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AN ANALYSIS OF ANGLO-AMERICAN—CHEROKEE CULTURE CONTACT DURING THE FEDERAL PERIOD, THE HIWASSEE TRACT, EASTERN TENNESSEE

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Arts

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Thomas B. Ford

March 1982

3057957

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Dedicated to the memory of "Nain"

Jennie Roberts Blake

1886-1979

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Thomas B. Ford

ABSTRACT

Cherokee—Anglo-American culture contact during the Federal Period in eastern Tennessee is examined. This study attempts to understand the historic outcome of this particular contact situation by looking at the motivating normative beliefs underlying the actions of each culture. Also of interest is the identification of those core qualities of Cherokee culture that enabled survival of contact and extreme acculturation.

The Anglo-American culture was divided into two subcultures: the Federal Government and Frontier Settler. Both subcultures possessed distinctive beliefs and exhibited dissimilar patterns of behavior. The Cherokee studied embodied an eastern Tennessee regional subculture that was not necessarily reflective of the overall Cherokee ethnic and cultural group.

Analysis was oriented toward defining and discussing normative beliefs, behavior patterns, and patterns of material culture. Such analysis required both ethnohistoric and archaeological data bases. A structured set of questions was used to analyze historic documents in the collection of the Records of the Cherokee Indian Agency in Tennessee, 1801-1835. Proceeding with this analytic format, inferences of normative beliefs were made and patterns of behavior defined.

Analysis of archaeological remains representing the Cherokee, Federal Government, and Frontier Settler subcultures required the formulation of a quantitative classification scheme capable of

incorporating both Native American and Euroamerican material elements. Quantitative artifact patterns were formulated for each subculture and then statistically tested to ascertain the degree to which they were related. This method also measured the degree of Cherokee material acculturation and gave insight into the frontier economic system.

Once normative beliefs, behavior patterns, and patterns of material culture were defined, the relationship of these categories within each culture was examined. One research objective was to understand the effect of normative beliefs on material culture and determine how the beliefs may be revealed by the archaeological record.

The dynamic interaction between the Cherokee and Anglo-Americans was analyzed from the perspective of the process of directed culture contact. Conditions characteristic of directed contact are defined and illustrated from the ethnohistoric and archaeological data.

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. . . the Cherokee are extremely jealous of their Customs which have descended down to them from their Ancestors from time immemorial, many of which it is to be wished were done away. (177)

. . . the Indian was peaceable and friendly at present that the whites was intruding on their lands above Tellico and if Militia was stationed on the frontiers that would Rather provoke a war then help peace . . . a company of regular solders would be necessary between highwassee and Tellico to keep the white people in order as well as the Indiana. (81)

We are driven to this desparet situation by a Failure of Government or its agents. (53)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Cherokee Indians of eastern Tennessee have experienced tremendous acculturative change since their initial contact with Europeans. Most obvious has been their abandonment of aboriginal material culture, taking instead that offered by Europeans and subsequent Anglo-Americans. More subtle changes are apparent in Cherokee beliefs and behavior. Many of these changes were the result of concerted efforts by Europeans and Anglo-Americans to impose their culture onto the Cherokee.

The purpose of this study is the analysis of Anglo-American—Cherokee contact in the Hiwassee Tract of eastern Tennessee, during the Federal Period. Newman (336) views the Cherokee Historic Period as having four distinct segments: Contact (circa 1715-1745), Colonial (1745-1775), Revolutionary (1776-1793), and Federal (1794-1819). The present study is concerned with the Federal Period. Unlike Newman, an opening date of 1796, rather than 1794, is proposed for this period because Federal Indian policy was not fully implemented in eastern Tennessee until this later date. Moreover, changes in Cherokee culture prior to 1796 were more likely a result of American policies associated with the Revolutionary rather than the Federal Period. The Federal Period closes in 1819 when Cherokee lands known as the Hiwassee Tract were ceded by the treaty of 27 February 1819, to the United States, thereby allowing for the eventual removal of Cherokee residents (352).

The Hiwassee Tract, located in eastern Tennessee, is bounded to the north by the confluence of the Little Tennessee and Tennessee Rivers, to the west by the Tennessee River, to the south by the lower Hiwassee River, and to the east by the Appalachian mountains (Figure 1). This region is part of the Ridge and Valley Physiographic Province characterized by river valleys and rolling hills (371).

At the outset of this study it was apparent that the contact situation involved not two distinct cultures, but rather three subcultures (Figure 2). Federal Government and Frontier Settler subcultures were distinguished within the Anglo-American culture. These subcultures shared traits fundamental to the Anglo-American culture, yet, differed significantly, particularly in those traits affecting interaction with the Cherokee. Similarly, the Federal Period Cherokee of eastern Tennessee were a regional manifestation, or subculture, resulting in part from acculturative pressures distinctive to the region. Tentative support of this assumption is apparent in the comparison of artifacts from two contemporaneous Federal Period Cherokee sites: the Citico Site located on the Little Tennessee River within the Hiwassee Tract (300) and the Historic Cabin Site located on the Coosawatte River in Georgia (303). The abundance of Euroamerican ceramics at Citico and their comparative absence at the Historic Cabin Site may reflect a difference in the degree of acculturation experienced. In this report, the term Cherokee denotes the eastern Tennessee subculture unless otherwise indicated.

As used here, the term Euroamerican refers to the culture of the European colonies in North America. In reference to material elements,

Figure 1. Cherokee Land Ceded to the United States.
Adapted from map by C. C. Royce (352).

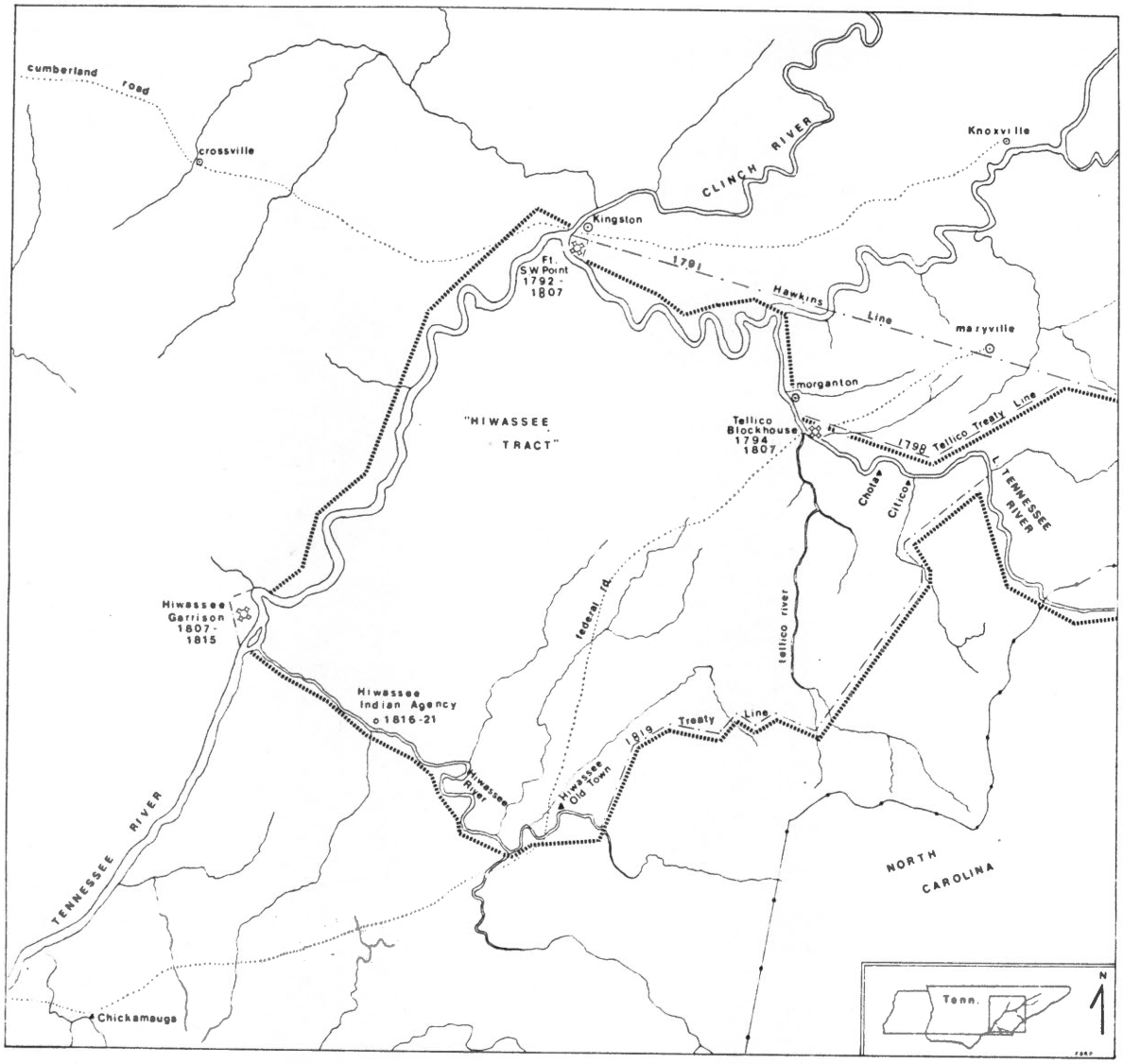

cumberland road
crossville
CLINCH RIVER
Knoxville
Kingston
Ft. S W Point 1792 - 1807
1791
Hawkins Line
maryville
morganton
"HIWASSEE TRACT"
Tellico Blockhouse 1794 1807
1798 Tellico Treaty Line
Chota
Citico
TENNESSEE RIVER
Hiwassee Garrison 1807 - 1815
federal rd.
tellico river
Hiwassee Indian Agency 1816-21
1819 Treaty Line
Hiwassee River
Hiwassee Old Town
TENNESSEE RIVER
NORTH CAROLINA
Chickamauga
Tenn.
N
CHEROKEE TOWN
FEDERAL GARRISON
FRONTIER SETTLEMENT
TREATY LINE
HIWASSEE TRACT approximate limits
legend
0 5 10
miles

Figure 1.

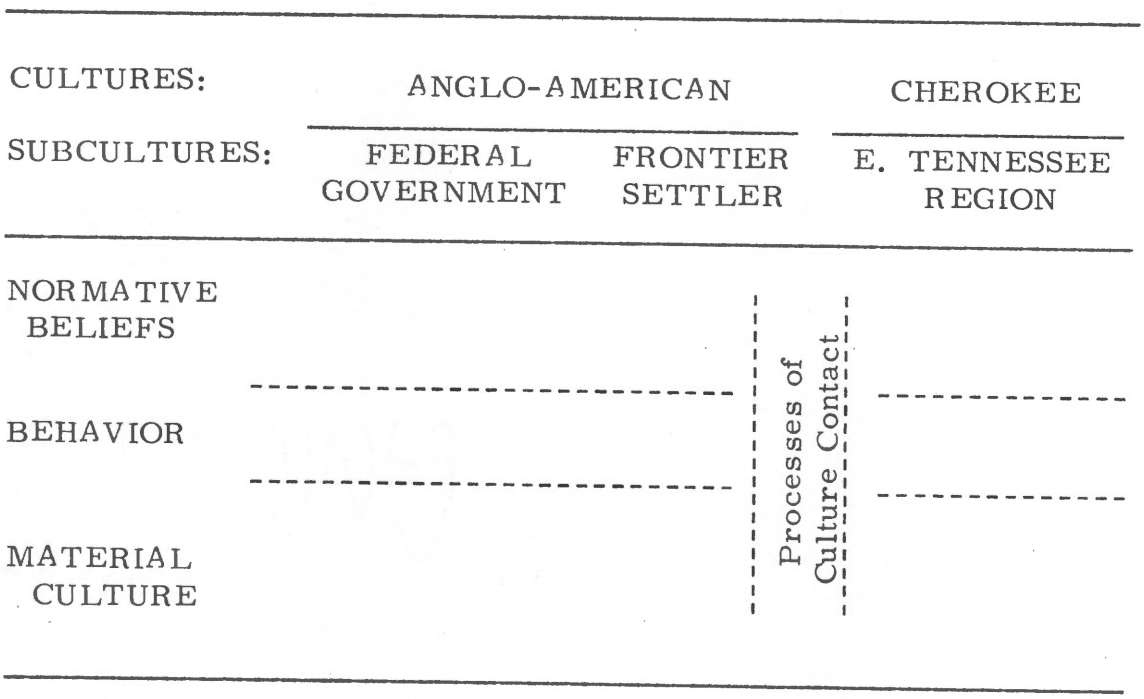


Figure 2. Diagram of Cherokee—Anglo-American Culture Contact Situation.

Euroamerican denotes items manufactured in Europe, imported to North America, and subsequently utilized in any cultural context, whether colonial, Anglo-American, or Indian. The term Anglo-American refers to the culture, of Anglican heritage, that developed out of the colonial culture following the American Revolution.

Three components, pertinent to the present research were defined for each subculture (Figure 2). They are (1) normative beliefs, (2) behavior, and (3) material culture. Normative beliefs are

> . . . those convictions of what constitutes reality that are most important for the self-identification of the particular group adhering to the beliefs. (295:222)

Behavior is an action in response to particular physical and social contexts. Patterning in behavior frequently reflects normative beliefs. The physical products of behavior constitute the realm of material culture, and patterning of material assemblages is often culturally distinctive. Obviously these components—beliefs, behaviors, and materials—are not mutually exclusive, but rather interacting phenomena.

Culture contact has received considerable attention from anthropologists. Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (348) were perhaps the first to systematically define concepts pertaining to culture contact, namely acculturation, assimilation, and directed culture change. Expanding upon their work, Linton (330) characterized two contrasting processes: directed and nondirected culture contact. These two concepts are basic to contemporary studies of contact (364:519). Directed culture contact is defined as

> . . . situations in which one of the groups in contact interferes actively and purposefully with the culture of another. (330:502)

Four conditions characterize the process of directed contact: (1) a superordinate-subordinate relationship between two originally autonomous cultures, (2) employment of sanctions by the superordinate culture to effect change in the subordinate culture, (3) the employment of boundary maintenance mechanisms by the subordinate culture to resist sanctions exerted against it, and (4) active resistence by the subordinate culture against the superordinate culture. In this study, the terms contact and acculturation implicitly mean the process of directed contact as defined.

Six questions concerning culture contact are pursued in this study:

1. What were the normative beliefs of the Cherokee, Federal Government, and Frontier Settler subcultures?
2. What patterns of behavior reflect these beliefs?
3. What are the patterns of material remains typical of each subculture?
4. What is the relationship of the subculture artifact patterns relative to the question of acculturation?
5. How were the Federal Government and Frontier Settler subcultures similar or dissimilar in exerting sanctions against the Cherokee?
6. What was the Cherokee response to sanctions exerted by the superordinate subcultures?

Answering the above questions requires the use of both ethnohistoric and archaeological data. The primary ethnohistoric source utilized was the Records of the Cherokee Indian Agency in Tennessee, 1801-1835 (373) (hereafter referred to as RCIA). This collection is a compilation of

records from the Indian Agency Office that was variously located at Fort Southwest Point, the Hiwassee Garrison, and the Hiwassee Indian Agency (Figure 1). It consists of letters, petitions, oaths of office, bonds, passes for travel, trade records, directives from and reports to the Secretary of War, statements and addresses from Cherokee councils, demographic accounts of the Cherokee territory, and accounts of gifts, treaty payments, and annuities given the Cherokee.

The RCIA covers the Federal Period from 1801 to 1819. Records predating 1801 no longer exist. Other historic sources spanning the years 1796 to 1800 were consulted, though they did not prove as useful as the RCIA. Instead of reviewing each year of the RCIA, a sample of every other year was used (e.g., 1801, 03, 05, 07, 09, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19). While sampling fails to include every specific incident presented in the records, it allows the identification of relevant patterns of beliefs and behavior, as well as traits characteristic of contact in the Federal Period.

