo River and is contained by a large bend in the river. The
slight ridge upon which the mound was built is the result of river scouring across the neck of the meander. The mound has undergone excavation by a number of individuals. Joseph R. Caldwell limited his excavations to tests into the south slope of the mound. Carl Miller made a number of excavations into the mound which revealed a series of building levels (Miller, 1959). A. R. Kelly supervised the removal of the backfill from Miller's excavation and restudied the superimposed floors (Kelly and de Baillou, 1960: 5).

The excavation which yielded the material for this study was conducted by Clemens de Baillou under the direction of A. R. Kelly in 1959 and 1960 (Kelly and de Baillou, 1960: 3-29). The summary report of the excavation indicates the presence of Level 1 as the initial phase of building. Levels 2, 3, 4b and 4a represent the floors of superimposed structures. Level 4a was covered by a mantle of river stones which was in turn capped by clay. Upon the clay mound cap the final structure was built (Kelly and de Baillou, 1960: 8). Structures 1, 2 and 3 consisted of an exterior wall constructed of a double row of posts. Four large posts supported the structure at each corner. Four posts were intermediate to the large corner posts. Each structure had a large central fire basin.

Structure 4 was excavated in two levels; Level 4b and Level 4a. Apparently Level 4b and Level 4a represent two floors telescoped together (Kelly and de Baillou, 1960: 8-14). The large interior posts are believed to have been placed in the same post holes in the construction of Structures 1, 2,
3 and 4. These posts were approximately twenty-five feet apart. Structure 4 was mantled by a layer of river boulders. This mantle of rocks is similar to that found in other Cherokee mounds (Setzler and Jennings, 1941: Figure 7). The rock mantle was covered by a layer of clay upon which one or more structures were built.

The material chosen for analysis is from Structure 4, because sufficient quantities of sherds from Structures 1, 2 and 3 could not be located. The relationship of the units from Structure 4 is difficult to ascertain since the catalogue of excavated materials gave no reference as to their exact vertical or horizontal location. Quite probably these varied units should be regarded as a single unit. Defining floors during the excavation was difficult and the separate levels of Structure 4 could well have been mingled during construction of the rock mantle and by later intrusions. The mound construction at Estatoe is believed to be contemporary with the final periods of construction at Tugalo and Chauga (Kelly and de Baillou, 1960: 26). This would place the mound at Estatoe within the protohistoric and prehistoric periods.

MIDDLE TOWNS

At the headwaters of the Little Tennessee River the Cherokee Middle Towns prospered. This valley was described in the journal that William Bartram kept as he traveled through the area in 1776. Following the main trading path down the valley near the Coweeta Creek Mound to Nequasee and Cowee, he described the valley near the Coweeta Creek Mound
as "expansive, lucid, green, flowery fields, expanding between retiring hills and tufty eminences, the rapid Tanase gliding through, as a vast serpent rushing after his prey" (Bartram, 1940: 283).

The Middle Towns are approximately thirty miles north of Estatoe, Chauga and Tugalo. They are separated from the Lower Towns by a series of small mountains which form a drainage divide between the north flowing Little Tennessee River and the headwaters of the Tugaloo River. The Middle Towns lie in the large valley of the Little Tennessee River which is bounded on the west by the Nantahala Mountains and on the north and east by the Cowee Mountains.

COWEETA CREEK MOUND

The Coweeta Creek Mound is 1,750 feet north of the confluence of Coweeta Creek and the Little Tennessee River. No known Cherokee town can be associated with this site. The Kitchin Map (see Map 3) indicates that the Cherokee town of Newuteah was located in the general vicinity of the Coweeta Creek Mound. The Kitchin Map is of interest in that it was drawn by a Cherokee Indian and although it is not accurate in its geographical details, it does provide us with an indication of the Cherokee Towns which existed about 1760. William Bartram did not record a town in this area when he traveled down the valley on his way to Echoe (Bartram, 1940). Surface collections yielded trade beads, an iron musket spring, a brass musket thimble and kaolin trade pipe fragments.

Excavation of the mound has revealed a number of
features which are similar to those found within other historic Cherokee mounds. The mound contained a series of building levels and superimposed hearths which resembled those found at Estatoe (Kelly and de Baillou, 1960). Remnants of a rock retaining wall which mantled the south-eastern slope of the mound were similar to rock features found at Estatoe and at the Peachtree mound (Kelly and de Baillou, 1960; Setzler and Jennings, 1941).

The upper portion of the mound was truncated by plowing and this material was present in the form of considerable debris at the edges of the mound. The uppermost structure which was found to be undisturbed by the plow was protected by a layer of daub from its collapsed walls. The remnants of a sand floor from an overlying structure lay on top of the daub debris. This partially destroyed sand floor yielded trade beads and a few unidentifiable iron objects.

Under the partial sand floor and the daub debris were the remains of a large "town house". The structure was square with rounded corners and contained a puddled clay fireplace which was built upon a hard-packed clay floor. Refuse on the floor yielded trade beads, kaolin pipe fragments and Qualla Check Stamped pottery. This structure was about midway in the series of superimposed structures. Building levels lying below the burned "town house" remain to be excavated.

NEQUASEE

Nequasee is on the south bank of the Little Tennessee River one half mile below the confluence of the Cullasaja and
Little Tennessee Rivers. The mound is very well preserved. The village area associated with the mound has been covered by the construction of a number of service stations and supermarkets. Prior to the construction of a service station directly to the north of the mound a limited excavation was conducted by the personnel of the Research Laboratories of Anthropology.

The excavation was limited to a five foot square. This area was excavated in six inch levels to a depth of eighteen inches where sterile soil was encountered. The excavation penetrated a rich midden which yielded considerable quantities of animal bone and other village debris, with some human skeletal material. Daub, bone, awls, discoids and clay pipes were also recovered from the excavation. This material was augmented by surface collections for the analysis.

JOREE

Joree is believed to be north of the forks of Iotla Creek approximately one and one half miles upstream from the confluence of Iotla Creek and the Little Tennessee River. This site is not marked by a mound, nor is there any historical information regarding the precise location of Joree. The village was apparently located upon and at the base of the slopes of a large knoll which dominates this portion of the valley.

Sherds, projectile points and flint chips were concentrated upon the slopes of the knoll and the bottoms to the east of the knoll. The area to the south and west of the
knoll was in pasture and the extent of the site in these directions has not been determined. A concentration of charcoal and daub indicates the presence of a burned structure adjacent to a small tributary of Iotla Creek. Ceramics studied were collected upon the slopes of the knoll and at its base.

**COWEE**

Cowee is in a large bend of the Little Tennessee River approximately seven miles north of Nequasee. The mound is situated on a large knoll above the extensive bottom lands which border the river. Activities of an amateur collector ravaged the center of the mound. Ceramics for this study were gathered from the backfill of a deep pit in the mound's summit. A sample of village material was gathered from a small tobacco and corn patch to the north and west of the mound. Efforts by a previous owner of the property to build a series of levees had disturbed the deposits buried by flood silts and permitted a large surface collection to be made.