Archaeological data were drawn from eight sites. Except for Fort Southwest Point, the sites are in the lower Little Tennessee River Valley and excavated in connection with The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Department of Anthropology, Tellico Archaeological Project. The sites of Chota (40MR2), Citico (40MR7), and Starnes (40MR32) represent the Cherokee subculture. The Federal Government subculture is represented by the Tellico Blockhouse (40MR50) and Fort Southwest Point (40RE119). The Frontier Settler subculture is represented by the sites of Harrison Branch (40MR21), McGhee Cabin (40MR30), and Hodge (40MR46) (Figure 1, p. 3, and Figure 3).

Figure 3. Archaeological Site Location within the Tellico Reservoir.

Adapted from TVA map, "Little Tennessee River, Tellico Project."

Site Name	Site No.
Chota	40MR2
Citico	40MR7
Harrison Branch	40MR21
McGhee Cabin	40MR30
no name	40MR31
Starnes	40MR32
Hodge	40MR46
Tellico Blockhouse	40MR50
Morganton	40LD105

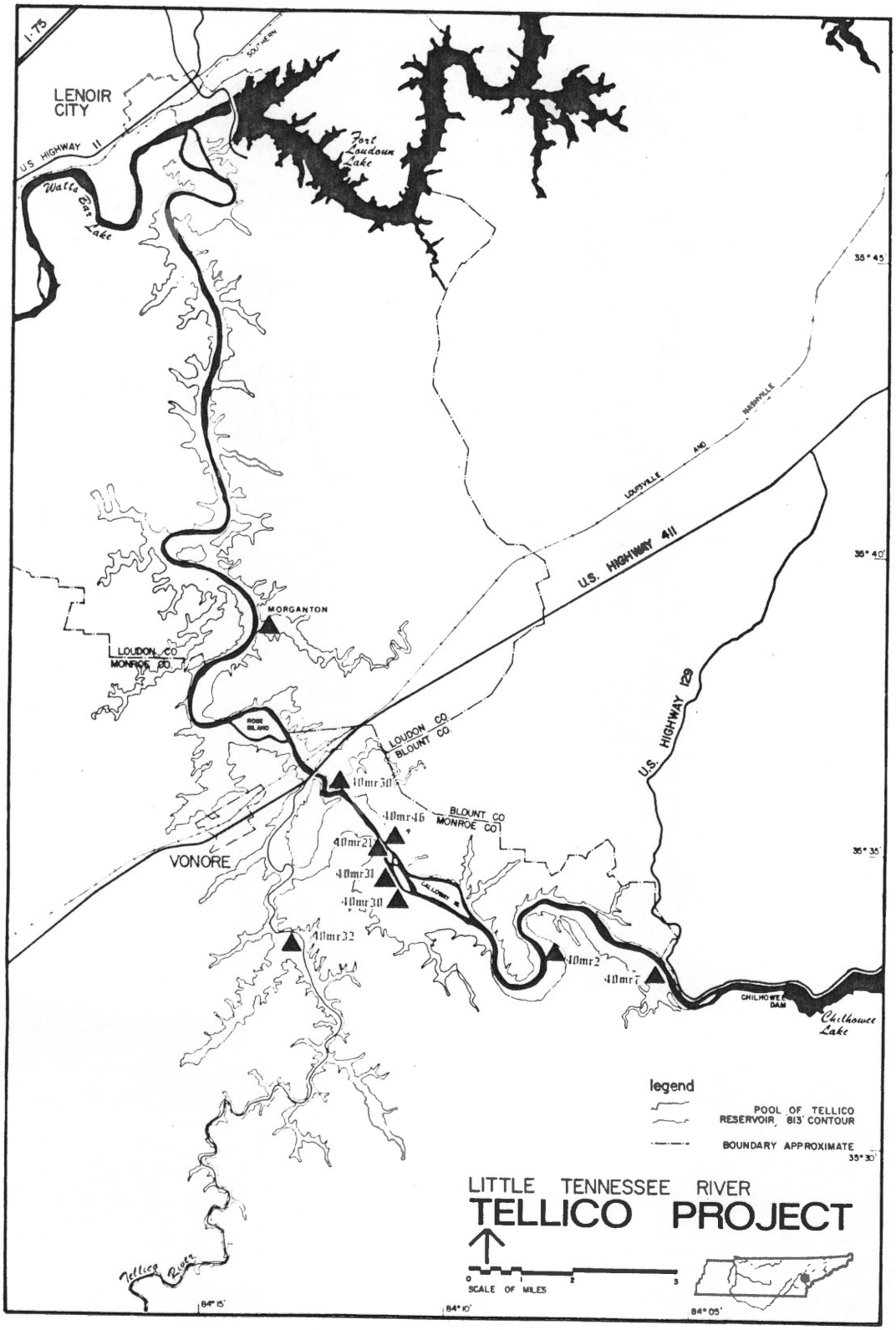

I-75
LENOIR CITY
U.S. HIGHWAY 11
Watts Bar Lake
Fort Loudoun Lake
MORGANTON
LOUDON CO
MONROE CO
ROSE ISLAND
LOUDON CO
BLOUNT CO
40mr30
40mr46
40mr21
40mr31
40mr30
40mr32
BLOUNT CO
MONROE CO
VONORE
CALDWELL
40mr2
40mr7
CHILHOWEE DAM
Chilhowee Lake
U.S. HIGHWAY 411
U.S. HIGHWAY 129
LOUISVILLE AND NASHVILLE
35° 45'
35° 40'
35° 35'
35° 30'
Tellico River
84° 15'
84° 10'
84° 05'
legend
POOL OF TELLICO RESERVOIR, 813' CONTOUR
BOUNDARY APPROXIMATE
LITTLE TENNESSEE RIVER
TELLICO PROJECT
0
1
2
3
SCALE OF MILES

Figure 3.

Collections were analyzed in order to identify artifact patterns for the Cherokee, Federal Government, and Frontier Settler subcultures. Such analysis used a quantitative pattern recognition scheme, adapted from South (363), which enabled comparisons of Native American and Euroamerican material elements. Quantitative patterns were then tested statistically to measure relative degrees of similarity among the three subcultures.

Traditionally, Cherokee research has focused on the mid-eighteenth century or the period from 1820 to removal in 1838. Archaeological and ethnohistoric investigations of the Federal Period Cherokee have been limited, at best. This study will contribute to the anthropological understanding of this important period in Cherokee acculturation. Use of archaeological and ethnohistoric data provides insight not only into Cherokee material acculturation, but serves to clarify the effects of culture specific beliefs and behaviors on the process of contact and change during the Federal Period.

Historical Perspective on Cherokee—Euroamerican Contact

The Federal Period represents neither the beginning nor end of Cherokee culture change resulting from contact with Europeans and Anglo-Americans. It was a period of active assimilation, where selected aspects of Anglo-American culture were adopted yet many features of traditional culture were retained. The present analysis of the Federal Period must also consider earlier contact that produced acculturative

changes among the Cherokee. In so doing, the Federal Period contact situation is placed in its appropriate historical context.

The earliest Cherokee contact with Euroamericans probably occurred with DeSoto's entrada into the Southeast in 1540. The presence of four Clarksdale bells (283; 360), a Nueva Cadis twisted bead (334), and a cut crystal bead (Polhemus, Personal Communication, Jan. 1981) at the Citico Site, located along the Little Tennessee River, suggest early Spanish contact. The question of whether DeSoto actually journeyed into the Cherokee region, however, is still debated. Later expeditions, namely that of Pardo and Boyano, attained the Cherokee territory in 1567 (299:11), although the effect of this contact on Cherokee culture also is unknown.

More permanent contact began at the end of the seventeenth century with British traders and military representatives coming from the Virginia and Carolina colonies. Contact was centered east of the Appalachian mountains, a region easily accessible to the coastal colonists. By 1715, however, a few traders were entering the Overhill Cherokee region west of the Appalachians (293). The impact of European culture on the Overhill Cherokee was already apparent at this early date, as reflected in a speech by "the head Warriour of Tunisee." The speaker observes that the Cherokee:

> . . . had been brought up after another Manner than their fore-fathers and that they must consider that they could not live without the English. (376:100)

By about 1735 traders were residing in the Cherokee villages along the lower sections of the Little Tennessee and Hiwassee Rivers (351). The Overhill region increased in its overall importance to the Cherokee,

largely due to its greater geographic separation from the coastal colonies. By the second quarter of the eighteenth century the Overhill town of Chota became recognized, both by Indians and Euroamericans, as the capital of the Cherokee peoples (336:1). Fogelson (299:11) summarizes the effect of contact on the Cherokee during the Colonial Period:

> . . . this period was marked by population reduction resulting from disease and warfare, consolidation of loosely affiliated autonomous towns into a centralized polity, increased dependency on European trade goods, and ultimate military subjugation.

Revolutionary War campaigns waged by the colonies against the Cherokee continued the decimation of the Overhill population and brought further social change. Later conflicts with settlers moving into northeast Tennessee produced similar results (302; 377). The Cherokee, seeking to preserve economic relations, understandably sided with the British during the American Revolution. This alliance, however, proved detrimental to the Cherokee, for the war greatly reduced the flow of trade goods. Because of this alliance, militia from Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia attacked the Cherokee. In 1776 the Virginia forces, under the command of Colonial William Christian, forced the Overhill towns along the Little Tennessee River into submission and acceptance of a temporary peace (286:9).

A dissident group opposed to peace with the Anglo-Americans separated from the Overhill towns, settling along Chickamauga Creek near present Chattanooga (Figure 1, p. 3). This group was viewed as a threat to the increasing numbers of American settlers moving into eastern Tennessee. Responding to real and threatened attack, a frontier militia

under the command of Colonel Shelby burned the major towns at Chickamaugua in 1779 (278:17).

Ever increasing numbers of settlers advanced upon the Cherokee after the Revolutionary War. Throughout the final quarter of the eighteenth century, and well into the nineteenth century, settlers from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia moved south, down the Shenandoah Valley into northeast Tennessee. The vanguard of these settlers continued moving southwest into Cherokee territory, reaching as far south as the lower Little Tennessee River as early as the mid-1780's (278:31). This encroachment led to a series of conflicts, and sporadic fighting continued for years, ending in 1795 (352:152-171).

The events of the Revolutionary Period trapped the Cherokee. Since the beginning of contact the Cherokee developed a vital dependence on European trade goods. To acquire trade goods, the Cherokee altered their lifeway, emphasizing hunting for furs to be used in trade. As British influence lessened during the Revolutionary Period, so did the fur trade and the flow of trade goods on which the Cherokee were dependent. Unable to acquire vital tools, the Cherokee became destitute. Because of their dependence on trade goods and accompanying changes in population size, settlement pattern, and social structure the Cherokee were not able to revert totally to their ancestral lifeways. Moreover, they suffered recurrent devastation from war and disease (278:27). Therefore, the Cherokee, being close to total ruin, readily accepted change. Offers by the Federal Government of peace, protection from encroaching settlers, and "civilization" met little resistance.

The newly formed Federal Government pursued a policy designed not only to maintain peace, but to gradually assimilate the Indian into Anglo-American society. This policy was expressed in part by the Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts enacted between 1790 and 1834 (345:2). As part of this policy, a program to "civilize" the Cherokee was implemented, its purpose being to induce the Cherokee to give up their traditional lifeway in favor of yeoman farming. This program served, though, to open the wilderness for white settlement (365:56-58). While some Cherokee openly accepted the material gains provided by the governmental program, adoption of American social and political institutions occurred only as a last resort to deal more effectively with the whites.

While the Federal Government attempted to protect the rights of the Cherokee, they also pressured the Cherokee to cede land on numerous occasions. By 1803, the demand for lands was such that the Federal Government began encouraging the Cherokee to remove west of the Mississippi River (345:226). Although most Cherokee resisted removal, they were virtually powerless against the demands for more and more land. Significant portions of tribal land were ceded during the Federal Period, including, in 1819, the Hiwassee Tract (352:222). A few individuals received personal land grants, permitting them to remain after cession, though most abandoned the Hiwassee Tract, thus relinquishing the homeland of the Overhill Cherokee.

With the close of the Federal Period in 1819, the Cherokee peoples experienced a renaissance during which rapid assimilation of visible aspects of Anglo-American culture occurred. Due to their apparent

assimilation of white culture one might assume that peaceful coexistence soon followed, but this was not the case:

> Despite the adoption of a constitutional government, a written language, a bilingual newspaper, and other tangible evidence of rapid acculturation, the Cherokee were subjected to relentless demands for their land. (322:xvi)

Such demands inevitably led to the infamous "Trail of Tears." In 1838, the Federal Government forcibly removed the Cherokee tribe to the Arkansas Territory (332:183). Only a few managed to escape this ordeal, finding refuge in the mountains between North Carolina and Tennessee. Today their descendants comprise the Eastern Band of Cherokee.

CHAPTER II

HISTORIC SOURCE ANALYSIS

Methodology

The RCIA were analyzed with the following objectives in mind: (1) to identify beliefs of superordinate and subordinate cultures in a contact situation; (2) to document specific instances or patterns of behavior reflecting contact; and (3) to explain the various sanctions imposed by the superordinate American subcultures on the subordinate Cherokee.

Whenever historic documents are utilized, they must be evaluated so to isolate both the strengths and weaknesses of their content. The RCIA collection was reviewed, prior to analysis, to establish its value to the objectives of this study. A potential bias in the RCIA is that most documents were either sent to or written by the Cherokee Indian Agent, Colonel Return Meigs.

Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs was born in Middletown, Connecticut on December 12, 1740. When thirty-two years of age, he was commissioned Lieutenant in the Sixth Connecticut Regiment, attaining the rank of Colonel by the close of the Revolutionary War. In 1788 he served as a "surveyor" for the Ohio Company. In this capacity, he led groups of settlers from New England to Ohio, himself eventually settling at Marietta, Ohio. In 1801 Meigs accepted the position of Indian Agent to the southern tribes, a post within the U.S. Department of War.

Meigs remained Indian Agent until his death, at the age of 82, in 1823 (332:57-73).

Inferences drawn from the RCIA undoubtedly reflect the personal views of Meigs, as well as the position of the Federal Government. Moreover, letters sent to Meigs, from either the Cherokee or Frontier Settlers, tend to exude a tenor of respect for the Agent's position of power and importance and thus possibly ignore the mundane aspects of frontier life. Correspondence, especially between the Secretary of War and Indian Agent, and between the Indian Agent and Cherokee, provides a rare glimpse of official government policies and directives towards the Cherokee. The reports of the Indian Agent back to the Secretary of War also indicate Cherokee reactions to the policies presented them.

Having originated from a Federal Government office, the RCIA gives greater emphasis to the Federal Government than to the Frontier Settler and Cherokee subcultures. Nevertheless, documentation of all three subcultures, useful in this analysis, is given. Of 781 RCIA sources reviewed and analyzed, 320 pertain to the Federal Government subculture, 191 refer to the Frontier Settler subculture, and 267 deal with the Cherokee subculture. Correspondence between the Indian Agent and Cherokee deals primarily with enactment of the various stipulations of the Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts. The correspondence between the Frontier Settler and Indian Agent, on the other hand, are primarily grievances or petitions for retribution brought against the Cherokee. These sources do not present a complete record of day to day events, and therefore harbor some analytical weakness. Even so, the utility of

these documents is that they reflect the events, attitudes, and values of the participants in the contact situation.

Content analysis of these documents followed a structured set of questions and statements of inquiry. This format for analysis is presented in Figure 4. Items one through five concern source and subject identification, as well as general data control. Item six consists of a brief abstract of the document, thereby clarifying the contexts of quotes and interpretations recorded. Items seven through ten concern the beliefs, values, convictions, and attitudes represented by a given culture. It is not possible to elicit the entire spectrum of beliefs held by each subculture. Beliefs sought are those which concern both cultural self-identity and the views of one culture towards other cultures. In other words, these questions are designed to identify beliefs which pertain to the formation of superordinate and subordinate cultures, and the exertion of sanctions by the superordinate culture against the subordinate culture. Items eleven through thirteen are also directed towards inferring cultural beliefs. These inquiries differ from the preceding four in that the form of questioning is structured so as to elicit the effects of the beliefs on individual behavior within specified contexts. Stated in terms of the contact diagram (Figure 2, p. 5), these questions attempt to focus on the interplay between beliefs and actual behavior.

Items fourteen through seventeen concern the identification of incidents of behavior associated with specific beliefs, processes of culture contact, boundary mechanisms, and active rejection of directed

1. Document title
2. Writer or author of document
3. Date of document
4. Document from the collection of
5. Content representative of:
   - Federal Government ____
   - Frontier Settler ____
   - Overhill Cherokee ____
   - Other ____
6. Abstract of document
7. What basic convictions, or self image, is revealed through the actions and thoughts presented in the document?
8. What values can be inferred from the behavior and thought presented in the document?
9. What are the implicit goals, attitudes, and values of the superordinate culture in regards to the subordinate culture?
10. What are the goals of the Federal Government regarding improvement or development within its own society and culture, and relative to the Native American cultures?
11. What are the explicit and implicit aims of the individuals involved in the particular behavioral context related in this document?
12. Identify ideas and actions that are Cherokee responses to directed culture change.
13. What are the "feelings" or convictions held by one subculture of the other subcultures?

List and describe incidents of behavior representing;

14. the inferred attitudes and goals listed above.
15. the processes of directed culture contact.
16. the processes of assimilation and acculturation.
17. boundary mechanisms and active rejections of directed culture contact.
18. Record as a numerical count the incident of actions or behavior reflecting the occurrence of the following sanctions against the subordinate culture.
    - Economic:
    - Moral:
    - Legal:
    - Aggression:
    - Other:

Figure 4. Historic Source Analysis Format.

contact. As is clearly evident, the inquiry pursued by the various question items is redundant. Due to the similarity of certain questions or statements of inquiry, replies were not necessarily given to each.

Item eighteen is subdivided into five categories representing types of sanctions brought against the Cherokee by the American subcultures: (1) economic; (2) moral; (3) legal; (4) aggressive; and (5) land acquisition. Behavior or expressed opinions pertaining to these sanctions are recorded as a numerical count for the respective subculture. The counts are then stratified in analysis according to the year the document was written. The concept of sanctions and definition of the five types is developed further in Chapter V.

Notes made during document analysis are not included in this report. An example of one note card is reproduced in Figure 5. Patterns in inferences and observations indicate strong expressions of behavior and beliefs. Synthesis of these data enables the illustration of the components of the contact diagram (Figure 2, p. 5) in the following chapters of this study.

Cherokee Beliefs: Interpretations and Hypothesis

Witthoft (378:222) expresses the opinion that Cherokee cultural survival is attributable to certain basic values. Analysis of historic sources revealed two consistent beliefs expressed in Cherokee thought and action throughout the Federal Period. The first is their tribal autonomy and superiority: very much a national pride, but one often blind to the daily realities of life that may have indicated otherwise.

1. Meigs to Hawkins
3. 13 Feb 1805
4. Record of the Cherokee Indian Agency. Microfilm Roll #3
5. Federal Gov't.
6. Meigs reviews the success of the Federal Gov't's. civilization program and attempts to acquire Cherokee lands. Meigs presents a self-view of being very civilized. He then proceeds to state that the duty of the Anglo Americans to civilize the Cherokee. He discusses the biological (racial) reasons for Cherokee rejections of aspects of American culture.
7. The Federal Gov't. subculture projects convictions of (a) the civilized nature of whites, (b) the biological superiority of whites vs Cherokees (c) the gov't's duty to enlighten the Cherokee, and (d) the positive value of attempts to civilize the savages!
10. The F.G. is attempting to develop frontier and increase its lands holdings, no concern is apparently given to the Indians while working toward this goal. Meigs states:

10. cont'd "... land is of no use to them, there is not a single family on it, & the hunting is very poor, yet those of idle disposition spend much time in rambling there .... In fact it is only a nursery of savage habits, and operates against civilization, which is much impeded by their holding such immense tracts of wilderness."
11. To acquire lands. To rationalize this objective: to change the Indian so that he is not a burden, or else eliminate them.
15. Meigs supports education of the Cherokee as a means of bringing about civilization. He fails to comprehend the complexity, as I see it, of altering the Cherokee culture
18. Economic: 1
Moral: 1

Figure 5. Reduced Copy of a Data Record Card.

Refer to Figure 4 for the analysis format and questions corresponding to numbered responses.

The second is the right of the individual to dissent from group decisions and actions. In other words, a relative personal freedom from overt social and political dictates: egalitarianism. Diversity in opinions and behavior was tolerated within Cherokee society as long as the individual was circumspect regarding maintenance of social harmony (340: 94). These two values acted in concert, permitting great social and cultural flexibility in the face of culture change. Out of necessity the Cherokee assimilated elements of American culture, yet they never broke entirely away from their cultural tradition.

It is hypothesized that the normative belief in tribal autonomy and preeminence was an important bond of the culture, enabling a continuum in the Cherokee culture up to the present. This belief is evident in Quapaw's "talk" to Major Lovely, made in 1813.

> A long time ago we were divided into three different nations all speaking the same languages and each claiming a different tract of Country but now we are as one people. (245)

This statement clearly illustrates the loose political organization that traditionally existed among the three geographically distinct Cherokee groups. Gearing provides an excellent study of eighteenth century social structure and political organization (304). The relative lack of an overall tribal organization is interpreted as an extension of the belief in individual freedom. Sociopolitical organization existed on the family, clan, and town levels (340:92-109), yet egalitarianism prevailed. The individual was integrally involved with each level of sociopolitical organization and apparently under no restriction to abide by the dictates of leaders or public consensus. In spite of this freedom,

individuals apparently recognized a bond with those regional entities other than the one with which they were associated. Common language, customs, and material culture certainly cemented, as well as reflected, interregional affinities. These affinities transcended the realm of structured social and political institutions, creating a cohesiveness manifest as a positive self-esteem and tribal image. The strength and intensity of tribal pride increased in response to external pressures, such as those created by culture contact. Expression of tribal autonomy and solidarity also became more visible as Cherokee political organization became increasingly centralized.

Egalitarianism applied to not only the individual, but also communities and regional groupings of towns. As sociopolitical entities, they were free to either participate with policies of the Cherokee National Council or develop their own policies. This is exemplified by the action of the Upper Towns to delimit a regional boundary and organize a "regular" government separate from that of the Lower Towns (187). While this may appear to be a blatant division in the Cherokee nation, it was an expression of the social and political freedom of the towns. The belief in tribal unity was at no time threatened, for as Indian Agent Meigs observed, the Upper Towns did not want to "denationalize themselves" (185).

Conflict provided a focal point for concerted expression of tribal unity and affirmation of tribal strength (210). An increase in Cherokee tribal pride is apparent during the Creek War of 1813-1815.

The belief in the preeminence of the Cherokee tribal group becomes more apparent, and was presumably more openly expressed during periods

of increased acculturative pressures brought about by the Americans. When the Federal Government forced the Cherokee to cede lands, the Cherokee asserted their belief in their autonomy and strength, stating that the ceded land would be the last tract relinquished and that they were not controlled by the wishes of the Federal Government (104; 145). Similarly, the Cherokee reacted to encroaching Frontier Settlers by threatening to forcibly remove them or retaliate against them (50; 77; 238).

Until the first few years of the nineteenth century the Cherokee presented a formidable military threat to the United States along its southeastern frontier. Following the Louisiana Purchase, however, the Cherokee had no support from European powers except for the Spanish in Florida. After 1803, without means of supply other than the Americans, the Cherokee lost their military threat and thus all leverage in dealing with the Federal Government (173). Despite this, the Cherokee maintained the belief that they, as a tribe, possessed considerable military strength well into the Federal Period. The perpetuation of this belief was necessary if the Cherokee self-image and tribal-image were not to falter. Without such self-esteem the Cherokee would certainly have lost all ability to resist total acculturation and inevitable cultural annihilation.

In a letter to the Cherokee Chiefs, a Cherokee named Emolee (Emolee may have actually been a half-breed), warns that given the power of the Indian Agent:

> . . . you have no rights or property for the Agent can give it to whom he pleases . . . this is at once making us tenants of the whites and giving up our rights to the lands . . . . (77)

The underlying truth of this statement is that the Cherokee had little control of their affairs or territory. They, as a culture as well as a tribe or nation, were dominated! For the Cherokee, the realities of this plight must have been daily experiences, and yet observations such as Emolee's were rebuked—rejected as not truthful. Complete domination simply was not accepted by the Cherokee by virtue of the strength of the belief in tribal autonomy and preeminence.

Following the devastating events of the Revolutionary Period and increasing subjugation to the United States, the Cherokee were unable to view themselves superior to all other societies or cultures. As a result, the Cherokee altered their self-image. They instead considered themselves equals of the Americans. Even though the superiority of American material culture was certainly appreciated, other aspects of American culture were not always looked upon with envy. The belief of their equality thereby enabled desirable elements of American culture to be readily assimilated without threatening the essential core components of Cherokee culture. The Cherokee actually expressed great pride in their "alliance" with the Federal Government and their superior ability (relative to other tribes) to assimilate features of American culture:

> Our Nation who is now more improved than any other Indian Nation, may stand as high in the Opinion of the President of the United States as my Nation of the Red People, which they will expect from us, because we know more. (70)

New cultural elements were selectively adopted by the Cherokee to handle newly arising situations brought about by the contact situation. Such selective assimilation further supported the belief in tribal

autonomy and preeminence instead of undermining these beliefs as one might expect. The following historic sequence illustrates the Cherokee's selective acceptance of American culture.

The opening of the Federal Road (Figure 1, p. 3) through the Cherokee Nation brought an increase in both Cherokee—American conflicts and Cherokee crimes against each other; a factor of increased mobility within the Nation. Federal policy gave jurisdiction over internal problems to the Cherokee National Council. Increases in conflicts and crimes presented Cherokee society with a situation that was greater than the abilities of traditional mechanisms of social control. Control measures were therefore copied from American society.

> We look to you [the Federal Government] as a lite to show us the path we are to walk. (60)

An Indian light horse, a mounted police force patterned after the Federal military and frontier militia, was formed to patrol the new roads (130; 163; 241). In addition, a small number of written laws were enacted to counter increasing incidents of larceny (268). These actions certainly resulted, in part, from acculturative pressures created by the Federal "civilization program." The Cherokee often pointed out their successful assimilation of selected aspects of American culture, such as civil control measures, in the hope of placating Federal Government pressures for further acculturative change;

> . . . we hope we will be considered a people trying to do something for our good and the good of the United States. (268)

Selective assimilation of these control measures served the interests of the Cherokee Nation by controlling internal crimes, as well as gaining

them favor in the eyes of the Federal Government. It is extremely important to recognize that adopted laws and enforcement measures were integrated into and then operated within the dictates of the Cherokee ideational system. The Cherokee were not, as believed by the Federal Government, being assimilated into Anglo-American culture. The Cherokee still believed in their cultural distinctiveness. Selective acceptance of American culture supported, or reinforced the Cherokee belief in self-rule, independence from domination, and their tribal autonomy. To an extent, the Federal Period Cherokee actually did control their internal affairs relatively independent of Federal direction. This enabled the Cherokee to ignore other aspects of the contact situation which indicated their increasingly subordinate position to the American culture.

Closely affiliated with the Cherokee belief in personal freedom was a recognition of individual rights. The Cherokee also valued structured process within social institutions such as politics. Combined, these beliefs provided for the acceptance of the basic tenents of the American judicial system. Such values are expressed even by those Cherokee who did not accept the Federal Government's insistence that they work within the American legal system (94; 99; 140; 146; 147).

Those Cherokee who adhered to the American judicial system apparently did not initially realize the blatant differences between the theoretical tenets of American law, as presented to them by the Federal Government, and the actual biased processes of the legal system (146). The basic tenets of American justice, such as the utilization

of evidence, the fairness of court inquiry, and the system of court dictated punishment were accepted by the Cherokee. Moreover, it was the recognition in American law of the fundamental rights of an individual (jura personarum) that appealed the most to the Cherokee. This corpus juris was easily accepted by the Cherokee because of its similarity to their belief in individual freedom of action and thought. The inequities of the legal process in actual practice, however, constantly gave no "satisfaction" for atrocities committed against the Cherokee, including murder (158; 211). Though these inequities were apparent to both the Federal Government and Cherokee (47; 206), the Indians were forced to operate within the legal system if they were to achieve any results in cases against Anglo-Americans, without violence (99; 140). The Cherokee continually expressed the belief, or hope, that the American judicial system would serve them justly (94).

The Cherokee made an important distinction between the judicial systems of the Federal Government (Federal court system) and the Frontier Settler (State court systems). Early in the Federal Period the Cherokee realized that the Frontier Settler interpreted the law differently than the Federal Government (172; 180). Prejudices made a fair trial in a State court nearly impossible for the Indian.

In deality with internal affairs, the Cherokee utilized a more traditional judicial system to which a few visible features of the American legal system were incorporated (274).

Yet another normative belief identified for the Cherokee was the value of European and American material culture and the recognition of

the superiority of such items over native material culture (34; 72; 122). Though so obvious as to appear to not warrant comment, analysis indicates this belief was a fundamental factor which increased Cherokee susceptibility to culture change and domination. By the beginning of the Federal Period, Cherokee desire for American implements had grown into a vital dependency on such items as hoes, plows, cotton cards, spinning wheels, knives, and firearms (72; 122). Dependence on American trade items for basic survival left the Cherokee open to exploitation by the Federal Government. When the Cherokee would not comply with demands for land cessions, the Federal Government threatened to stop all supplies distributed by the Indian Agency and Tellico Factory. The address of Doublehead et al. illustrates this tactic and the tremendous value the Cherokee placed upon American goods:

> The Agent has informed us that he could not be justified in continuing the presents of wheels, cards, and implements of husbandry and in giving corn and provisions as he had done before. . . . We then request him not to stop those things. The Chiefs are prepared to ceed lands north of us from the Duck to the Hiwassee River. (70)

It is interesting that the older Cherokee who had survived the decimation of the Overhill towns during the Revolutionary Period believed the benefits of American material culture were not worth the ultimate costs in resultant social change. It is difficult to ascertain whether this simply reflects a conservative viewpoint or a realization, gained through experience, of the devastating effect major changes could have on Cherokee culture. The normative belief in the superiority and thus the resultant need of American material culture was ingrained in Cherokee culture years before the Federal Period. Nonetheless, it was

the combination of this dependence and Federal Indian policy that forced the Cherokee into a subordinate posture to the Anglo-American culture.

In summary, the survival of Cherokee culture is closely related to the consistently held belief of tribal autonomy, strength, and superiority. The strong tribal bond created by this belief is often belied by the seemingly lax social and political controls applied to individuals, towns, and geographic districts. Yet it was this shared belief, and not necessarily the unity resultant from structured social and political institutions, that gave the culture its inherent durability and continuing heritage. Furthermore, the belief in egalitarianism provided a cultural tolerance, or flexibility, that enabled extreme acculturative changes to occur without loss of individual, tribal, and cultural pride.

Integration of select aspects of American culture into Cherokee culture was often in response to both American acculturative pressures and newly arising situations within Cherokee society foreign to traditional Cherokee culture. Contrary to American perception, Cherokee assimilation of specific aspects of American culture did not necessarily mean the Indian was becoming "Americanized." Borrowed cultural aspects were instead being integrated into Cherokee culture, operating under the Cherokee ideational system.

Cherokee beliefs in personal rights and freedom meshed well with the basic tenets of Anglo-American law. The inequities of the American judicial system in its dealings with the Cherokee stifled Cherokee attempts to work within it, and any desires to assimilate aspects of the legal system into Cherokee culture. Although forced to act within

Anglo-American law when dealing with whites, the Cherokee maintained a more traditional judicial system for dealing with internal affairs.