**VALLEY TOWNS**

Along the Hiwassee, Nottely and Valley Rivers in western North Carolina are the Valley Towns. The area is relatively isolated by mountain ranges. The Nantahala Mountains lie to the east and the Smoky Mountains are found to the north and west. The two sites from which ceramics were analyzed are on the banks of the Hiwassee River.

**PEACHTREE MOUND AND VILLAGE SITE**

The Peachtree Mound and Village Site is in a large
valley at the mouth of Peachtree Creek. The mound and village were extensively excavated in 1934 and 1935. The report indicates that the site was occupied during the historic and prehistoric periods (Setzler and Jennings, 1941). The mound was approximately eleven feet high at the time of its excavation. It contained a number of superimposed structures and a rock mantle similar to that found at Estatoe. Ceramics for the study came from a sample of the material excavated in 1934-1935 and from a recent surface collection.

TOWNSEND SITE

The Townsend Site is located on the west bank of the Hiwassee River three miles east of the Peachtree Mound. The site is one of a series in the extensive Mission bottoms. This area derives its name from the Baptist Mission which was established in 1820 to serve the Cherokee. The mission was constructed on the site of an old Natchez town (Mooney, 1900: 107). The abandoned ruins of this mission are one mile north of the Townsend Site.

The site is littered with burned daub and charcoal indicating the presence of a number of burned structures. One of the structures was excavated in the summer of 1964 by a field party of the University of North Carolina's Research Laboratories of Anthropology. The pattern of the burned logs and daub gave indications of a log cabin. A skeleton was found crushed under one of the walls. Numerous broken vessels and burned food made it quite evident that the structure was occupied at the time of its destruction. Iron axes, trade beads and other objects of European origin dated
the structure in the later half of the eighteenth century. Ceramics from a surface collection and from the plowed soil of the excavation were analyzed.

OUT TOWNS

The Out Towns nestle on the southeastern slopes of the Smoky Mountains along the Tuckasegee and Oconaluftee Rivers. The terrain is extremely rugged, with narrow, steep-sided river valleys. The present-day Cherokee reservation is located in this area. The Qualla Boundary consists of 56,572 acres, of which 46,582 acres are forest land, 4,053 acres are agricultural and the remaining acres are fallow or in pasture (Kupferer, 1966: 233).

NUNUNYI

Nununyi is located upon the eastern bank of the Oconaluftee River in the Yellow Hill community of the Cherokee Reservation. A large mound dominates the extensive village site. A portion of the site was destroyed during the construction of a large amusement park. Surface collections were obtained from a small garden plot on the northern slopes of the mound. Stratigraphic information and additional materials were obtained by profiling a drainage ditch which traversed the village area. The ditch was profiled at intervals and exhibited a thick midden, post holes, pits and other evidence of a prolonged and intensive occupation (see Figure 1).
Profile of Ditch at Nununyi

Figure 1
Kituhwa is approximately eight miles southwest of Nununyi on the north bank of the Tuckasegee River. The site is located in one of the largest bottoms in the Out Towns area. Surface collections were limited to those areas of the site undergoing cultivation. The area has experienced considerable erosion and deposition by the flooding river.

Map 2 is a schematic map of the subdivisions of the site. The village area is extensive and stretches out from all sides of the mound. The subdivisions serve as a convenient means of detecting changes in the occupation of the site through the associated shift in ceramics. The areas are as follows:

Area A is a gently sloping ridge of sandy loam. The portion of it adjacent to the mound is extremely rich in ceramics.

Area B is a swale between the swells of Area A and Area C. The heavy distribution of sherds is continuous through all three areas.

Areas C and D are located on the first significant terrace above the Tuckasegee River. This area has undergone both erosion and deposition by the river. The division between Areas C and D is a slight wash across the terrace. The portion of Area D which is adjacent to Area C was quite productive in terms of sherds collected.

Areas E and H consist of a gently sloping terrain which yielded ceramics only from Area E.

Areas F and G are fringes of the red clay hills which
KITUHWAA
Surface Collection Areas
Map 2
border the river bottom. Specimens were very sparse in Area F and no ceramics were found in Area G.

Area I is a low lying area immediately adjacent to the river. Although sherds were found on the slopes of Areas C and D, only a few specimens came from the flat area next to the river.

Area J has received considerable deposition of sand by the river. Steatite sherds, quartzite chips and early ceramics attest to an occupation during the Archaic and Early Woodland which appears to have been concentrated in this area.

OVERHILL TOWNS

The Overhill Towns lie in the Appalachian Great Valley Province. Settacoo and Great Tellico are close to the western escarpment of the Blue Ridge Province which is formed by the Chilhowee Mountains. Other Overhill Towns not represented in this study are further to the west along the Little Tennessee, Hiwassee and Tennessee Rivers.

SETTACCO

Settacoo is situated northwest of the confluence of Citico Creek and the Little Tennessee River. Cyrus Thomas reports the presence of a number of large mounds at this site, the largest of which he says had been excavated (Thomas, 1894). The site has undergone systematic destruction by local collectors in their search for relics.

Surface collections from the mound and the areas immediately east and south of the mound provided the material which was studied for this paper. The surface of this area
had a thick concentration of sherds, bone and mussel shells. Much of this material has been turned up by the amateur relic collectors' efforts to enrich their collections from this productive site. Evidence from the activities of these collectors substantiates the claims that this location is the historic village of Settacoo (Lewis, 1960; Myers, 1964).

GREAT TELLICO

Great Tellico is on the east side of the Tellico River just south of the mouth of Smoky Run. The mound and village are on a terrace above the extensive bottoms which are partially encircled by a large bend in the Tellico River. The river has scoured a flood channel directly to the west of the mound. The mound has been rounded and eroded by cultivation.

Ceramics for this study were collected from the mound and the area immediately east and south. This portion of the site has not been buried with river silts or scoured by the flooding river. Pottery, flint chips, daub and refuse from the village midden are brought to the surface by each plowing. Distribution of the material indicates the presence of subsurface pits and house floors.
CHAPTER III
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The early years of the eighteenth century saw the Cherokee engaged in a number of conflicts with their neighbors and with the European colonists. War with neighboring Indian tribes was continual. The Cherokee myths speak of an almost constant series of raids and wars with the Shawano, Tuscarora, Catawba, Delaware and Iroquois. Territorial aggression and acquisition accounted for many of the wars. These same motives served to arouse the Cherokee against the settlers as they found the fringes of their land being occupied.

War became more lethal with the introduction of firearms. Indians who survived the battles often fell victim to the ravages of starvation or disease. Slowly and relentlessly the Cherokee were crowded into an increasingly smaller territory until their removal to the west. A brief chronicle of the significant events of this period will reveal the forces which led to the eventual disintegration of the largest tribe in Southeastern North America.

As early as 1679 the Cherokee, Yuchi and Creek had allied themselves with the English and attacked the Spanish missions in what is now coastal Georgia (Swanton, 1922: 90). The Cherokee again allied themselves with the English during the Tuscarora War in 1711 to 1713. The age-old enemies of
the Cherokee were dealt a crushing defeat and ceased to be a powerful tribe.

During the Yamasee War of 1715-1716 the Cherokee joined in an alliance which embraced tribes from Cape Fear to the Chattahoochee (Mooney, 1900: 33). The Cherokee never entered the war completely but vacillated in their allegiance. Following a conference at Tugalo in December of 1715, the Cherokee joined the English against their old enemies, the Creek. The colonists barely escaped total destruction early in the war but eventually defeated the Creek and their allies.

Following the Yamasee War the English embarked upon a program to organize and systematically exploit the Cherokee trade. Trading regulations were established and administrators were appointed. Cherokee towns were linked by trading paths to the colonial settlements in South Carolina (Mooney, 1900: Plate 7). Trade flourished and both parties benefitted from the exchange. European products gradually supplanted Cherokee crafts until the Cherokee became dependent upon the trade for their very existence. The English secured the frontiers by the erection of Fort Prince George and Fort London. Prolonged contact with the colonists also brought devastating smallpox epidemics (Mooney, 1900: 36).

The French and Indian War found the Cherokee wavering in their allegiance to the English. The Cherokee, like many other tribes, found the French to be more suitable partners because the French wanted trade but not land, while the English wanted both. Following a series of events which antagonized the Cherokee, they besieged Fort London and Fort Prince George.
In June of 1760 Colonel Montgomery raised the siege of Fort Prince George and marched through Rabun Gap into the Middle Towns. He was met by a large force of Cherokee south of Echoe and defeated. Montgomery retired and Fort Loudon abandoned all hope of aid and surrendered. The captured soldiers were massacred during the march to Great Tellico.

Colonel Grant formed an expedition the following year and marched through Rabun Gap and defeated a large force of Cherokee two miles south of the previous year's battlefield (Mooney, 1900: 44). He then destroyed fifteen of the Middle Towns including Nequasee, Joree and Cowee. Smallpox struck the Cherokee with renewed vigor, reducing the population by half before the end of hostilities.

After the French and Indian War the Cherokee were forced with increasing frequency to cede large tracts of their land (Royce, 1887). Shortly before the Revolutionary War Chauga, Tugalo and Estatoe had ceased to be major settlements. Colonists continued to encroach upon Cherokee lands and friction increased. The outbreak of the Revolutionary War found English agents arousing the Indian tribes which bordered the rebelling colonies. The Cherokee, aided by the English, began raiding neighboring settlements.

Four armies were raised by the Americans which attacked the Cherokee in force from four directions. In August of 1776 Griffith Rutherford led an expedition from North Carolina to burn towns along the Tuckasegee, Oconaluftee, Hiwassee and upper Little Tennessee Rivers. Nununyi and Kituhwa were destroyed during this raid. In September the South Carolina army
burned the Lower Towns and aided Rutherford with the destruction of the Middle Towns. Colonel Samuel Jack burned towns at the heads of the Chattahoochee and Tugaloo Rivers. The Virginia force burned the Overhill Towns on the lower Little Tennessee River.

The Americans destroyed everything of value to the Indians. The four-pronged attack, which consisted of at least six thousand men, all but destroyed the Cherokee settlements. Sporadic raids and resultant reprisals occurred until the Treaty of Paris in 1782. The Cherokee were forced to cede additional land and a smallpox epidemic broke out the following year. By this time the majority of the towns mentioned earlier in this paper were showing signs of disintegration. The population began to shift toward the southwestern section of their territory into northern Alabama, northwestern Georgia and the far western part of North Carolina. A number of Cherokee migrated to the Indian Territory west of the Mississippi River. Some of the towns were inhabited by small bands of Cherokee; however, many towns had ceased to function as socio-political units.

The Cherokee provided warriors who contributed to the defeat of the Creek at Horseshoe Bend in 1814. Their major role in the decisive battle brought them promises of continued friendship with the Federal government, but they were given scant reward for their efforts. The following years brought increased pressures from Washington and the cession of Cherokee tribal lands. During this period the government did aid the Cherokee by providing them with plows, looms, and
farming implements. By 1800 the population of the Overhill Towns, including Great Tellico and Settacco had moved in bands across the Mississippi River. A few Cherokee remained in this area until the cession of the land in 1819.

In 1838 and 1839 the final removal of the Cherokee to the Indian Territory took place. The hunting, imprisonment, and deportation of the Cherokee is certainly one of the cruelest and blackest events in American history. Four thousand Cherokee died as a result of the removal (Mooney, 1900: 130). A remnant hid in the mountains and formed the Eastern band of the Cherokee. Thus war, smallpox and land cession debilitated the Cherokee peoples.

Archaeological evidence of contact with Europeans is present on all of the sites studied for this paper. Iron implements, kaolin pipe fragments, glass beads and the remains of burned structures are frequently encountered on the surface of these sites. The gradual casting off of native crafts and the increasing dependence upon European goods is reflected in the shoddy workmanship exhibited on contemporary native products.

The disintegration of the Cherokee Nation is marked by the gradual depopulation of the settlements and their subsequent abandonment. The Lower Towns were the first Cherokee settlements to be weakened in the trend which resulted in a population shift to the west beginning about 1732. Ochuga, Tugalo and Estatoe had a small population by the close of the Revolutionary War. The Overhill Towns were the next region to be completely abandoned. Between 1780 and 1790 Great
Tellico and Settacco had been depopulated. Remnants of the population remained until the Hiwassee Purchase of 1819. Cowee, Joree and Nequasee were occupied in part until the removal of 1838. A few of the Out and Valley Towns continued as small Cherokee homesteads following the removal.

The Kitchin map which was drafted in 1760 for the *London Magazine* documents the existence of most of the Cherokee towns considered in this paper. Coweeta Creek Mound, Peachtree Mound and Village Site and the Townsend Site are not found on this map. They have not been associated with any known historic Cherokee towns. Coweeta Creek Mound is located almost exactly where Newuteah is indicated on the map and they could well be the same. European trade goods found on the surface of these sites indicate that the omission was not due to their lack of habitation during this period.
CHAPTER IV
CERAMIC ANALYSIS

The distribution and quantities of the 9,990 sherds studied are presented in Tables 1, 2 and 3. The Qualla Series is the only formal type description presented in this paper. Initial definition of the series was the result of an analysis by Joffre Coe of extensive surface collections from western North Carolina and northern Georgia. Three historic Cherokee Middle Towns have recently been partially excavated by the University of North Carolina's Research Laboratories of Anthropology and the precise definition of the Qualla Series hinges upon the analysis of the ceramics from these sites.

Early Cord-Marked and Early Fabric-Marked pottery occurred as a minority in all five of the major Cherokee regions. This material falls within the descriptive categories provided by Patricia Holden (1966). No further definition of these early ceramics has been attempted since they are represented by a small sample that does not supply any new information.