The Cherokee belief in the superiority of American material culture relative to native material elements is shown to have tremendous impact on the acculturation of the Cherokee and their domination by the Anglo-Americans. Whereas beliefs in tribal autonomy and social egalitarianism were responsible for the survival of the Cherokee, the belief that American material culture was of higher quality and thus more desirable was responsible for the decline and near disintegration of Cherokee culture.

Federal Government Subculture Beliefs

The beliefs expressed by judges, military commanders, and other government officials or representatives regarding themselves, the Frontier Settlers, and Indians greatly influenced the policies and actions of the military and Indian Agent variously stationed at the Tellico Blockhouse, Fort Southwest Point, and the Hiwassee Garrison (Figure 1, p. 3). Governmental policies were constantly changing and often contradictory, yet most derived from a few beliefs unconsciously or consciously held by the Federal Government subculture. These beliefs were first expressed during the Washington and Jefferson administrations and, for the most part, continued to be held through the nineteenth century. The beliefs of these administrations were extremely benevolent toward the Indian. However, the policies and actions, which were either expressions of the beliefs or distorted rationalizations remotely founded in the beliefs, had a very damaging effect on the Indian.

A belief and self-image, held by the Federal Government, was of the preeminence of the Anglo-American culture and society relative to Indian cultures. Inherent in this belief were the assumptions that the Federal Government had the right to exert its will on the Indian and that cultures are hierarchically ordered, ranging from savagery to civilization. The Federal Government viewed itself as approximating the pinnacle of civilization while the Indians were viewed as savages.

The belief in the Government's strength over the Indian was not necessarily founded in military capability. At the beginning of the Federal Period the Indian posed a real threat to the security and stability of the fledgling United States (146). The nation could not have survived a sustained war on its frontier. A policy was therefore formulated under the Washington administration to develop diplomatic alliance with the Indian through controlled trade (resulting in the factory system) (339) and maintenance of peace along the frontier by segregating the Indian from the Frontier Settler. Prucha (345) provides a detailed analysis of this policy and the realities of its enactment. Instead of military threat, the Government's strength derived from the Indian's economic dependence on governmentally controlled trade, gifts, and annuities. The Federal Government was therefore secure in its dealings with the Cherokee (213; 255). In an instance where the Cherokee resisted a request of the Federal Government, Indian Agent Meigs queried the Cherokee Council:

> . . . why will you keep back a thing now in your power to grant which must eventually be done? (157)

This question reveals Meigs' firm belief that the wishes of the Federal Government would ultimately be realized regardless of whatever the Cherokee Council decreed. A blatant exertion of economic leverage on the Cherokee is evident in the Address by Doublehead et al. to the U.S. Agent, presented on page 30 of this report. This Address indicates the Federal Government's belief in its strength based upon economic persuasion was well founded.

A belief in graded stages of culture, from savagery to civilization, arose in the Federal Government as part of American Enlightenment philosophy. With its guidance, the Indian would become civilized or more like the Anglo-American. Expressions of this opinion are apparent in many of the Federal Government's decisions and actions relating to the Cherokee (36; 40; 87; 89; 144; 145; 151; 167; 173; 183; 189; 191; 193; 207; 212; 219; 220; 221; 236).

The Federal Government assumed that civilization would be quickly achieved if the Indian accepted American material culture and pursued agrarian or yeoman lifeways as well as cottage industries. Government reports on the progress of the Cherokee civilization program stressed the acceptance of these traits:

> . . . they begin to taste the comfort of an agricultured life, therefore placing a value on their lands. They make a great deal of Cloth. Raise a great many cattle. They have a mill. They ask for two more. (145)

Consistent with their regard for American material culture, the Cherokee readily accepted the offerings of the civilization program (72; 121; 122), and yet, to the bewilderment of the Federal Government, failed to become "civilized." A frustrated Indian Agent Meigs wrote:

> One Cherokee . . . estimates useful improvements & in exerting himself to live in a state of some degree of taste—at the same time he is a vindictive bloody minded savage & his exertions to raise himself do not appear to arise from any refinement of disposition. (167)

The Government's belief in the certainty of success of the civilization program was so great that the Government was without a belief or philosophy by which to rationalize the contrary, that Indian acceptance of material culture did not automatically bring about a change in native ideology.

The Federal Government believed the frontier wilderness was not the proper environment for civilizing the Indian (173; 183). This belief is expressed in Indian Agent Meigs' letter to Colonel Hawkins:

> That land [the Cherokee territory near the Duck River] is of no use to them, there is not a single family on it, & the hunting is very poor. Yet those of idle disposition spend much time in rambling there. . . . In fact it is only a nursery of Savage habits and opporates against civilization, which is much impeeded by their holding such immense tracts of Wilderness. (167)

This belief provided an excuse for the failings of the civilization program, yet more importantly, it also provided the rationalization for continued acquisition of Indian lands.

A belief apparent in Federal Indian policies concerned basic human rights of the Indian. Although the Cherokee were culturally distinct from the Anglo-American culture, the Federal Government still held that the Indian should be treated in a civil manner (165; 175). Meigs writes:

> I would not deprive them [the Cherokee] of their natural rights, my mind would revolt at such a sentiment. (221)

Unfortunately for the Cherokee, Governmental policies enacted on the frontier were not always as idealistic as the underlying beliefs.

In legal matters, the courts considered the Cherokee undeserving of "natural rights." This blatant contradiction to the Federal Government's belief in the basic rights of the Indian created within some officials a conflict of conscience.

> . . . We try them for crimes & punish them even capitally, at the same time we hold them in such a degraded State as not to be competent witnesses even in defense of their dearest rights. (199)

The Federal Government's belief in its cultural superiority, the natural rights of the Indian, and its need to control and dominate the frontier brought about a self-image as a benevolent guardian of the Indian (143; 167; 171). Such an image developed only after the Federal Period had begun, probably as a direct result of specific historic circumstances and Federal policies of the late Revolutionary and early Federal Periods. Not until the Indian had lost their military threat and become dependent on Federally supplied trade goods was such an image or belief possible. Once tribes were dominated, however, the Federal Government no longer viewed the tribes as independent political groups or autonomous nations. The Indians were instead wards of the Federal Government (155; 193). As wards, the Cherokee were considered indebted to the Federal Government for goods and services provided and therefore subject to its dictates. When Cherokee objected to a Governmental directive, the Federal representative typically countered with the argument that had the Government not provided the Indian protection, the Frontier Settler would have fought them to extinction. For this supposed protection the Cherokee had waived their claim to sovereignty (193).

> [The Cherokee] . . . owe the United States more than they are able to pay, for their protection, for their existence as a nation at this time, for raising them from a State of hunters to a State of cultivators, Herdsmen & manufactures. (207)

As guardian of the Cherokee, the Federal Government assumed it was their duty to enlighten the Indian. This view was basic to the development of the "civilization program" (167). Meigs wrote to the War Department concerning advancements made by the Cherokee, noting:

> . . . their morals and manners may be said to have kept pace with agriculture & manufactures; all, all has been effected by the protecting and fostering hand of the Government. (193)

The Federal Government, as self-appointed guardian of the Cherokee, viewed its policies "just" (255) and in the best interest of both the Indian and Anglo-American (43).

> . . . the U.S. will do them all [the Cherokee & Chickasaw] justice & they must place a respectful confidence in the administration of the government. (170)

> [The U.S.] would never do any of the Indian Nations any injustice. (168)

This guardian attitude was often expressed to the Cherokee in a paternalistic vein. Indian Agent Meigs wrote:

> . . . the address of the President to the Chiefs of the upper Cherokee expresses the tenderness of his administration towards these helpless beings. (189)

An interesting contradiction to the Federal Government's belief in Cherokee rights and the Indian's inherent potential to rise up to a civilized level of society, was a belief that the Indian was racially, or biologically inferior. This belief held that full blooded Cherokee were not as amenable to civilization as were mixed bloods (half-breeds). In 1805, Meigs stated in a letter to Hawkins:

> . . . where the blood is mixed with the whites, in every grade of it there is an apparent disposition leaning towards civilization, and this disposition is in proportion to its distance from the original stock. (167)

Biological determinism became the rationalization for the civilization program's failure to transform the Cherokee into "white" yeoman farmers. Intermarriage between whites and Cherokee was assumed necessary for the eventual assimilation of the Cherokee.

> . . . by their Intermarriages with half Breeds & with the whites & by migrating the real Indian [ethnic and cultural] will disappear. (173)

Although assumed biologically indisposed to civilization, the Indians were not necessarily viewed as intellectually inferior. Meigs continues, in his letter to Hawkins, observing:

> . . . it is a fact . . . that several of the Chiefs . . . have stronger minds and more accurate discernment than any of the Half Breeds. (167)

The Federal Government's attitude toward the Frontier Settler subculture spanned the entire spectrum of emotion. The Settlers, a major cause of Indian—American violence, were constantly rebuked by the Federal Government. However, they also embodied the "grass roots" of the country's growth and westward expansion; a fact the Federal Government remained well aware of.

As noted above, a goal of Federal Indian policy was to maintain peace along the frontier. Enactment of Governmental actions effecting this policy often ran counter to the wishes of the Frontier Settler. When confrontations between the Federal Government, Settlers, and Cherokee came to a head, inevitably the Federal Government conceded to the demands of the Settlers at the expense of the Cherokee. Although

the Government attempted to execute its policies equitably with the Cherokee and Settlers, control of Settlers was more lax than that enforced on the Indian. This was because the Federal Government and Frontier Settler were ethnically similar and members of the same culture. In addition, the Federal Government could not afford to forget that it represented a constituency that included the Settlers. These affinities often resulted in the bending of Federal Indian policy so as to accommodate the demands of the Frontier Settler while ignoring the rights and wishes of the Cherokee.

During the Federal Period, the Government often expressed the belief that Anglo-Americans living in the Cherokee territory were social misfits, or outcasts (92). William Lowery expressed this view in a letter to Indian Agent Meigs, writing that at Look Out Mountain;

> . . . there is a lower Class of white people amongst them [The Cherokee] who speak the tongue[.] These people are Slaves in the families they are connected with . . . they are afraid of order. (125)

Many individuals referred to by Lowery in this passage had fled to the Cherokee Nation seeking refuge from the law or other personally oppressive aspects of Anglo-American society. Lowery's comment also suggests a few may have been white captives from the Revolutionary Period conflict adopted into Cherokee families.

Frontier Settlers residing peaceably in Federal Territory were generally viewed as solid, law abiding citizens, and afforded all due rights as granted by Federal law. That such Settlers are unmentioned in the RCIA indicates the Federal Government fully supported lawful settlement as long as it did not encroach upon Indian lands defined by treaty.

Disputes between the Frontier Settler and Cherokee were arbitrated by the Indian Agent unless a Cherokee committed a criminal act of violence against a Settler, in which case, the offender was tried in a State or Federal court. The affinities between the Federal Government and Settler often resulted in unequitable legal process and rulings to the detriment of the Cherokee. Whereas all incidents of a Cherokee killing a Settler were followed by the apprehension and conviction of the killer, only a few Settlers were ever brought to trial for murdering Cherokee, and none were ever punished (206).

Two beliefs can be inferred from these actions. First, although obstensibly operating under beliefs of justice and fairness for both Cherokee and Settlers, the Federal Government was biased towards the latter. Second, as political representatives of the Frontier Settler, the Federal Government believed it should serve the dictates of its constituency even if it meant compromising the belief of Indian rights.

Governmental opinions toward the Frontier Settler vacilated. Typically, the Federal Government made no attempt to remove illegal intruders settling Cherokee territory unless asked to do so by the Cherokee. Intruding Settlers were often viewed as good citizens attempting to establish farmsteads, who unwittingly claimed lands owned by the Cherokee. Government views changed abruptly when Settlers refused to abandon Cherokee lands when so ordered. Those Settlers who removed when ordered to do so by Federal troops typically returned immediately after the military returned to its garrison. The inability to control intruding Frontier Settlers reduced the Government's

negotiating position at subsequent Indian treaties. Indian Agent Meigs presented the Government's view of the Settler in a letter written to Tennessee Governor, Sevier:

> . . . it is extremely wrong for individuals to prostrate laws & Treaty's with impunity at any time . . . lawless conduct of individuals who insult their rights, the Indians, and the rights of our country. . . . They [the intruders on Cherokee Territory] are common enimies. They break the treaties of their country by taking forcible possession, & then plead the right of presumption, making a merit of their crimes—our success [at the Tellico Treaty] depends on the removal of those people. (175)

Federal efforts to control the Settlers were opposed by the State Government whose sympathies were more closely affiliated with the Frontier Settler's point of view rather than the Federal Government's point of view.

As the number of Settlers moving into Tennessee increased, so did the incidents of intrusions on Cherokee lands. Eight years after Meigs' letter to Sevier, he again wrote about the intruders:

> . . . nothing but physical force can restrain these intruders, they are shrewed, well armed, and hold barbarous sentiments towards the rights of Indians. . . . There have been several attempts within two or three years to bring on a quarrel with the Indians near Tellico and they have been prevented only by timely interference. (207)

The tenacity of the Frontier Settler to intrude onto Cherokee Territory and the ineffectiveness of Federal troops to remove them in a civil and nonviolent manner forced the Government to attempt other legal means of removal. Meigs inquired of a lawyer: "can not civil process be served on those persons?" (209). The result of Meigs' inquiry is not revealed in the RCIA, however, it probably had little effect on the overall problem.

While at times expressing anger and frustration at the illegal settlement of Indian lands, the Federal Government also exhibited compassion towards the Settlers.

> [The Settler] . . . setting down on the immense tract of wild lands held by the Indians so disportionate to their present or expected population—many of them [the Settlers] are entitled to commensuration: but justice and policy require their removal. (186)

Feelings toward the Settler were ambivalent, as were Federal policies, because the belief in the rights of the Indian conflicted with the natural sympathies held for the Settler and the belief that the vast wilderness must be settled.

By 1803 the Federal Government was forced by the numbers of advancing Settlers to acquire additional lands through treaty with the Indian. Even before one tract of land had been acquired, Settlers would advance into other desirable tracts within Indian Territory, thereby pressuring for yet more Indian land cessions. The Federal Government found Indian land cessions and Indian removal the avenues of least resistance in dealing with the problem of intruders on Indian Territory. By 1815 demands to open up still more Indian territory and opposition to military removal of illegal intruders were voiced by the Settlers and the Tennessee State Government. Eventually, this popular outcry gained presidential support, forcing a significant shift in the Government's frontier policies. All efforts to remove illegal Settlers from Indian lands were suspended. In spite of this policy shift, Meigs still observed that the Settler's "conduct towards the Cherokee (remained) domineering & appressive" (226).

Frontier Settler Beliefs

The Frontier Settler subculture comprised the entire spectrum of Anglo-American social classes, ranging from social misfits and outcasts to members of the highest levels of New England and Middle Atlantic society, including clergy. This range in social classes and the constantly changing nature of the frontier create difficulty in identifying beliefs commonly held by this subculture. The Frontier Settler subculture is best characterized by its shifting beliefs.

Geographic frontiers, as defined by Lewis (327:151-201), are regions initially devoid of permanent settlement by the dominant culture, which are rapidly filled by advancing settlers. Temporally, frontiers begin with the first influx of settlers and terminate with the stabilization of settlement. Certain beliefs are fundamental to settler advancement onto frontiers. Once a stable, secure settlement develops, those beliefs typical of the frontier situation are discarded in favor of beliefs more acceptable to the social norm. Beliefs typical of the frontier create a "frontier mentality" and permit behavior that would be totally unacceptable to more stable social contexts.

Most Frontier Settlers held the belief that the wilderness west of the Appalachian mountains offered a chance to improve their living conditions. To the Settler, the frontier offered "real or perceived opportunities" (315:19). The belief in betterment of one's future was viewed by the Settler as hinging upon the acquisition and ownership of land. This was supported by a second, but erroneous belief, that title to land could be gained simply through occupancy and improvement of a

tract of the unlimited wilderness (273). These two beliefs were the motivation behind Settler advancement into eastern and central Tennessee during the Federal Period. Obsessed with finding and claiming a tract of land, the Frontier Settler exuded a disregard for law and Federal authority. This resulted in numerous conflicts between Settlers and the Federal Government, the Cherokee, and amongst the Settlers themselves.