The Pigeon Series and the Connestee Series as defined by Holden (1966) constitute a small scattering of sherds which were found primarily in the Middle, Valley and Out Towns. Pigeon Plain and Pigeon Check Stamped were a minority ware in the collections from the village area of Kituhwa and the
Distribution of Ceramics
Lower Towns

Table 1
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PIGEON</th>
<th>JOHNISTES</th>
<th>PISGAH</th>
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|                |        |          |        |        |        |                |

| COWETA CREEK MOUNDS |        |          |        |        |        |                |
|                     | surface| percent of collection |        |        |        |                |
|                     |        |                       |        |        |        |                |

| NEOSOSEE |        |          |        |        |        |                |
|          | surface| percent of collection |        |        |        |                |
|          |        |                       |        |        |        |                |

| JOKE |        |          |        |        |        |                |
|       | surface| percent of collection |        |        |        |                |
|       |        |                       |        |        |        |                |

| PEACHTREE MOUND AND VILLAGE |        |          |        |        |        |                |
|                             | excavation sample | percent of collection |        |        |        |                |
|                             |        |                       |        |        |        |                |

| TOWNESS SITE |        |          |        |        |        |                |
|              | surface and plow soil | percent of collection |        |        |        |                |
|              |        |                       |        |        |        |                |

| SETTACCO |        |          |        |        |        |                |
|          | surface | percent of collection |        |        |        |                |
|          |        |                       |        |        |        |                |

### Distribution of Ceramics

**Middle, Valley and Overhill Towns**

**Table 2**
## Distribution of Ceramics
### Out Towns

### Table 3

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<th>MOUNDVI</th>
<th>KITOGWA</th>
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**TOTALS:** 30

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**Note:** The table above represents the distribution of ceramics found in Out Towns across different mound and village sites, with specific categories such as plow soil, lower 1/2 of midden, and pit. The totals are calculated for each site and category, providing insights into the archaeological findings.
Townsend Site. Connestee Plain, Connestee Cord-Marked and Connestee Brushed had their highest frequency of occurrence in Level 2 of the Nequasee test pit and the collections from Kituhwa, the Peachtree site and the Townsend site. The six rims encountered were straight and slightly everted, or in one instance greatly everted (see Table 6). Paste characteristics and surface finish on the sample were identical to those previously described by Holden.

The Pisgah Series was also described by Holden (1966) and is undergoing further research by Joffre Coe. Pisgah Complicated Stamped, Pisgah Plain and Pisgah Check Stamped were present in the material analyzed. The Middle Towns, Valley Towns and Kituhwa had a small percentage of this series present in their collections. Three rim profiles were found exclusively upon Pisgah sherds. Figure 2 and Table 5 illustrate the occurrence of the everted rim with a notched concave lip, the heavy L-shaped rim with one or more rows of trail and jab decoration on the lip and the collared rim with wedge-shaped punctations. The marked attributes of the Pisgah Series, particularly the decorated collared rim, have been found associated with the earlier occupational levels on historic Cherokee sites (Kelly and Neitzel, 1961: Illustration VI; Setzler and Jennings, 1941: Plate 43). Pisgah sherds constitute a minority of the ceramics studied and further elaboration of the type description is not attempted in this paper.

Four ceramic types of the Etowah Series were distinguished in the collections; Etowah Burnished, Etowah Complicated
Stamped, Etowah Plain and Etowah Polished Black. Ninety-seventy percent of this series came from the Lower Towns of Chauga, Estatoe and Tugalo. The remaining three percent were present in the collections from the Middle and Valley towns. No Etowah ceramics were present in the material from the Out and Overhill Towns. The type descriptions and the chronological significance of the various complicated stamped motifs which William Sears (1958) described can be applied to the material studied for this paper. For purposes of analysis Etowah Complicated Stamped was separated into three categories; complicated stamped, smoothed-over complicated stamped and roughened. The combination of these three categories, which are held as separate types in other studies, rests in their being produced primarily by variations in the application of the paddle stamp and the firing of the vessel. In a number of instances roughened sherds demonstrated a complicated stamped motif which was obscured by the cracking of the surface during firing.

The fillet cross, line block, one-bar diamond, two-bar diamond, two-bar oval, and three-bar diamond are the designs present in Etowah Complicated Stamped. Table 4 presents the distribution of complicated stamped designs. A large portion of the stamps were poorly applied and overstamping further hindered the exact definition of the motif. This would imply that the majority of the Etowah Complicated Stamped sherds were produced during Etowah Periods III and IV.

A small number of red filmed and polished black sherds were present in the material analyzed. The polished black
### Distribution of Ceramics

**Complicated Stamped Designs**

**Table 4**
sherds, two of which were found in the Cowee mound pit back-fill, resembled Etowah Polished Black. However, no other Etowah ceramics were found at Cowee and these two sherds and the remaining two polished black sherds from the Cowee Creek Mound were regarded as unclassifiable. The red filmed sherds are similar to Hiwassee Island Red Filmed (Lewis and Kneberg, 1946: 103). Four sherds were encountered of which two were from the Peachtree excavation sample and one each came from the plow soil of the Nequasee test pit and from the surface of the mound at Great Tellico. The small sample and their lack of diagnostic features did not allow for their placement within the established type categories, thus they were regarded as unclassifiable.

The Qualla Series is marked by a number of diagnostic features which clearly separate it from ceramics of an earlier date. The series possesses the basic attributes of the Lamar style horizon: folded finger impressed rim fillets; large, sloppy, carved stamps, and bold incising. The complicated stamped motifs illustrating Lamar Complicated Stamped exhibit a greater degree of regularity and symmetrical design than is found on Qualla Complicated Stamped (Jennings and Fairbanks, 1939). The same holds true with the incised cazuela bowls, though to a lesser degree. Incising accompanied by reed punctuations, which is common upon Lamar Bold Incised vessels, was absent in the material analyzed. These differences are very striking and have led to the definition of the Qualla Series as a distinctive ceramic complex.

Surface finish was the prime indicator of a sherds'
category in this analysis. The distinctive qualities of the Qualla paste aided considerably in the classification of this series. The moderate to abundant quantities of grit coupled with a partial burnishing of the vessel's interior make Qualla sherds distinctive even when the exterior surface finish is obliterated.

It was regrettable that much of the pottery was acquired by surface collections and tended to be highly fragmented. This made the association of the rim form, surface finish and vessel shape very difficult, if not impossible, in many instances. Only a few rim sherds were large enough to determine the specific surface finish. This was a particular handicap during the attempt to correlate the individual stamp motifs of Qualla Complicated Stamped with the rim profiles. Qualla Complicated Stamped sherds were often difficult to identify owing to the frequent over stamping, the smoothing of the vessel's surface after stamping, and the small size of the sherds in relation to the large areas covered by a single motif.

Tables 1, 2 and 3 indicate that Qualla Complicated Stamped sherds constituted the bulk of Qualla ceramics at the sites studied. The line block motif is the only design that Qualla ceramics have in common with the Pisgah and Etowah Series. Less care is given in their rendition and application during Qualla times. There is a marked difference between the symmetrical Etowah bar diamond and the wavy lines, zig-zag lines and concentric circles of the Qualla stamps. Six designs are found on Qualla sherds and not on Etowah or
Pisgah sherds (see Table 4). Concentric loops and concentric circles were the most frequently encountered motifs while the concentric squares, wavy lines and zig-zag lines were weakly represented. The surface collection from Kituhwa yielded the only sherd stamped with the dumbbell design.

Six surface treatments were present on Qualla ceramics: plain, burnished, check stamped, cord-marked and corncob impressed follow the complicated stamped in popularity. Nine corncob impressed sherds were distinguished in the material analyzed. They came from the Coweta Creek Mound, Peachtree Mound and Village Site, Townsend Site and from Nununyi. Qualla Corncob Impressed sherds were absent in the Lower and Overhill Towns. This ceramic type corresponds with corncob impressed sherds from historic sites on the piedmont of North Carolina (Coe and Lewis, 1952).

Qualla Cord-Marked was absent from the Overhill Towns and present in all of the other regions. It constituted one percent of the collections from Chauga, Tugalo village, Nununyi and Kituhwa. Qualla Cord-Marked had no specific distribution in the levels at Chauga, Tugalo or Nununyi.

The emphasis placed upon check stamping as an indicator of late Cherokee ceramics would appear from this analysis to be in error (Kelly and Neitzel, 1961: 40). Qualla Check Stamped never constituted more than five percent of the sherds from any site. There is no evidence that this type was employed only after 1700 as is stated by Sears (1961: 42). Check stamped pottery does not constitute a majority in any level at Chauga (Kelly and Neitzel, 1961: Plate 11), Estatec
(Kelly and de Baillou, 1960: Table 1) or at the Peachtree Mound and Village Site (Setzler and Jennings, 1941: Table 2).

Qualla Burnished had its highest frequency of occurrence at Nequasee, where it constituted six percent of the ceramics from Level 1. It was absent in the Overhill Towns and was present in minor quantities at sites in the remaining four Cherokee regions.

Qualla Plain sherds were found in all of the major Cherokee regions and have a frequency of occurrence within the Qualla Series which is second only to Qualla Complicated Stamped. The preponderance of Qualla Complicated Stamped is easily seen when its frequency is compared with that of Qualla Plain, which never reached more than seventeen percent of the Qualla ceramics in any unit analyzed.

The majority of Qualla rim sherds were everted with a finger impressed fillet, while an incised cazuela bowl was second in popularity (see Figure 2 and Table 5). Nineteen different rim profiles were distinguished in the Qualla Series (see Table 5). Qualla rims which lacked the finger impressed fillet but had a flare identical to the fillet variety were present in the material as a strong minority. A number of techniques other than the fillet were used to thicken and reinforce the rim. The L-shaped rim is shared with the Etowah Series where it is present as a minority. Qualla shallow bowl forms were identical to those found in the Etowah Series and had a similar frequency of occurrence.

It is not difficult to see that the Qualla Series represents a unified whole which has in common a constellation
of diagnostic attributes. These attributes reoccur in combinations which facilitate the categorizing of Cherokee ceramics. The gritty paste, sloppy stamp designs, finger impressed fillet on an everted rim, incised cazuela bowls and the partially burnished interior finish are characteristic of the Qualla Series.

**QUALLA COMPLICATED STAMPED**

**Paste:**
- **Temper:** Sand or crushed grit is used in moderate to abundant quantities.
- **Texture:** Coarse and gritty with laminations present in many sherds.
- **Hardness:** Generally ranges from 2.5 to 3.0.
- **Color:** The majority of sherds are light brown to darker shades of brown, with a number of buff to reddish sherds also occurring.

**Surface finish:** Exterior is smoothed prior to the application of the complicated stamp. Interior is smoothed to roughly burnished with the area adjacent to the rim undergoing a greater degree of burnishing. Stamping with a carved paddle and overstamping are diagnostic of this type. The design motifs are primarily curvilinear, rectilinear or combinations of these two elements. The primary motifs found were concentric squares, concentric circles, concentric loops, wavy lines, zig-zag lines, dumbbell and line block. A major variety of this type is the smoothed-over complicated stamped. All attributes are similar to the complicated stamped sherds except for
smoothing of the stamp impression subsequent to its impression.

Decoration: Bold incising occurs upon the rims of cazuela bowls. Scroll and angular elements are the dominant incised motifs.

Form:

Rim: Figure 2 and Tables 5-6 give a graphic illustration of the forms and their distribution. Qualla rims are marked by flaring and in most instances by the addition of an impressed fillet.

Body: Small bowls, cazuela bowls and globular jars with rounded bottoms are the main forms.

Geographical range: Western North Carolina, western South Carolina, northern Georgia and eastern Tennessee comprise the normal limits of its distribution.

Chronological position: The type apparently became popular circa 1500 and degenerated with the disintegration of the Cherokee Nation in the late eighteenth century.

Probable relationships: The type develops out of the Swift Creek style of curvilinear stamped motifs blending with the angular motifs in Woodstock Complicated Stamped. The blending of these design motifs with the development and elaboration of the folded or added rim fillet constitutes the Lamar style horizon. Qualla ceramics, a variety of the basic Lamar style horizon, was centered in the Cherokee Middle Towns during historic times.
QUALIA PLAIN
Paste: As Qualla Complicated Stamped.
Surface finish: Exterior has good to indifferent smoothing with some sherds having a thin film of fine clay particles floated to the surface by smoothing with an excess of water. The interior is smoothed to burnished.
Decoration: Bold incising occurs upon the rims of cazuela bowls in scroll or angular motifs.
Form: As Qualla Complicated Stamped.
Geographical range: As Qualla Complicated Stamped; however, it occurs with considerably less frequency.
Chronological position: As Qualla Complicated Stamped.
Probable relationships: Similar to other plain wares of the Southeast during the historic period.

QUALIA BURNISHED
Paste:
Temper: Fine sand or pulverized grit in small to moderate amounts.
Texture: Fine, well compacted.
Hardness: Generally ranges from 2.5 to 3.0.
Color: Buff to solid black.
Surface finish: The exterior is burnished, though some tool marks are present. The interior has a varying degree of burnishing with circular tool marks frequently occurring.
Decoration: Slashes occur occasionally on the rim as well as incised motifs on the cazuela bowls.
Form:
Rim: The entire sample contained only two rims. One was
slightly flaring with a folded and pinched rim. The other rim sherd was from a small bowl.

Body: Small bowls, jars and cazuela bowls were the only forms identified in this minority type. Generally vessels of this type exhibit finer workmanship and preparation of materials than is present in the remainder of the Qualla Series.

Geographical range: As Qualla Complicated Stamped.

Chronological position: There is some indication that this type might have been popular during the earlier and medial periods of the Qualla temporal span.

Probable relationships: Related to a wide variety of burnished wares which were employed in the Southeast during historic time.

**QUALLA CHECK STAMPED**

Paste: As Qualla Complicated Stamped.

Surface finish: Stamped with a carved wooden paddle. The design carved upon the paddle consists of a shallow to deep grid design. The size of the grid varies considerably from vessel to vessel. The grid may consist of squares or rectangles with a dominant linear element. Considerable overstamping and smoothing is present.

Form:

Rim: Straight to slightly flaring rims occur with or without the folded fillet.

Body: Small globular jars and bowls were the only forms discernible.

Geographical range: As Qualla Complicated Stamped but with
a lower frequency of occurrence.

Chronological position: As Qualla Complicated Stamped with a similar degeneration in technique and design in the late eighteenth century.

Probable relationships: Check stamping has a span of employment in the Cherokee area from Deptford times until the close of the eighteenth century.

**QUALLA CORD-MARKED**

Paste: As Qualla Complicated Stamped.

Surface finish: Smoothed exterior and interior before stamping. Occasionally a partial attempt has been made to burnish the interior. Stamped with a cord wrapped paddle. The cord is well twisted and relatively thin.