In settling prime farm locations, the Frontier Settler continually ignored Cherokee title to territory granted by treaty with the Federal Government (244). These illegal Settlers also ignored notifications from the Federal Government of their wrongdoings (19). Such blatant disregard for authority and the lawful rights of the Cherokee were founded in the belief that no person or group, such as the Cherokee tribe, had a right to or need of the expansive, undeveloped wilderness of Tennessee. Moreover, the Settler could not comprehend many Cherokee's disinterest in owning individual tracts of land nor the Cherokee's need for expansive tribal lands which remained undeveloped. The Settlers believed that since the Cherokee did not improve or appear to use most of their vast territory, they were not entitled to it (273).

The Frontier Settler held the belief that the Indian territories were actually within the domain of the United States, a belief similarly expressed through Federal Government policy. This view provided added justification to the imagined right of whites to settle Indian lands by supporting the false impression that the Indian were actually intruders on U.S. territory. This sentiment is expressed in the letters of two Frontier Settlers:

> Again, how are we greater intruders on Cherokee lands than the Cherokee are on ours. (246)

> . . . think not of intrusion, your Cherokee friends is living on our lands and [with] no Complaint from the settlers. (141)

Federal efforts to prevent settlement of Cherokee lands, as part of the policy of maintaining peace along the frontier, met with failure. The illegal Settlers' disregard for written directives led the Government to forcibly remove them with Federal troops. To prevent Settlers from returning to their claims, a policy of burning all crops, buildings, and fences was pursued (188). Because of this policy, the Settlers along Yellow Creek, in Cherokee Territory near the Cumberland Gap, were observed to live under a constant:

> . . . state of Alarm & terror owing to the devastation made by the Indians and soldiers. (248)

These and similar policies were perceived by the Frontier Settler as favoring the Cherokee. One Settler wrote Governor Sevier in 1805:

> I find the officers of the General Government very tenaceous of the rights and privaleges of the Cherokee, and I hope we [the Frontier Settler] will be equally supported in our rights. (250)

The Government's attempted removal of illegal Settlers alienated the Settlers and strengthened their resolve to ignore governmental directives. Disrespect of authority and the Government's inability to control the vast frontier prompted a few Settlers to attempt to order the Federal Government representatives against the Cherokee. A Cherokee leader, Mr. Box, requested the Indian Agent to remove illegal Settlers from lands near Tellico. Upon notification of the request made against them, the white intruders sent a reply to the Indian Agent:

> . . . we also inform you to send Mr. Box to some other County or else we will do it in a very short time and you had better do it Your Self for he is a domed [doomed] House Chief. (141)

Not only did the illegal Settlers refuse the orders of the Indian Agent to remove from Cherokee lands, they also threatened the person who filed the complaint against them.

A few Settlers attempted to "get back at" the Federal Government for its support of the Indian by defrauding the Government and trying to undermine its credibility with the Cherokee. Business motives also were involved in these instances for the Government's factory system was partially successful in protecting the Indian from the high profit, poor quality merchandise, and debasing influences of private traders and frontier businesses (339). The offering of quality goods at low prices by the Federal factory diverted business away from the private sector. In a particular instance, a trader attempted to sway Cherokee sentiments toward his business by circulating a rumor that the U.S. President, Thomas Jefferson, was planning to buy Indian lands with cheap goods. Although the rumor was probably, in part, true, in relation to the Cherokee it posed a major threat to the Indian policies of the Federal Government (78). Unscrupulous Settlers also attempted to defraud the Federal Government and Cherokee by filing for monetary restitution of claimed losses blamed upon the Cherokee. Many of these claims proved to be fraudulent (232).

It was common for settlers to blame unexplained incidents of robbery or loss by accident on the Cherokee:

> I have strong presumptive Reasons to believe that it [the robbers and arsonists] was Indian, and Cherokees, and that the property is now up [the] Tennessee River. (115)

In testimony concerning a settler who had his cattle stolen, a witness related that a group of men went to the Cherokee nation to retrieve the lost property, even though they had no proof that the cattle were stolen by Cherokee or taken into Cherokee territory. The only reason for entering the Cherokee nation was that the owner of the cattle "expected the Indians had stole from him" (231). Apparently the Frontier Settlers held the belief that the Cherokee were aggressive, unlawful, and uncivil people (68; 115; 117; 231; 248). With this stereotype, the Settlers easily made the Indian a scapegoat for many unexplained incidents.

Interestingly, once the Frontier Settler had gained title to land, improved upon it, and thus secured their lives, their view of the Federal Government and Cherokee changed for the better. Many Settlers treated the Cherokee with respect and strove for amiable relations with their Indian neighbor (250).

Illegal Settlers of Indian Territory, who successfully established farmsteads and good relations with the Cherokee, attempted to legitimize their presence by petitioning the Federal Government for a special variance. They argued that their farms, interspersed among the Cherokee, served as examples of yeoman lifeways and thereby encouraged civilization of the Indian:

> . . . respectable farmers, who I conceive will be of essencial service to the Indians by setting the pattern of industry & true farming. (54)

Law abiding individuals living in the Cherokee Nation would contact the Federal authorities to denounce any affiliations with those illegal settlers who were often violent and unlawful towards the Cherokee and other settlers. A Mr. Giger, who resided in the Cherokee Nation under the employ of a wealthy Indian, wrote Indian Agent Meigs:

> I take the Liberty as a Citizen of the United States although I live in the Cherokee Nation, as a Clerk for Mr. Vann, and I am truely of the opinion; Living in this Nation, not to be an out cast, from the rest of the Citizens of the U.S.
> . . . there is some good honest White People in this Nation. (91)

Frontier Settlers who had illegally settled lands and subsequently secured legal title to their property looked with disdain upon newly arriving settlers whose movement into Indian territory created tensions between the Cherokee and Anglo-Americans. These established settlers rejected their old views of the Federal Government, requesting it to intervene on their behalf and protect their interests. Joshua Parsons, "a sittyson [citizen] of Nine Mile near Tellico," informed the Indian Agent:

> . . . it would be a pleasing thing to the most of the good people of this place if you would have the intruders and raskels removed of [off] the Indian lands which are struck along the river above Tellico. (239)

Samuel Harris, another citizen of Nine Mile, wrote Indian Agent Meigs expressing concern over illegal intruders on Indian lands who were causing conflicts contrary to:

> . . . my own, & the Community Interest harmony & peace and wellbeing . . . to enjoy the Rights & interests of our Labour and industry as we would expect under . . . [the Federal] Government we support. . . . Their [the peaceful settlers] support is of their Frontier neighbors the Cherokee. (103)

William Lenoir expresses similar sentiments to Meigs about intruders near the confluence of the "Holsten and Tennessee Rivers" (the present day mouth of the Little Tennessee River; Figure 1, p. 3 and Figure 3, p. 9):

> The present robberies and depredations that are committed about here render it highly desirable and in the opinion of many, absolutely necessary that all those persons in the nation living near here who are not lawfully authorized to live in the nation should be drove out. Lawful means are wished to be used to effect the same. (119)

As these letters illustrate, the recently established Settler actually expressed support of Indian rights over that of arriving Settlers in an effort to eliminate the threat of conflict along the frontier. The degree to which these expressed concerns pertained to the Indian is questionable, since the Frontier Settlers were primarily attempting to protect their personal interests.

When the Federal Government suggested removal of the Cherokee so as to open more land for settlement, the established Settlers were quick to support the idea. The Settlers expressed the view that removal was fair and in the interest of the Cherokee, although their support was undoubtedly founded in the realization that such action would eliminate Cherokee—Frontier Settler conflicts altogether.

In summary, the beliefs of the Frontier Settler shifted as the frontier was transformed into a stabilized, inhabited region. The Frontier Settler was motivated by the belief that all wilderness lands were open to settlement and that with a farmable tract of land one's successful future was virtually assured. Intent upon their self-interests, the advancing Settlers gave little thought to the rights of

the Indian or heed to Federal law. It was only after a farmstead was developed and proven successful that Settlers would express equitable sentiments toward the Cherokee, even though they were often counter to the views of the newly arriving Settlers. In much the same way, the Federal Government was initially viewed as an adversary attempting to prevent settlement of prime wilderness lands and more supportive of the Cherokee than of its own people. As the Settlers secured their place on the frontier, their sentiments reverted back to supporting the government and utilizing its offices to further their interests.

Chapter Summary

Analysis of the RCIA provides insight into the beliefs of the Cherokee, Federal Government, and Frontier Settler subcultures; beliefs which greatly influenced Cherokee—Anglo-American culture contact and the ultimate fate of the Cherokee.

The Cherokee subculture is shown to have persisted despite extreme acculturation because of the interacting beliefs of tribal preeminence and egalitarianism. The former belief provided a cultural fortitude capable of withstanding total assimilation (equivalent to cultural annihilation). The latter belief enabled a high degree of acculturation without threatening the fundamental elements of the culture which defined it as Cherokee. Cherokee acculturation and the culture's eventual domination by the Anglo-American culture is shown to have been resultant from the belief, or value of Euroamerican material culture.

Analysis indicates that Federal Indian policy was greatly influenced by the Federal Government subculture's beliefs of the uncivilized state

of the Indian, of the natural human rights of the Indian, of the preeminence of the Anglo-American culture, and of the almost paternal responsibility of the Government to civilize the Cherokee. Government views of the Frontier Settler varied according to the current state of Cherokee—Settler relations. The Federal Government attempted to administer the frontier in a manner equitable to both the whites and Indian. This was not entirely possible because of prejudices of persons within the Federal Government subculture and due to the Government, as a political institution, representing the interests of Anglo-Americans and not necessarily those of the Indian. Illegal settling of Indian lands provided the Federal Government a reason for its policies of acquiring land through Indian land cessions and removal of the Cherokee west of the Mississippi River.

The beliefs of the Frontier Settler subculture are shown to have changed with the pushing of the frontier further west. Concerned primarily with self-interests, the Settler exuded little respect for the Indian, Federal authority and law, or even American social norms. The Cherokee, unable to resist the Settlers and afforded only limited, ineffectual protection by the Federal Government, were exposed to constant depredation. As frontier settlements were established, social norms were again instituted by the Anglo-Americans. By this time, however, the Cherokee culture was battered. To the Settler, the simplest solution to problems created by the Indian was removal.

As this chapter indicates, the impetus behind the contact situation under examination derives from normative beliefs held by the Cherokee

and Anglo-American subcultures. The influence of these beliefs as well as the effect of culture contact are visible in the material remains of each subculture.

CHAPTER III

MATERIAL CULTURE ANALYSIS

Artifact assemblages representing the Cherokee, Federal Government, and Frontier Settler subcultures were analyzed in order to (1) define the respective assemblages in terms of artifact patterning (363), (2) test the assumption that the Federal Government and Frontier Settler subcultures were distinctive, and (3) compare and contrast the artifact patterns to gain an understanding of their similarity and dissimilarity.

Factors considered in selecting site collections for use in this study were: (1) the availability of the archaeological data; (2) the degree of control over the cultural affinities of the data; and (3) the degree of temporal control of the excavated deposits. Field notes and artifact collections housed at McClung Museum, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, were examined when necessary, but the greater part of the data utilized were abstracted from analysis reports on file at McClung Museum. Eleven site collections were initially reviewed, of which eight were judged appropriate for use.

Rejected site collections were the Cherokee component from Tallassee, the early nineteenth century occupation from 40MR31, and the Frontier Settler component from Morganton (Figure 1, p. 3). The Tallassee material was rejected since it appears to have been selectively collected and therefore not representative of the archaeological component. The excavations and artifact collection were also poorly

documented in the field notes. The collection from 40MR31 was rejected since it was impossible to accurately determine the cultural affinity of the assemblage. The Morganton data were not utilized since discrete deposites dating earlier than 1840 were not isolated. The eight remaining sites proved acceptable for this study. Each site is briefly described below.

The Starnes Site (40MR32) is located along the Tellico River approximately three miles upstream from the Little Tennessee River and near the embouchure of Notchy Creek (Figure 3, p. 9). Starnes is believed to be the site of Kahite, an historic Overhill Cherokee town. Test excavations were conducted in 1967. Of twenty-six features excavated, only two (Feature 14 and Excavation Pit 15) were judged acceptable for use in this analysis. These deposits were dated to the Federal Period from pearlware sherds and a U.S. military button issued between 1797 and 1807. The Starnes data were derived from unpublished catalogue notes compiled by Polhemus (342).

The Chota Site (40MR2) is situated on the south side of the Little Tennessee River (river mile 24.5), covering the first and second river terraces (Figure 3). Chota was an important Cherokee town throughout the last three-quarters of the eighteenth century. Historic documents indicate that Chota "Old Town" remained a Cherokee settlement up until removal in 1819 (13; 32; 106; 107; 234; 278). Archaeological investigations were conducted by The University of Tennessee between 1969 and 1974 here. Newman's (336) analysis of the Euroamerican artifacts dated three Cherokee features and a burial to the Federal Period. Artifacts

from the three features (Features 233, 255, 379) comprise the Chota data base utilized in this study. These data were gleened from Newman's (336) thesis and analysis reports of the Native material elements (the reports are on file at McClung Museum, The University of Tennessee).

The third Cherokee site, Citico (40MR7), is located southwest of the confluence of Citico Creek and the Little Tennessee River (Figure 3, p. 9). Investigations in 1978, the most recent of many archaeological excavations at this site, encountered substantial Federal Period Cherokee deposits unsurpassed by any other known site in eastern Tennessee (291). Analysis of the Federal Period component was conducted as part of this research and is presented in Appendix A.

The Harrison Branch Site (40MR21) is located in Foute Bottom on the west bank of the Little Tennessee River (river mile 21.3), approximately two miles upstream from the present town of Vonore (Figure 3). Testing conducted in 1971 (354) and 1975 (290) revealed multiple components, including Euroamerican artifacts associated with a stone lined cellar (353; 354). Chapman (290:139) describes the structural remains:

> The cellar was originally constructed as follows. A square, straight-sided pit was dug measuring approximately 6.0 × 6.5 ft. The cellar walls were then constructed with limestone blocks to a height of 3.0 feet and filled with soil. The cellar interior measured approximately 4.0 × 4.0 ft. and the fill was predominantly wood ash and rock fall. The top of the feature lay within the plow zone, and there had been some scattering of the limestone blocks and fill.