Form:

Rim: The only rim sherd present in the sample was plain and slightly everted.

Body: The limited number of Qualla Cord-Marked sherds does not afford any indication of vessel size or shape.

Geographical range: This type constitutes a minority and its complete distribution is unknown.

Chronological position: Excavations at the Townsend Site indicate that this type was in use during the later half of the eighteenth century.

Probable relationships: Similar to the cord-marked shell tempered pottery from the Overhill Towns and apparently a return to earlier methods employed in the Early Woodland. It is not known if there was a continual employment of
cord-marking in the Cherokee region or if there was a period when it fell into disuse as a surface finish.

**QUALLA CORNCOB IMPRESSED**

**Paste:** As Qualla Complicated Stamped.

**Surface finish:** Smoothed exterior with a well smoothed or partially burnished interior. A corncob was impressed into the surface of the vessel prior to firing.

**Form:** Only a few sherds exhibiting this surface finish were found and no indication was present as to rim or body form.

**Geographical range:** This type constitutes a minority and its complete distribution is unknown.

**Chronological position:** This type of surface finish was employed in the Southeast during historic times.

**Probable relationships:** This type of surface finish is similar to the Dan River Corncob impressed of the Virginia-North Carolina piedmont (Coe and Lewis, 1952).

Shell tempered pottery was lumped into one major category. The majority of the shell tempered pottery analyzed was plain or burnished with only a few sherds being corncob impressed or cord-marked. In the collection from Tugalo village there were three shell tempered sherds. A smoothed-over Qualla stamped sherd, a smoothed-over Etowah stamped sherd and a check stamped sherd were the only shell tempered ceramics which had been stamped with a carved paddle. Further, this was the only shell tempered pottery found in the Lower Towns.

Shell tempered pottery constituted eighty-one percent
of the collection from Great Tellico and ninety-three percent of the collection from Settacco. The surface collections from the Overhill Towns accounted for almost ninety-three percent of the shell tempered pottery analyzed. The distribution of shell tempered pottery shows the marked influence of the Mississippian ceramic tradition upon the Overhill Towns. Apparently the Appalachian Mountains acted as a barrier and limited the diffusion of this trait to the Middle and Lower Towns.

The rim profiles found on shell tempered ceramics correspond closely with the forms found in the Qualla Series. The noded bowl profile is the only form unique to the shell tempered material. The finger impressed rim fillet on shell tempered rims is identical with the Qualla rims that have fillets. The cazuela bowl is also identical in its form with those found in the Qualla Series.

The decorated sherds would fall into the Dallas Incised, Dallas Punctate and Dallas Filleted subtypes of Dallas Decorated if the classification system of Lewis and Kneberg (1946: 105) were being employed. The remaining majority of plain and burnished sherds and minorities of cord-marked or corncob impressed sherds cannot be placed within any established type category. The application of any previous classification system thus applies to only a very few decorated shell tempered sherds and has not been attempted here because of its limited range of application.

The collections from Great Tellico and Settacco were gotten from the surface of truncated mounds. The village areas
which surrounded the mounds were deeply covered with alluvium and no material was collected from these portions of the sites. The collecting of sherds from the truncated mounds resulted in the sample's being older than the terminal phases of the settlement.

SHELL TEMPERED

Paste:

Temper: Fine to medium particles of crushed shell occurring in moderate to heavy amounts.

Texture: Varies considerably depending upon the quantity and particle size of the shell temper present. Medium to coarse with distinct laminations when shell temper is heavy. Only rarely is a sherd encountered with a minor amount of shell temper and a fine hard paste.

Hardness: Predominately 2.5 with a few fine textured sherds having a hardness of 3.0.

Color: The majority of sherds range from brown to brick red with dense black and pale buff occurring occasionally.

Surface finish:

Exterior:

1. Plain: Ranges from poorly smoothed with obvious tool marks to well smoothed.

2. Burnished: Exterior is burnished with marks left by the burnishing tool being readily apparent. The Plain well-smoothed variety merges to some extent with the poorly Burnished variety.

3. Cord-Marked: Impressions made with a paddle wrapped with a well twisted and relatively fine cord.
4. Corncob impressed: A minority of sherds were deeply impressed with a corncob.

Interior: Smoothed to roughly burnished interiors with a floated surface. The degree of burnishing often increases closer to the rim of the vessel.

Decoration:

Design: Slashed and incised motifs occurred on cazuela rims with the occasional occurrence of reed punctuations or notched applique fillet on the rim.

Form:

Rim: The variety of rim forms and the exact distribution are best expressed by regarding Figure 2 and Tables 5-6. The appliqued fillet which has been finger pinched or notched is common.

Body: Cazuela bowls, shallow bowls and jars were the body forms indicated by a small number of larger sherds. Vessel bases were rounded or slightly flattened.

Appendages: Strap handles occur on plain pottery and only one loop handle was encountered. One rim adorno was found. Occasionally nodes were affixed to vessels.

Twenty-seven rim profiles were observed in the pottery being studied. The profiles are shown with their code numbers in Figure 2. A number of the profiles are represented by only a single sherd. No minimum number of rim sherds was necessary to constitute a class. Rims that appeared to be attempts at the same form but, as a result of the workman's failure, varied in their shape have been placed in the same category. It is conceivable that rim sherds from the same vessel could have been
Rim Profiles

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### Distribution of Rim Profiles

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**Sherd Total**

|           | 1 | 6 | 8 | 60 | 409 | 63 |

**Distribution of Rim Profiles**

**By Ceramic Series**

Table 6
placed in separate categories. I have observed that as Cherokee ceramic techniques became sloppy the rim form on some vessels varied considerably on the same vessel. Rim sherds too small to have their form ascertained were placed in an unclassifiable category. Table 5 presents the distribution of the various rim forms. The percentage distribution of rim forms by ceramic series is presented in Table 6.

Profile

1. straight with a rounded lip
2. slightly everted with a rounded lip
3. greatly everted with a rounded lip
4. L-shaped
5. L is slightly below lip
6. L is 8-10 mm below lip
7. finger impressed fillet on a straight rim
8. finger impressed fillet on a slightly everted rim
9. finger impressed fillet on a greatly everted rim
10. everted rim with a notched concave lip
11. thickened lip which may be plain or slashed vertically
12. thickened and rounded lip
13. heavily reinforced L-shaped rim with incised chevrons or parallel lines on lip
14. thickened lip with a slight fold
15. notched bead affixed to rim
16. cazuela form with a notched L-shaped rim
17. cazuela form with a rounded lip
18. cazuela form with an attached flat fillet
19. cazuela form with a thickened lip
20. cazuela form with a medial flange  
21. plain shallow bowl form  
22. noded shallow bowl form  
23. rows of punctations above ridge on an inverted rim  
24. everted rim with mamiform protrusions  
25. everted rim with castellation and node  
26. heavy L-shaped rim with one or more rows of trail and jab decoration on lip  
27. collared rim with wedge-shaped punctations  
0. unclassified  

Three rim profiles could not be associated with any of the major ceramic series. Rim profile 23 occurred only once and the surface treatment was obliterated (see Plate II). Rim profiles 24 and 25 (see Plate VII) are similar to rim forms found in eastern Tennessee (Webb, 1938: Plate 79; Webb, 1939: Plate 66).

Seven vessel handles were present in the collections from the Middle, Out and Overhill Towns. One loop handle from a shell tempered vessel was found at Great Tellico. Three shell tempered strap handles were present in the material from Settacco. The Peachtree Mound and Village Site had two grit tempered strap handles (see Plate VII) in the sample from the excavation and there was a grit tempered strap handle from the surface of Nequasee. The grit tempered strap handles could not be positively associated with any of the major ceramic series. The handles from Great Tellico and Settacco were classified with the shell tempered pottery.
PLATE I
Ceramics From the Lower Towns

first row:
Woodstock Complicated Stamped
Estatoe floor of Structure 4a

Etowah Complicated Stamped
two-bar oval
Chauga Village S60-70, E90-100; 12"-18"

second row:
Etowah Complicated Stamped
line block
Chauga Village S60-70, E90-100; 12"-18"

Etowah Complicated Stamped
two-bar diamond
Chauga Village S60-70, E90-100; 12"-18"

third row:
Etowah Complicated Stamped
filfot cross
Estatoe south and west floor of Structure 4a

Qualla Check Stamped
Tugalo Ditch R17, 16 1/2, 18 1/6; 18"-24"
PLATE II
Ceramics From the Lower Towns

first row:

Qualla Complicated Stamped
L-shaped rim
Tugalo Ditch R17, 16 1/2, 18 1/6; 24"-30"

second row:

Qualla Complicated Stamped
finger impressed fillet
smoothed-over
Estatoe floor of Structure 4a

Qualla Complicated Stamped
finger impressed fillet on a greatly everted rim
Tugalo Ditch R17, 16 1/2, 18 1/6; 24"-30"

third row:

Qualla Complicated Stamped
finger impressed fillet on a slightly everted rim
Tugalo Ditch R17, 16 1/2, 18 1/2; 12"-18"

unclassified
rows of punctations above ridge on an inverted rim
Chauga Village S60-70, E90-100; 6"-12"
first row:
Qualla  incised cazuela form with a rounded lip
         Estatoe  floor of Structure 4a
Qualla  incised cazuela form with a rounded lip
         Tugalo Ditch  R17, 16 1/2, 18 1/6; 30"-36"

second row:
Qualla  incised cazuela form with a rounded lip
         Coweeta Creek Mound  surface
Qualla  incised cazuela form with a rounded lip
         Coweeta Creek Mound  surface

third row:
Qualla  incised cazuela form with a rounded lip
         Coweeta Creek Mound  surface
Qualla  incised cazuela form with a medial flange
         Peachtree Mound and Village

fourth row:
Qualla  incised cazuela form with a rounded lip
         Nequasee  surface
Qualla  incised cazuela form with a rounded lip
         Nequasee  surface
PLATE IV
Ceramics From the Middle Towns

First row:
- Complicated Stamped Nequasee surface
- Etowah Complicated Stamped Coweeta Creek Mound surface

Second row:
- Pisgah Complicated Stamped Nequasee Level 1
- Pigeon Plain Coweeta Creek Mound surface

Third row:
- Conneecatte Plain Coweeta Creek Mound surface
- Conneecatte Brushed Nequasee surface
- Conneecatte Simple Stamped Nequasee Level 2
first row:
red-filmed
Cowee Creek Mound surface
Qualla Complicated Stamped
Cowee Creek Mound surface zig-zag lines

second row:
Qualla Complicated Stamped
Cowee Village surface concentric squares
Qualla Complicated Stamped
Cowee Creek Mound surface concentric squares

third row:
Qualla Check Stamped
Joree surface
Qualla Corncob Impressed
Cowee Village surface
Qualla Cord-Marked
Nequasee surface
PLATE VI
Ceramics From the Middle Towns

first row:
Qualla Check Stamped
   finger impressed fillet on a slightly everted rim
   Nequasee surface
Qualla Complicated Stamped
   greatly everted rim with a rounded lip
   Nequasee Level 2

second row:
Qualla Complicated Stamped
   finger impressed fillet on a greatly everted rim
   Coweeta Creek Mound surface
Qualla Complicated Stamped
   finger impressed fillet on a greatly everted rim
   Nequasee surface

third row:
Qualla Complicated Stamped
   finger impressed fillet on a greatly everted rim
   Coweeta Creek Mound surface

   concentric circles

   concentric loops
PLATE VII
Ceramics From the Valley and Out Towns

first row:
strap handle
Peachtree Mound and Village

unclassified
everted rim with castellation and node
Peachtree Mound and Village

second row:
unclassified
everted rim with mamiform protrusions
Peachtree Mound and Village

Qualla Complicated Stamped
dumbbell
Kituhwa Mound surface

third row:
Pigeon Check Stamped
corncob impressed
townsend Site surface

shell tempered
townsend Site surface
PLATE VIII
Ceramics From the Overhill Towns

first row:
shell tempered
everted rim with flange
Great Tellico surface
shell tempered
greatly everted rim
Great Tellico surface

plain

plain

second row:
shell tempered
notched bead affixed to rim
Great Tellico surface
Qualla
finger impressed fillet on a slightly everted rim
Great Tellico surface

plain

third row:
Qualla Check Stamped
Great Tellico surface
Qualla Complicated Stamped
Great Tellico surface
Qualla Complicated Stamped
Great Tellico surface

concentric circles

concentric circles
SUMMARY

The purpose of this paper was twofold. Of primary importance was the analysis of ceramics collected from thirteen historic Cherokee towns in western North Carolina, northern Georgia and eastern Tennessee. The definition of the Qualla Series is crucial to the development of a concept of historic Cherokee ceramics. Of secondary importance, only because the sample of 9,990 sherds cannot be considered as indicative of the entire universe of Cherokee ceramics, is the regional distribution of the major ceramic types. Particular importance was placed upon the physiographic barriers which limited contact between the five major regions.

The ceramics analyzed provide a valuable residue of non-historic sherds which indicate the participation of the Cherokee region within the greater Southeastern ceramic tradition. Figure 3 is designed to illustrate the pronounced regional distribution of ceramic types within the Cherokee area. Spatial distribution is the concern of the figure and no temporal sequence is implied. The Early Fabric-Marked, Early Cord-Marked, Pigeon, Connessee and Pisgah Series were poorly represented in the collections from historic Cherokee towns. The nature of their distribution is limited to the information obtained from the ceramics analyzed and no doubt they have a higher frequency of occurrence upon sites which
### Regional Distribution of Ceramics

**Figure 3**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Lower Towns</th>
<th>Middle Towns</th>
<th>Valley Towns</th>
<th>Out Towns</th>
<th>Overall Towns</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Etowah</td>
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- **Legend:**
  - Plain
  - Check Stamped
  - Simple Stamped
  - Cord-Marked
  - Brushed
  - Complicated Stamped
  - Smoothed-over
  - Roughened
  - Burnished
  - Polished Black
  - Corncob Impressed
  - Incised
  - Smoothed-over
  - Plain
  - Burnished
  - Check Stamped
  - Cord-Marked
  - Corncob Impressed
  - Incised

- **Scale:**
  - 25%
have primarily prehistoric ceramic components.