The collections descirbed by Chapman and Schroedl were combined to provide an adequate site sample to use in this study. A mean ceramic date of 1808 (Table 1) indicates white settlement occurred here prior

TABLE 1

APPLICATIONS OF THE MEAN CERAMIC DATE FORMULA
[SEE SOUTH (363)]

Ceramic Type	Type Median	Count	Product	
Fort Southwest Point (40RE119)				
7	1808	68	122944	
2	1860	2	3720	
32	1780	1	1780	
15	1798	935	1681130	
14	1798	2	3596	
18	1788	1	1788	
20	1805	456	823080	
13	1805	18	32490	
12	1805	220	397100	
17	1800	112	201600	
19	1805	170	306850	
11	1818	24	43632	
		2009	(3619710 ÷ 2009) =	1801.8
Tellico Blockhouse (40MR50)				
7	1808	310	560480	
31	1770	16	28320	
78	1815	6	10890	
32	1780	11	19580	
21	1788	1	1788	
22	1791	3980	7128180	
14	1798	104	186992	
18	1788	71	126948	
23	1790	25	44750	
20	1805	3535	6380675	
6 & 13 combined	1824	153	279072	
12	1805	2093	3777865	
17	1800	1232	2217600	
19	1805	1646	2971030	
		888	1614384	
		14071	(25348554 ÷ 14071) =	1801.5
Harrison Branch Site (40MR21), 1971 excavations (Schroedl 1975)				
20	1805	96	173280	
6	1843	8	14744	
17	1800	19	34200	
4	1830	10	18300	
19	1805	23	41515	
11	1818	36	65448	
		192	(347487 ÷ 192) =	1809.8
Harrison Branch Site (40MR21), 1975 excavations (Chapman 1977)				
2	1860	1	1860	
78	1815	3	5445	
20	1805	18	32490	
13	1805	4	7220	
12	1805	3	5415	
17	1800	43	77400	
19	1805	9	16245	
11	1818	2	3636	
		83	(149711 ÷ 83) =	1803.8

TABLE 1 (Cont'd)

Ceramic Type	Type Median	Count	Product
Harrison Branch Site (40MR21), combined 1971 & 1975 excavations			
		275	(497198 ÷ 275) = 1808.0
McGhee Cabin (40MR30)			
31	1770	32	56640
3	1857	65	120705
2	1860	205	381300
78	1815	7	12705
22	1791	19	34029
20	1805	67	120935
9	1810	8	14480
12	1805	10	18050
17	1800	27	48600
19	1805	42	75810
11	1818	27	49086
		509	(932340 ÷ 509) = 1831.7
Hodge Site (40MR46)			
22	1791	1	1791
15	1798	12	21576
13	1805	1	1805
12	1805	2	3610
19	1805	12	21660
11	1818	1	1818
		29	(52260 ÷ 29) = 1802.1
Chota Site (40MR2)			
20	1805	49	88445
6	1843	3	5529
12	1805	16	28880
17	1800	24	43200
19	1805	14	25270
11	1818	68	123624
		174	(314948 ÷ 174) = 1810
Citico Site (40MR7)			
7	1808	2	3616
31	1770	1	1770
22	1791	42	75222
14	1798	4	7192
8	1805	1	1805
20	1805	129	232845
6	1843	7	12901
9	1810	1	1810
12	1805	19	34295
17	1800	8	14400
4	1830	60	109800
19	1805	26	46930
11	1818	35	63630
		335	(606216 ÷ 335) = 1809.6
Starnes Site (40MR32)			
20	1805	2	3610
17	1800	1	1800
		3	(5410 ÷ 3) = 1803.3

to Cherokee cessation of the Hiwassee Tract. White intrusions on Indian land in proximity to the Harrison Branch Site are amply documented by historic records (103; 141; 239).

The McGhee Cabin Site (40MR30) is located on the second terrace of the Little Tennessee River west bank, approximately one mile southeast from the Harrison Branch site (Figure 3, p. 9). Investigations, conducted under the direction of Mr. J. Worth Green in 1973, excavated twelve, ten by ten foot units. A mean ceramic date of 1831 (Table 1) for this site is considerably later than the dates derived for the older sites utilized in this study. Even so, the assemblage composition differs little from that of the other Frontier Settler sites used here and quantitatively provides the best artifact sample for this subculture. The late mean ceramic date obtained belies the local rumor that this site was the occupation of the first Anglo-American settler in the area. A flurry of written accusations, threats, and complaints between the Cherokee and a Mr. McGhee aptly indicates, however, that McGhee illegally settled in Cherokee territory nearby this site sometime around 1815 (141). McGhee Cabin Site data were taken from a synthesis by Kimball (318).

The third site representing the Frontier Settler is Hodge (40MR46). The Hodge Site is located on the northeast bank of the Little Tennessee River (river mile 21.3) directly across the river from the Harrison Branch Site (Figure 3). Excavations conducted by Chapman in 1973 revealed a concentration of historic artifacts within the plowzone (288). The Hodge Site artifact collection was included in this study despite the small site sample and the disturbed nature of the deposits.

The Federal Government subculture is best represented by the remains of the Tellico Blockhouse (40MR50). The Tellico military reservation is located on the northeast bank of the Little Tennessee River (river mile 20) immediately north of the mouth of Nine Mile Creek (Figure 3, p. 9). Excavations conducted between 1972 and 1974 under the direction of Mr. Richard Polhemus resulted in extensive exposure of the site and an excellent artifact sample. Documents indicate the site served as a military garrison and factory from 1794 to 1807 (311; 312). The Federal Government interests at Tellico were then transferred to the Hiwassee Garrison (Figure 1, p. 3). Artifact data utilized in this study were abstracted from the site report by Polhemus (344).

In addition to the site collections from the lower Little Tennessee River, data from Fort Southwest Point (40RE119) were utilized to supplement the Federal Government subculture sample. This military garrison is located at the confluence of the Clinch and Tennessee Rivers, approximately twenty-three miles downstream from the Tellico Blockhouse (Figure 1). The site was occupied from 1792 to 1807 and therefore contemporaneous with the Tellico Blockhouse. Although outside of the Little Tennessee River valley, the garrison and the Cherokee Indian Agent stationed at this post exerted considerable influence over the Cherokee inhabitants of the Hiwassee Tract.

Approximately half the total surface area of the site was excavated in 1973 and 1974 under the auspices of the Roane County Historical Society and the Tennessee State Historical Commission. All phases of investigations, from field work to the final site report were conducted

by individuals from the Department of Anthropology, The University of Tennessee, under the direction of Prentice M. Thomas. Data for this study were derived from the final site report (370).

Cultural affiliation of the various site collections was determined by several methods. The Federal Government assemblages were easily determined from historic documents and preexcavation knowledge of the sites. Federal Period Cherokee components represented by discrete features from known Cherokee town sites were temporally identified by datable Euroamerican artifacts. Frontier Settler components were identified by the absence of Native American material culture and the association of distinctive Anglo-American architectural remains.

Collections were dated by South's mean ceramic dating formula (363) (Table 1). Deposits were extremely difficult to date because of the multicomponent nature of most sites within the lower Little Tennessee River valley. A number of probable Federal Period features from Citico and Starnes lacked an adequate ceramic sample to permit dating. Furthermore, because of the multicomponent nature of these sites, these features could not be dated simply by reason of close spatial association to dated features. It is probable that many Federal Period Cherokee features were not recognized, and thus not considered for this study, simply because they contained no datable artifacts. All the site dates fall within a range of nine years, with the one exception of the McGhee Cabin Site (Table 1).

The principal problem with the site data, excluding the collections from the Tellico Blockhouse and Fort Southwest Point, was that none

represents a complete occupation assemblage. This is partially a result of the nature of the archaeological deposits. Discrete Cherokee deposits are typically refuse filled pits truncated by plowing (356). It is difficult to ascertain what portion of the assemblage was disturbed by plowing and subsequently lost since excavation methodology involved removal of the plowzone without recovery of artifacts. In addition, data were not collected through research design as a statistically representative sample of the archaeological record. Archaeological investigations also showed, until very recently, a disregard for Frontier Settler sites. This is reflected in the small number of artifacts comprising the Frontier Settler assemblage defined herein (Appendix B). Because of the salvage nature of most excavations and the recent flooding of the lower Little Tennessee River Valley, the data base used represents the best presently available.

Research Methodology

Classification of artifacts was achieved with a quantitative pattern recognition scheme adapted from South (363). Of methodological consideration for this study was the development of a classification format that would enable quantitative comparison of Euroamerican and Native American assemblages.

The classification scheme is presented in Appendix B, along with artifact counts for each site. The classification format is comprised of three levels of abstraction: group, class, and type. The relevance of each level depends on the particular problem under consideration.

Questions concerning regularity and variability in culture patterns are best resolved at the group and class levels. It is on these levels that general quantitative comparisons between Euroamerican and Cherokee assemblages can be made. More specific questions concerning the replacement, assimilation, or rejection of a specific artifact type within an assemblage are best examined on the type level.

Groups are based on functional activities related to the systemic context reflected by the archaeological record (363:93). Assignment of artifact classes or types to specific groups is an intuitive process for the archaeologist dealing with Euroamerican material culture. This is not necessarily true, however, when dealing with Cherokee material culture. Euroamerican materials and tools were not necessarily utilized by Native Americans in the manner intended by the manufacturers (284). Furthermore, Native items possibly were used differently than what their form may suggest to the archaeologist. Classification of the Cherokee assemblage under functional groups is therefore best attained through artifact function analyses and reference to historic sources which provide first-hand observations of tool use. Appendix C presents the historic documentation used to order the Cherokee assemblage into functional groups for this research.

The groups formulated in the classification scheme (Appendix B) differ in a number of respects from South's (363) scheme. The most apparent difference is the addition of the Subsistence Refuse Group. This group was formulated to encompass faunal and botanical remains. Such remains are felt to reflect specific procurement, consumption,

and refuse disposal activities; activities pursued by all humans, yet culturally distinctive.

The other groups within the classification scheme, while labeled the same as South's, are incomparable to his groups because of the reordering and addition of various artifact classes. An example is the Tobacco Pipe Group. South formulated this group as an indicator of a specific artifact type, the kaolin pipe. In so doing, he violated his own definition of groups by excluding additional artifacts related to smoking activities. In this study the Tobacco Pipe Group encompasses all types of smoking paraphernalia, not simply one type.

The class level is based on artifact form and function (363:93). Placement of classes within a specific group is arbitrary since most artifacts served a variety of purposes in a number of activity spheres. Incorporation of Native American artifacts into this classification requires the addition of a number of artifact classes. The newly created projectile point classes within the Arms Group illustrate this addition of Native artifact classes (Appendix B).

The particularistic effects of culture contact can best be recognized in artifact assemblages on the type level. Type categories follow the formal classifications traditionally utilized by archaeological research in the Southeast. For example, in Appendix B the historic Euroamerican ceramics are classified by paste, glaze, and decoration. Similarly, the Native American pottery is distinguished by paste or temper and surface treatment.

From the patterning revealed on the type level, it is possible to evaluate certain processes of culture contact as reflected by material

culture. The process of replacing a native artifact with a new Euroamerican counterpart is reflected quantitatively. The process of substituting new materials and techniques to achieve a traditional functional artifact is also reflected. An example of the latter process is evident in the relative frequencies of the lithic and sheet brass types of projectile points (Appendix B). Conclusions drawn from type frequencies must be viewed as tentative since the collections classified were not recovered while employing a rigorous sampling design.

Formulation of Artifact Patterns for the Federal Government, Frontier Settler, and Cherokee Subcultures

Assemblage profiles for each site were formulated by taking the frequencies of artifacts in each artifact group against the total site sample (Tables 2, 3, and 4). Artifact patterns for each subculture were then formulated by taking the mean of the artifact group frequencies from the culturally similar sites (Table 5). This synthesis resulted in artifact patterns for the Federal Government, Frontier Settler, and Cherokee subcultures.

Artifact group profiles exhibiting a range of no more than 12 to 15 percent (Table 5) indicate a regularity in group patterning between culturally similar sites. In general terms, this regularity reflects commonly held objectives, resources, and restrictions within the subculture system. The Federal Government pattern, presented in Table 2, reveals considerable consistency between corresponding group frequencies from the Tellico Blockhouse and Fort Southwest Point site

TABLE 2

ARTIFACT ASSEMBLAGE PROFILES FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SUBCULTURE

Artifact Group	Fort Southwest Point Count	(%)	Tellico Count	Blockhouse (%)
Kitchen	4009	(16.40)	18742	(23.49)
Architecture	8200	(33.50)	12812	(16.06)
Furniture	228	(.93)	18	(.03)
Arms	75	(.31)	202	(.25)
Clothing	437	(1.79)	1303	(1.63)
Personal	48	(.20)	98	(.13)
Tobacco Pipe	35	(.14)	133	(.16)
Activities	1078	(4.41)	824	(1.03)
Subsistence Refuse	10329	(42.27)	45653	(57.22)
Total	24439	(100.00)	79785	(100.00)

Refer to Appendix B for artifact type counts.

Note: Counts utilized for assemblage profiles exclude artifacts identified as intrusive into cultural contexts.

TABLE 3

ARTIFACT ASSEMBLAGE PROFILES FRONTIER SETTLER SUBCULTURE

Artifact Group	40MR21 Count	(%)	40MR30 Count	(%)	40MR46 Count	(%)
Kitchen	470	(80.62)	670	(72.83)	61	(83.56)
Architecture	85	(14.57)	204	(22.17)	7	(9.59)
Furniture	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Arms	4	(.69)	3	(.34)	0	(0.0)
Clothing	3	(.34)	8	(.87)	0	(0.0)
Personal	0	(0.0)	2	(.21)	0	(0.0)
Tobacco Pipe	0	(0.0)	2	(.21)	0	(0.0)
Activities	18	(3.09)	31	(3.37)	5	(6.85)
Subsistence	4	(.69)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Total	583	(100.00)	920	(100.00)	73	(100.00)

Refer to Appendix B for artifact type counts.

Note: Counts utilized for assemblage profiles exclude artifacts identified as intrusive into cultural contexts.

TABLE 4

ARTIFACT ASSEMBLAGE PROFILES FEDERAL PERIOD CHEROKEE SUBCULTURE

Artifact Group	40MR2 Count	(%)	40MR7 Count	(%)	40MR32 Count	(%)
Kitchen	469	(40.21)	14003	(45.01)	22	(61.11)
Architecture	6	(.42)	240	(.77)	0	(0.0)
Furniture	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Arms	6	(.42)	97	(.31)	0	(0.0)
Clothing	493	(34.84)	549	(1.76)	2	(5.56)
Personal	1	(.08)	15	(.05)	0	(0.0)
Tobacco Pipe	3	(.21)	219	(.70)	0	(0.0)
Activities	91	(6.43)	5496	(17.66)	12	(33.33)
Subsistence Refuse	246	(17.38)	10494	(33.74)	0	(0.0)
Total	1415	(100.00)	31113	(100.00)	36	(100.00)

Refer to Appendix B for artifact type counts.

Note: Counts utilized for assemblage profiles exclude artifacts identifed as intrusive into cultural contexts.

TABLE 5

SUBCULTURE ARTIFACT PATTERNS

Artifact Group	Mean	Adjusted Mean	Percentage Range
	Federal Government Pattern		
Kitchen	19.95		16.40-23.49
Architecture	24.81		16.06-33.55
Furniture	.48		.03- .93
Arms	.28		.25- .31
Clothing	1.71		1.63- 1.79
Personal	.16		.13- .20
Tobacco Pipe	.15		.14- .16
Activities	2.73		1.03- 4.41
Subsistence Refuse	49.73		42.27-57.22
	Frontier Settler Pattern		
Kitchen	79.00		72.83-83.56
Architecture	15.45		9.59-22.17
Furniture	0.0		0.0 - 0.0
Arms	.34		0.0 - .69
Clothing	.40		0.0 - .87
Personal	.07		0.0 - .21
Tobacco Pipe	.07		0.0 - .21
Activities	4.44		3.09- 6.85
Subsistence Refuse	.23		0.0 - .69
	Federal Cherokee Pattern		
Kitchen	48.77		40.21-61.11
Architecture	.40		0.0 - .77
Furniture	0.0		0.0 - 0.0
Arms	.24		0.0 - .42
Clothing	14.05	3.63	1.76-34.84
Personal	.04		0.0 - .08
Tobacco Pipe	.30		0.0 - .70
Activities	19.14		6.43-33.33
Subsistence Refuse	17.04		0.0 -33.74

profiles. Consistency in the architectural, arms, and personal group profiles of the three Cherokee sites (Table 4) is also notable. The kitchen and architectural group profiles from the sites utilized to derive the Frontier Settler pattern fall within a range of less than 15 percent (Table 5).

Artifact group profiles with ranges of greater than 15 percent can be attributed to incomplete or small site samples and distinctive site or intrasite functions. When inconsistencies are attributable to specialized activities or functions, adjustments can be made to correct the site profiles (363; 102-106).

The kitchen group profile range between the three Cherokee sites is 21 percent (Table 5). This large range is attributable to the small artifact sample from the Starnes Site. Nevertheless, a small artifact sample from one site does not appear to greatly alter the overall pattern. The kitchen group mean frequency of 48.71, formulated for the overall subculture pattern, is no more than 8 percent different from that of Chota and Citico site profiles (Tables 4 and 5). This relative closeness of fit suggests that adjustments are not necessary for the Starnes kitchen group.

The profile range for the Cherokee subsistence refuse group is also great. Differences between group profiles for each site are attributed to the small and incomplete Starnes site artifact sample and to the specific functional emphasis of the artifact sample from feature 281 at Citico (Appendix A). The absence of faunal remains in the Starnes collection is a result of limited excavation and the

selective recovery techniques utilized during excavation of this particular site. Feature 281, at Citico, on the other hand, contained an exorbitant amount of faunal remains, indicating either a specialized activity related to the butchering and preparing of large quantities of wild and domestic animals or a specific feature function such as a faunal refuse dump. It is not possible to adjust the Citico subsistence refuse group profile since a consistent pattern is not presented by the other two group profiles from Chota and Starnes.

The Cherokee clothing group displays a wide profile range because of a high concentration of glass beads in the Chota site sample. This anomaly is assumed to reflect a specialized function such as a trade center, or ideosyncratic behavior such as an individual's acquisition of large quantities of beads to decorate clothing. The clothing group frequency for the Chota sample was adjusted to better provide a Cherokee profile reflecting no one specific activity. The mean frequency of the Cherokee clothing group pattern was changed from 14.05 to 3.63 (Table 5) to conform to the general pattern of clothing group profiles from Citico (40MR7) and Starnes (40MR32) (Table 4).

Statistical Comparison of Artifact Patterns

With the formulation of the Federal Government, Frontier Settler, and Cherokee artifact patterns, analysis was directed towards answering the question of relationship between the subculture patterns. Comparison of the overall patterns was achieved by means of statistical tests of rank-order correlation, following the example of Forsman and Gallo (301).

Since the method of formulating the three quantitative patterns was not statistically robust, nonparametric tests were utilized. The Kendall Coefficient of Concordence Test, W (358:229-239), was applied. This test defines the relationships between several ranks of variables, such as the three subculture patterns. The null hypothesis (H_0) that any two patterns are overall related was accepted if the value of χ^2 was equal or greater than 15.51 at a 0.05 level of significance. Conversely, the alternate hypothesis (H_1) that the patterns are overall unrelated was accepted if the value of χ^2 was less than 15.51 at a 0.05 level of significance. The computed value of W, expressing the degree of association among the patterns, was 0.859 and the calculated χ^2 was 20.56 with 8 degrees of freedom. The null hypothesis was therefore accepted and the alternate hypothesis rejected. Table 6 presents the ranked groups for each subculture and the test computations. This test indicates that at least two of the subculture patterns are significantly related, yet does not identify which patterns.

To resolve this situation, each subculture pattern was compared with the others using the Kendall Rank Correlation Test (358:213-223). The null hypothesis (H_0) that the two artifact patterns being compared are related was accepted if at the 0.05 level of significance the value of "p" was less than or equal to 0.05. If "p" had a value greater than 0.05, the alternate hypothesis (H_1) that the two patterns are unrelated was accepted. Computation of the relationship between the Frontier Settler and Federal Government patterns resulted in p = .038 (Table 7). Acceptance of the null hypothesis suggests that the two patterns are

TABLE 6

THE KENDALL COEFFICIENT OF CONCORDANCE: W TEST

N	Ranks Assigned to Artifact Group Frequencies of Each Subculture Pattern								
	Kitchen	Architecture	Furniture	Arms	Clothing	Personal	Tobacco Pipe	Activities	Subsistence Refuse
Federal Government									
Mean f	19.95	24.81	.48	.28	1.71	.16	.15	2.73	49.73
Rank	3	2	6	7	5	8	9	4	1
Frontier Settler									
Mean f	79.00	15.45	.00	.34	.40	.07	.07	4.44	.23
Rank	1	2	9	5	4	7.5	7.5	3	6
Cherokee									
Mean f	48.80	.40	.00	.24	14.07	.04	.30	19.13	17.02
Rank	1	5	9	7	4	8	6	2	3
	5	9	24	19	13	23.5	22.5	9	10
$\frac{Rj}{Rj} = 13.0$									
Deviation of Rj from $\overline{Rj}$ value	-8	-4	11	6	0	10.5	9.5	-4	-3
Sum of Squares of the deviations, S =	64 +	16 +	121 +	36 +	0 +	110.25 +	90.25 +	16 +	9 = 462.5

W (expresses the degree of association among subculture patterns)

$$W = \frac{S}{1/12\ K^2\ (N^3-N)} = \frac{462.5}{.0833\ (9)\ (720)} = 0.857^*$$

W, corrected for the tie rank

$$W = \frac{S\ S}{1/12\ K^2\ (N^3-N) - K\ {}_tT} = \frac{462.5}{.0833\ (9)\ (720) - 3\ (.5)} = 0.859$$

Test of significance of W

$$df = N - 1 = 8$$

χ^2 (Chi Square)

$$\chi^2 = \frac{S}{1/12\ K\ N\ (N+1)} = \frac{462.5}{.0833\ (3)\ (9)\ (10)} = 20.56$$

*Note: The result of correcting for a tie rank is very small in this case.

Refer to Siegel (358:229-239) for explanation of the Kendall Coefficient of Concordance: W Test.

TABLE 7

THE KENDALL RANK CORRELATION COEFFICIENT TEST:
FRONTIER SETTLER AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

N N = 9	Ranks Assigned to Artifact Group Frequencies Kitchen	Archi-tecture	Activi-ties	Clothing	Arms	Subsis-tence Refuse	Personal	Tobacco Pipe	Furniture
Frontier Settler									
Mean f	79.00	15.45	4.44	.40	.34	.23	.07	.07	0.0
(X) Rank*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7.5	7.5	9
Federal Government									
Mean f	19.95	24.81	2.73	1.71	.28	49.73	.16	.15	.48
(Y) Rank	3	2	4	5	7	1	8	9	6

S value for the Frontier Settler: $S = (6-2)+(6-1)+(5-1+(4-1)+(2-2)(3-0+(1-1)+(0-1) = 18$

Formula correction for tied X variable rank: $Tx = 1/2 \quad t(t-1) = .5\ [2\ (2-1)] = 1$

$Ty = 0$

r (tau), the measure of correlation between two sets of ranks:

$$r = \frac{S}{1/2N(N-1)-Tx \quad 1/2N(N-1)-Ty} = \frac{18}{.5(9)\ (8)-1 \quad .5(9)\ (8)-0} = 5.071$$

Test of Significance of r, probability associates with S value = .038 (358; Table Q)

*Note: The activity groups are arranged according to the X variable ranks which are placed in natural numerical order.

Refer to Siegel (358: 213-223) for explanation of this test.

related. This is no surprise since both patterns are subsets of Anglo-American culture.

Computation of the Frontier Settler and Cherokee relationships resulted in p = .012, revealing that these two patterns are not distinct (Table 8). This result is contrary to intuitive expectation since the two patterns represent distinct cultures. Nevertheless, this relationship is explainable in terms of the acculturation of the Cherokee and similarities between the Settler and Cherokee existence on the frontier during the Federal Period. Spicer (364:543) observed that in contact, changes in material culture and technology generally occurred more quickly and to a greater extent than changes in ideology, social structure, and language. The significant relationship between the Frontier Settler and Cherokee patterns may reflect, to a considerable degree, the acculturation of the Cherokee, specifically adaptation of Anglo-American material culture. If the defined Cherokee pattern reflects a particular stage in acculturation, it is reasonable to expect that Cherokee artifact patterns defined for the earlier Revolutionary, Colonial, and Contact Periods would reveal a divergence away from both the Frontier Settler and Federal Period Cherokee patterns. In other words, the earlier period Cherokee patterns would reflect less Euroamerican acculturative influence. This postulate remains to be tested.

The significant relationship between the Frontier Settler and Cherokee must not be interpreted to mean that both possessed identical assemblages. Differences between the two patterns remain apparent at the artifact group, class, and type levels (Table 8 and Appendix B).

TABLE 8

THE KENDALL RANK CORRELATION COEFFICIENT TEST:
FRONTIER SETTLER AND CHEROKEE

N N = 9	Ranks Assigned to Artifact Group Frequencies								
	Kitchen	Archi-tecture	Activi-ties	Clothing	Arms	Subsis-tence Refuse	Personal	Tobacco Pipe	Furniture
Frontier Settler									
Mean f	79.00	15.45	4.44	.40	.34	.23	.07	.07	0.0
(X) Rank*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7.5	7.5	9
Cherokee									
Mean f	48.80	.40	19.13	14.07		17.02	.04	.30	0.0
(Y) Rank	1	5	2	4	7	3	8	6	9

S value for X variable

$$S = (8-0) + (4-3) + (6-0) + (4-1) + (2-2) + (3-0) + (1-1) + (1-0) = 22$$

Formula correction for tied X variable rank.

$$Tx = 1/2\ t(t-1) = .5\ [2(2-1)] = 1$$
$$Ty = 0$$

r (tau), the measure of correlation between two sets of ranks.

$$r = \frac{S}{1/2N(N-1)-Tx \quad 1/2N9N-1)-Ty} = \frac{22}{.5(9)\ (8)-1 \quad .5(0)(8)-0} = 6.198$$

Test of significance of r, probability associated with S value = .012 (358: Table Q)

*Note: The activity groups are arranged according to the X variable ranks which are placed in natural numerical order.

Refer to Siegel (358: 213-223) for explanation of this test.

The statistical test of the Federal Government and Cherokee patterns resulted in p = .060, indicating that these two patterns are, as expected, distinct (Table 9).

The source of greatest contrast between the Federal Government, Frontier Settler, and Cherokee overall patterns are the kitchen and subsistence refuse artifact groups. The dominant classes within the kitchen group are Euroamerican ceramics for the Federal Government and Frontier Settler and Native pottery for the Cherokee. Although the Kendall Rank Correlation Coefficient Test indicated an overall similarity between the Cherokee and Frontier Settler patterns, the high occurrence of Native pottery in Cherokee contexts indicates a less than total acceptance of Euroamerican ceramics, due either to limited availability or limited demand. The Federal Government pattern is distinguished by high counts of items in the glassware and kitchenware classes; items not commonly noted in the supplies of either the Frontier Settler (256) or the Cherokee (154).

Profile ranges for the subsistence refuse group of the Federal Government and Cherokee do not overlap, indicating a larger and more consistent supply of meats and poultry to the military garrisons than that to the Cherokee. Another revealing comparison is the relative occurrence of domestic and wild faunal remains. The counts presented in Appendix B indicate the Federal Government utilized far greater numbers of domestic cow and sheep than did the Cherokee. Domestic pig, however, occurs in great numbers in both cultural contexts. Historic documents indicate the Cherokee raised a great many cattle, hogs, and

TABLE 9

THE KENDALL RANK CORRELATION COEFFICIENT TEST:
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND CHEROKEE

N N = 9	Ranks Assigned to Artifact Group Frequencies Subsistence Refuse	Architecture	Kitchen	Activities	Clothing	Furniture	Arms	Personal	Tobacco Pipe
Federal Government									
Mean f	49.73	24.81	19.95	2.73	1.71	.48	.28	.16	.15
(X) Rank*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Cherokee									
Mean f	17.02	.40	48.80	19.13	14.07	0.0	.24	.04	.30
(Y) Rank	3	5	1	2	4	9	7	8	6

S value for X variable: $S = (6-2) + (4-3) + (6-0) + (5-0) + (4-0) + (0-3) + (1+1) + (0-1) = 16$

r (tau), the measure of correlation between two sets of ranks: $r = \frac{S}{1/2\ N(N-1)} = \frac{16}{.5(9)\ (8)} = .444$

Test of significance of r, probability associated with S value = .060 (358: Table Q)

*Note: The activity groups are arranged according to the X variable ranks which are placed in natural numerical order.

Refer to Siegel (358: 213-223) for explanation of this test.

sheep (145). The discrepancy between the archaeological record and the historic sources suggests the Cherokee were not raising cows and sheep for local consumption. Instead, these animals were probably sold to white Settlers (191). Historic documents record both the sale or trade of cattle by the Cherokee to the neighboring Frontier Settlers (111; 270) and the sale of large numbers of Cherokee cattle at market in Knoxville (323).

Faunal remains at Cherokee sites reveal selective consumption of domestic animals introduced by the American culture. Wild animal remains, primarily deer and black bear, occur in comparable numbers at sites of both cultures. The low frequency of the Frontier Settler subsistence refuse group profile is believed to reflect the small artifact sample derived from the Harrison Branch, McGhee Cabin, and Hodge sites and is therefore not comparable to the Federal Government or Cherokee profiles.

The ranges of the architecture group profiles for the Federal Government and Frontier Settler subcultures overlap considerably (Table 5, p. 68) whereas the Cherokee profile range is significantly different. The infrequent occurrence of architectural hardware and flat glass in Cherokee contexts indicates a marked difference between construction materials utilized in Cherokee structures and those of the Anglo-Americans.

The specialized behavior of lithic tool production distinguishes the Cherokee artifact pattern by substantially increasing the activity group profile frequency. Because of this, only a small overlap occurs

with the activity group range of the Frontier Settler. Although some researchers believe the Cherokee lost their ability to work stone prior to the mid-eighteenth century, numerous lithic artifacts within dated Federal Period contexts suggests otherwise. Many flakes and lithic tools are perhaps intrusive, but until a greater understanding of Cherokee lithic technology is gained, those items not attributable to earlier historic and prehistoric periods must be considered part of the Federal Period Cherokee assemblage.

Only the Federal Government subculture pattern exhibits a frequency greater than zero for the furniture group profile (Table 2, p. 65). The occurrence of furniture hardware at Federal Government sites is probably a reflection of the military supply system. In stark contrast, the furnishings of the Frontier Settler were meager. One Settler only listed blankets and quilts as valuable furnishings lost when Cherokee burned his cabin:

> Two cotton Countesprings wove in figures one home made twild blanket Checked with blue, one woolen Countespin; and a Yellowish Sinessy bedquilt. (115)

As the Settlers became established and experienced success at farming, their furnishings undoubtedly increased in number.

CHAPTER IV

AN EXAMINATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELIEFS AND MATERIAL CULTURE

Material culture is both influenced by and reflected in beliefs. The link between these two components is behavior (Figure 2, p. 5). It was apparent in the examination of normative beliefs presented in Chapter II that behavior patterns do not always reflect specific beliefs in a direct, one to one manner. Likewise, material culture does not always reflect beliefs in a manner that is readily identified through archaeological analysis. This raises the question of which beliefs are revealed in the material culture and conversely, how does material culture influence beliefs, if at all? Inadequacies in the available archaeological data precludes the answering of these questions. Nonetheless, possible reflections of beliefs in the material culture, and vice versa, are presented as propositions open to future test.

One of the most significant Cherokee beliefs, relative to acculturation, was of tribal superiority and autonomy. Behavior exemplifying this belief included verbal rejection of Federal Government directives, selective acceptance or rejection of aspects of Anglo-American culture, involvement in intertribal affairs, and the maintenance of a viable tribal government. The positive effect of traditional social behavior and rejection of selected aspects of Anglo-American culture reinforced the belief in Cherokee tribal autonomy. It is hypothesized that this belief is subtly reflected in the material culture as

conservative artifact forms and styles which persisted despite the introduction of functionally similar or improved Anglo-American items. Artifacts such as Native pottery, basketry, or ceremonial objects, which were used well into the nineteenth century by the Cherokee, possibly reflect this strong belief in cultural autonomy. These traditional artifacts also embody a Cherokee self-identity that in turn reinforced the normative belief.

Similarly, the continuance of traditional decorative motifs, whether on traditional or newly adopted materials and objects, also may reflect the belief in tribal superiority and autonomy. On pottery, the use of finger filleting, rim strips, and check stamping as decoration possibly exemplify this belief (Figures 16 and 17, in Appendix A). The transference of a design from one medium to another newly introduced medium might be reflected in the comparison of woven reed mats and baskets against woven cotton cloth. Unfortunately, the absence of reed mats and baskets from the Cherokee collections utilized in this study and the fragmentary specimens of cotton fabric recovered from the Citico Site (Appendix A), precludes testing of this proposition.