Early Cord-Marked and Early Fabric-Marked pottery appear to be the earliest ceramics in the Cherokee area. Dunlap Fabric-Marked (Griffin and Sears, 1950) of north Georgia and Candy Creek Cord-Marked (Lewis and Kneberg, 1946: 102-103) of eastern Tennessee offer correlations in adjacent areas. Ceramics of this type are found scattered in small quantities on a few of the sites studied. Their specific distribution has little significance due to the inadequate sample and the lack of large sherds. This type of pottery is considered by investigators in northern Georgia to have been produced from the close of the Archaic Period until approximately 400 B.C. (Caldwell, 1958: Figures 7-8). No concrete dates are available for its initiation or termination in the Southern Blue Ridge.

The carved paddle stamp tradition, which continues until historic Cherokee times, has its inception in the simple stamped and check stamped pottery of the Pigeon Series. Pigeon ceramics are marked by tetrapod feet and have close similarities to many of the check stamped pottery types which have their base in the Deptford complex and continue throughout the Southeast until historic times (Griffin and Sears, 1950). Ceramics of the Pigeon Series are limited in the material analyzed to the Valley and Out Towns.

Connestee pottery has small vestigial feet which would indicate that it was manufactured at a time when this type of appendage was declining in popularity (Holden, 1966). However, the types of surface finish found upon the markedly
thin, sand tempered tetrapod vessels portray a closer relationship with the Early Cord-Marked and Early Fabric-Marked ceramics. The Connersee Series was poorly represented in the Middle, Valley and Out Towns. It was absent in the collections from the Lower Towns.

The Pisgah Series is widely distributed, being labeled Cobb Island in eastern Tennessee (Polhemus and Polhemus, 1966: 13-24) and pseudo-Iroquoian in northern Georgia. No Pisgah material was encountered in the collections from the Lower and Overhill Towns although it has been reported in those areas (Polhemus and Polhemus, 1966; Kelly and Neitzel, 1961). Pisgah ceramics appear to have their highest frequency of occurrence along the French Broad, Little Pigeon, Nolichucky, Holston and Clinch Rivers. All of these rivers lie outside of the area with which this paper has its immediate concern. The line block stamp motif which is present on both Etowah and Pisgah ceramics would appear to have its antecedents in the angular stamping of the Napier and Woodstock designs. This pottery dates from shortly before the historic period.

The Etowah Series is restricted primarily to the Lower Towns. This phenomenon illustrates the strong influence of the piedmont complicated stamped tradition upon the Lower Towns at a prehistoric date. The series is poorly represented in the Middle Towns and absent in the Overhill Towns. At Chauga and at Estatoe no marked change existed in mound construction or village activity as Etowah ceramics were supplanted by Qualla ceramics (Kelly and de Baillou, 1960: 21; Kelly and Neitzel, 1961: 59).
Excavations at Hiwassee Island revealed a ceramic component which is clearly related to the Etowah Series (Lewis and Kneberg, 1946: Plate 51). The Etowah Series and the Hiwassee Island component are attributed by Sears (1958: 182) to have their base in the Mature Mississippi Period. Thus we see the Etowah-Hiwassee Island ceramic horizon to the northwest and south of the Middle Towns. However, there is a marked dearth of this ceramic style in the Middle, Valley and Out Towns.

A cursory examination of the ceramics recently excavated at the Coweeta Creek Mound has revealed the presence of a small quantity of Etowah sherds. The Etowah ceramics from Nequasee and the Peachtree Mound appear for the most part to be from trade vessels. The hiatus that exists in the distribution of the Etowah-Hiwassee Island ceramic horizon will no doubt shed some light upon the spatial and temporal distribution of the prehistoric Cherokee.

Qualla ceramics provided the bulk of the material analyzed from the historic Cherokee towns. Seventy-five percent of the Qualla sherds were complicated stamped, smoothed-over complicated stamped, or roughened. The remaining five surface treatments found in the Qualla Series were present in the following quantities: Qualla Plain, five percent; Qualla Check Stamped, three percent; Qualla Burnished, one percent; Qualla Cord-Marked, one percent; and Qualla Corncob Impressed was less than one percent. Three percent of the sherds were incised. The incised sherds were small, primarily from cazuela bowls and gave no indication of the vessel’s surface
finish.

Flared rims with or without a finger impressed fillet were the dominant rim profiles. Cazuela bowl rims were frequently encountered. A variety of rim profiles resulted from the thickening of the vessel's lip. An L-shaped rim, a slightly folded rim and a rounded lip on an everted rim were present on a minority of the Qualla vessel sherds. Globular jars, cazuela bowls and small shallow bowls were the vessel forms distinguished.

Qualla ceramics had a marked pattern to their distribution within the five major Cherokee regions. Eighty-seven percent of the Qualla ceramics came from the Middle, Valley and Out Towns. The collections from the Lower and Overhill Towns had only thirteen percent of the Qualla ceramics. The lack of temporal data weakens any hypothesis regarding duration and intensity of the Qualla Series within any specific Cherokee region. It has been adequately demonstrated that Qualla ceramics represent the historic Cherokee ceramic industry within the Middle Towns' greater sphere of influence. The decreased frequency of Qualla ceramics present in the Lower Towns could conceivably be attributed to the shorter historic occupation of this area.

Shell tempered pottery was poorly distributed in the Lower Towns and Middle Towns while heavily concentrated in the Overhill Towns. The majority of the shell tempered pottery was plain or burnished and possessed few diagnostic qualities. The corncob impressed and cord-marked sherds resembled the surface treatments on Qualla ceramics. The
hypothesis that shell tempered pottery is a product of the Upper Creeks as advanced by Lewis and Kneberg (1946: 17) would indicate that Settacco and Great Tellico did not undergo a sustained occupation by the Cherokee. It must be held in mind that shell tempered pottery is diagnostic of Mississippian influence and has a considerable geographical and temporal span. It is difficult to use shell tempered pottery as an indicator of a society’s ethnic identity in this instance.

A sample of 730 sherds from these two Overhill Towns had only ninety-three Qualla sherds. Only five of these were found in the surface collection from Settacco. Great Tellico and Settacco were known to be prosperous towns on the main trading path during historic times. Rim form and vessel shape on many of the shell tempered sherds are identical to those found on Qualla pottery. It is important to note that no complicated stamped shell tempered sherds were encountered in the collections from the Overhill Towns.

The analysis of ceramics from thirteen historic Cherokee towns indicates that the tripartite division of the Cherokee into Lower, Middle and Overhill Towns as major spheres of social interaction is further reflected in their differing ceramic traditions. Ceramics from the Valley and Out Towns are similar to and should be included in the greater sphere of the Middle Towns. We then have three basic ceramic spheres of influence which indicate a difference in degree and not kind with cross fertilization being present.

The Lower Towns at the fringes of the Blue Ridge Mountains have been strongly influenced by the piedmont
complicated stamped tradition. The Overhill Towns in the Great Valley of Tennessee have been dominated by a Mississippian shell tempered tradition. The Middle Towns have had their ceramic tradition markedly affected by the complicated stamp tradition which developed in central Georgia. To some degree the difference between the areas was masked during historic times by the Lamar style horizon which is manifested in the Qualla Series.
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