The belief in cultural superiority and the resultant resistance to acculturation, should reveal itself in the archaeological record as a constant emphasis towards specific activity contexts over time. This would be revealed by the group frequencies of quantitative artifact patterns from three or more contiguous periods (e.g., Cherokee artifact patterns for the Contact, Colonial, Revolutionary, and Federal Periods). In other words, if the frequency for an artifact group, such as the

personal group, remained relatively unchanged throughout the four historic periods, it would be possible to surmise that Cherokee behavior towards personal adornment and grooming was not significantly altered by Euroamerican behavior or custom. It is hypothesized that this resistance against acculturative influence derived from beliefs in the superiority and desirability of the Cherokee culture.

The Cherokee belief in individual freedom from overt social and political dictates presumably resulted in a far wider range of ideosyncratic behavior than exhibited in a culture with restrictive social controls. Similarly, the material culture of the more liberal society should comprise a greater variety of objects. A testable proposition is: comparison of archaeological assemblages each representative of a domestic unit such as a matrilocal residence, should reveal numerous instances of unique artifacts. The expected range of unique artifacts would reflect the ideosyncratic behavior and tastes of individual Cherokee, or family units, as permitted by the belief in individual freedom.

One Cherokee belief developed as a direct result of material culture. The belief in the value of Euroamerican material culture was formulated after the introduction of foreign items. This belief was an outgrowth of Cherokee acceptance of Euroamerican material culture and, once held, was expressed by the continued adoption of Euroamerican items within the Cherokee assemblage. This is the only instance, identified in this analysis, of a direct, cause and effect relationship between material culture and beliefs. It also illustrates that material culture can indeed have a great influence on beliefs.

A belief held by the Federal Government was that it could exert its will upon the Indian. This belief was based on both its military strength and economic control of Indian trade. A reflection of this belief in the artifact assemblages from Fort Southwest Point and the Tellico Blockhouse is the presence of military objects and Indian trade items (Appendix B). Military hardware, such as cannon elements, provides tangible evidence of not only a military presence, but of a military capability much greater than that of the Cherokee. Trade items from the Tellico Blockhouse evidence the Federal Factory established there and the economic control maintained over the Cherokee. Both the military and trade artifacts are remnants of Federal policies and the beliefs which influenced those policies.

The Indian trade artifacts recovered from the Tellico Blockhouse should, theoretically, reflect the Federal Government's belief that civilization of the Cherokee could be accomplished by enticing the Cherokee to accept the lifeway of a yeoman farmer. A testable proposition would be that a high percentage of the offered trade items should be of an agrarian farming function. Control considerations necessary for testing this proposition are the identification of a trade good assemblage and the separation of agrarian implements offered as trade items from those utilized by fort and factory personnel. This would best be accomplished through the isolation of assemblages from specific functional areas. For example, the area of the Tellico Factory within the Tellico Blockhouse should yield an archaeological assemblage comprised largely of Indian trade goods.

Other beliefs held by the Federal Government, such as those of Cherokee natural rights or the view that Frontier Settlers residing in the Cherokee Nation were social outcasts, are not reflected by material remains. This underscores that only a limited range of beliefs out of the total spectrum of beliefs held by a culture influence material culture, and of these few even less are readily identifiable from the material culture.

The Settler beliefs that the frontier offered the opportunity to better their lives and provided limitless land open for settlement, are not directly reflected in specific artifact types, classes, or groups. These beliefs are, nevertheless, evidenced by the distribution of Settler sites within a region. Site distribution within a defined temporal and spatial frame, is correlated to settler advancement into a frontier. Another mirror of Settler advance is the sequence of treaty boundaries established to segregate Settlers from the Cherokee (Figure 1, p. 3). As the Settlers moved south from northeast Tennessee, the boundary separating Cherokee and Federal territory was correspondingly moved. Again, the advancement of the Settlers, reflected by the progression of treaty boundary lines or Settler site distribution over time and space, are products of the underlying belief in personal opportunity offered by the frontier.

The frontier social condition experienced by the Settlers, defined as a state of unstable social norms and settlement, is evidenced in the material culture by the limited quantity and variety of possessions. Concurrent with stabilization of settlement and gradual termination of

the frontier, the Settlers' material culture should reflect an increase in both quantity and variety of possessions. This hypothesized shift in material culture would be reflective of the passing of the eastern Tennessee frontier.

In summary, the overshadowing of beliefs by unidentified variables generally precludes identification of beliefs from archaeological remains without supporting knowledge derived from other data. However, once a belief has been defined it is often possible to discern its relationship to material culture. Propositions were presented to illustrate such relationships and to indicate potential avenues of future investigation. Significantly, many beliefs are not reflected in the material culture. This highlights the fact that material culture is a product of a limited range of behavior, and thus is influenced by only a limited range of beliefs. At best, material culture only subtly reflects a few distinct beliefs.

Only one instance of a belief developing directly from the influence of material culture was identified. Nevertheless, this example served to confirm that material culture can have a significant effect on beliefs.

CHAPTER V

AN ANALYSIS OF THE PROCESS OF DIRECTED CULTURE CONTACT

The process of directed culture contact is the action of one culture directed toward another culture in a purposeful attempt to alter it (330:502; 364:520, 521). Four conditions characterize the process of directed contact. They are: (1) a superordinate-subordinate relationship between two originally autonomous culture systems; (2) sanctions by the superordinate culture against the subordinate culture; (3) boundary maintenance behavior by the subordinate culture; and (4) the subordinate culture's active resistance against the superordinate culture. The intent of this chapter is the identification and illustration of those conditions characteristic of the process of contact which occurred between the Anglo-American and Cherokee cultures.

Superordinate-Subordinate Relationship between Anglo-American and Cherokee Cultures

The existence of a superordinate-subordinate relationship is essential for directed culture contact. Such a relationship was clearly in effect during the Federal Period. Numerous incidents or policies indicate the Federal Government not only viewed itself superior but was in fact superordinate to the Cherokee. The Government's superordinate posture was expressed through its exertion of directives and policy upon the Cherokee, often against the will of the Indian. The Indian Trade

and Intercourse Acts isolated the Indian both geographically and economically, and regulated or removed the Cherokee tribe's ability to interact with other tribes without being monitored by the Federal Government. The regulation of Frontier Settlers and traders, although not very successful, did enable the Federal Government to rule the Cherokee economy.

The "civilization program," an attempt by the Federal Government to assimilate the Cherokee into American culture, is another example of the Federal Government's superordinate position. In return for material assistance such as the provision of cloth, tools, and corn (1; 9; 66; 106; 118; 192; 207; 259), the Cherokee conceded land (48; 70), permitted roads for Anglo-American travel to be constructed through the Cherokee nation (93; 251), and reluctantly yielded to the Federal Government's insatiable demand to pursue the lifeway of yeoman farmers (145; 151; 167; 191; 193; 212). Clearly, the behavior (i.e., actions and policies) of the Federal Government toward the Cherokee was domineering throughout the Federal Period.

Materially, the Federal Government was also superior to the Cherokee. This is attributable to the technological sophistication of the Euroamerican cultures and the considerable wealth of the Federal Government relative to the Cherokee.

The technical superiority of Euroamerican material elements is very apparent when comparisons are made between specific types of classes of artifacts. For instance, Euroamerican ceramics were generally hard, finely finished, and impervious to liquids whereas the Cherokee pottery

was soft and often porous because of the paste composition, low firing, and the lack of a surface glaze (compare Figure 11 with Figure 15, in Appendix A). The hoe is another example. The Euroamerican iron hoe (Figure 26 in Appendix A) was inherently stronger and more effective in digging, particularly the hard clays typical of eastern Tennessee, than was the traditional Cherokee lithic hoe. The iron hoe was also easier to secure to a handle. Such differences between Euroamerican and Cherokee material culture are obvious. Less often realized is that these differences were stimulants for the transference of material culture from the technically sophisticated Euroamerican culture to the simpler Indian cultures.

The archaeological assemblages presented in Appendix B indicate that the Cherokee were the recipients of material culture and technology, not the Anglo-Americans. The Cherokee assemblage from the Citico Site includes numerous artifacts of Euroamerican manufacture acquired through trade. On the other hand, the Anglo-American assemblages from the Hodge Site or the Tellico Blockhouse include little or no identifiable material elements acquired from the Cherokee. The archaeological evidence clearly reveals the direction of flow of the material elements between the two cultures. The presence of Euroamerican material elements in the Cherokee assemblage provides tangible evidence in support of a commonly held assumption: the Cherokee were desirous of, and subordinate to Anglo-American material culture.

The supply network of the Federal Government and the Federally operated factory enabled large numbers of a variety of trade implements

to be offered the Cherokee (157; Appendix B). Not only the technical superiority of material elements, but the quantities in which they were available, made the Federal Government unquestionably superordinate to the Cherokee.

The Frontier Settlers also held a superordinate position relative to the Cherokee. Behavior characterizing this position was often aggressive and harsh. Unlike the Federal Government's dominant actions and policies which generally were enacted on a tribal level, the Frontier Settler's superordinate posture was typically impressed upon the Cherokee in a one-to-one level of personal interaction. To the individual tribesman, the Frontier Settler was the more immediate source of concern. The daily occurrence of Cherokee-Frontier Settler interaction coupled with the ever increasing numbers of Frontier Settlers made the Anglo-American intruders an imposing, dominant force confronting the Cherokee.

The aggressive, dominant behavior of the Settler toward the Cherokee provides a striking example of ethnocentrism. Due to the visible differences of the Cherokee, both ethnically and culturally, and their apparent inability to become "civilized whitemen" even with Federal Government help, Settlers viewed the Indian as savage and "no good." These settlers were generally unable to accept Cherokee customs and mannerisms. From the viewpoint of the Settler, if the Cherokee were not capable of exhibiting behavior emulating that of the Anglo-Americans, they were not entitled to be treated with respect nor necessarily even in a civil manner. In most instances, the Settlers were able to aggressively violate the rights of the Cherokee with little threat of

legal prosecution because the American legal system believed the Cherokee possessed few, if any, rights. Because the Cherokee differed from the Anglo-Americans, they were easily excluded from the Settler sphere of socially acceptable behavior.

Common examples of the Frontier Settlers' dominant posture toward the Cherokee include illegal intrusions onto Cherokee land (42; 81; 82; 200; 234; 239) and the unlawful aggressions released against the Cherokee (97; 129).

The dominant position of the Frontier Settler was due to the affiliation with the unquestionably superordinate Anglo-American culture, to the frontier mentality, and to the position maintained within the Frontier American economic system. Socially and materially the Frontier Settlers were often similar to, or even subordinate to the Cherokee. A fine example of this is seen in the quantity and quality of material possessions of both peoples. The archaeological record of Settler sites indicates minimal material wealth, whereas the Cherokee assemblage, comprised of traditional and Euroamerican material elements, suggests a wide variety of elements to meet various functional needs as well as a few decorative material elements suggestive of an economic level at least similar to that of the Settlers (Appendix B). An important factor which elevated the Settlers to a superior position materially was their position within the economic system. The Cherokee were integrally entwined in the Anglo-American economic system because of the Indian trade. The Frontier Settler could acquire material goods with greater ease and were also capable as traders, to control a portion of the

Indian trade. The more integral position held by the Settlers ultimately enabled greater accumulations of material wealth than was possible for the Cherokee. Therefore, even though the archaeological assemblages suggest a similar social and economic level for the Cherokee and Frontier Settler, the latter, in fact, enjoyed a superior position.

The actions of the Cherokee during the Federal Period reveal a subordinate posture in relation to the Anglo-American culture. This position is most vivid in the Cherokee's dependence on gifts and annuities from the Federal Government, often for mere survival (3; 6; 9; 10; 27; 28; 51; 63; 71; 76; 106; 118; 120; 122; 126; 133; 138; 148; 151; 160; 178; 182; 192; 202; 208; 215; 223; 229; 247; 259; 262; 267; 276).

This analysis shows that a culture assumes a subordinate posture only when a vital aspect of the culture is weakened and therefore susceptible to domination by another culture. Importantly, the subordinate culture need not be submissive in all aspects of the culture system. Vital aspects within the culture system are, for example, economic, religious, social, psychological, and material culture (294: 101-123). The vitality of these components, and hence that of the entire culture, depends on the overall culture's ability to maintain its dynamic integrity. For example, the ability to maintain one's military defense system, economic system, and social system respectively determines the culture's military strength, economic self-sufficiency or economic self-determination, and social norms. With the deterioration of one or more vital components of a culture, the overall system becomes vulnerable to domination by another culture, and thus subordinate. The

Cherokee became vulnerable through their acceptance of Euroamerican material elements and their subsequent involvement in the deer skin trade.

As early as the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the Cherokee of eastern Tennessee had become inextricably enmeshed in the Euroamerican economic system. The Cherokee forsook their traditional technology of tool manufacture for trade goods. Furthermore, involvement with the Euroamerican economic system (e.g., deer skin trade, cattle raising) eliminated the Cherokee culture's economic autonomy. The Cherokee economic system was no longer self-sufficient! This weakening of the economic and material subsystems precipitated the Federal Period Cherokee's subordinate posture. Although subordinate to the Anglo-American culture, it is extremely important to recognize that not all components within the Cherokee culture had weakened. A subordinate position can be forced upon a culture with only one component of the total cultural system compromised.

Identification of the Cherokee beliefs in tribal autonomy and superiority indicates certain aspects of this culture were not subjugated to Government control. Ideologically the Cherokee refused to view themselves second to any other culture, even though in reality they were compromised by their economic dependence on the Anglo-American culture.

Of the beliefs identified for the Cherokee, all but one were inherently resistant to subjugation by another culture. The belief in the superiority of Euroamerican material culture, however, proved to be the Achilles heel of the Cherokee. This belief not only influenced,

but encouraged the acquisition of Euroamerican material elements, which in turn brought about far ranging changes in Cherokee material culture, behavior, and ultimately in the entire Cherokee culture. By the beginning of the Federal Period, the Cherokee were subordinate to the Anglo-American culture.

Identification of Sanctions Employed by the Superordinate Culture

The second condition characteristic of directed culture contact is the employment of sanctions by the superordinate culture in order to force changes in the subordinate culture. A sanction is a measure, often coercive, such as a boycott, enacted to enforce demands. Sanctions can be either intentionally or unintentionally imposed, yet regardless of the intention, they create social and cultural disruption in the subordinate culture.

The Anglo-American subcultures exerted economic, moral, legal, aggressive, and land acquisition sanctions against the Cherokee. Behavior reflecting these types of sanctions were recorded during the historic source analysis (cf, Item 18; Figures 4 and 5, pps. 20 and 22). For example, Indian Agent Meigs supported educating the Cherokee in missionary schools so to bring about "civilization." The objective of religious schooling, although not distinctly set forth in Meigs' correspondence, was the replacement of Cherokee mores with those of the Anglo-American (40; 68). Such an objective represents a moral sanction exerted against the Cherokee. The number of incidents for each type of sanction were totaled in order to statistically test the

hypothesis that the emphasis given each of the five forms of sanctions by the Federal Government and Frontier Settler subcultures were significantly different.

To test the relative association between the pattern of counts derived for each subculture, the Wilcoxen Sum of Ranks Test was utilized. The null hypothesis (H_0), that the subcultures similarly emphasized a specific sanction, was accepted in R was less than 78 at a 0.05 level of significance (where R is the smallest rank total). If R equaled or was greater than 78 at a 0.05 level of significance, then the alternative hypothesis, that the emphases given a specific sanction by the Federal Government and Frontier Settler differed, was accepted.

Economic Sanctions

Economic sanctions are incidents of material or monetary exchange between the Cherokee and Anglo-American cultures. Such interactions are viewed as sanctions when they effected some form of change within Cherokee culture. Counts of economic sanctions and the statistical test of those counts are presented in Table 10. R was found to be greater than 78, therefore the alternate hypothesis was accepted. A significant difference between the degree of economic sanctions exerted by the Federal Government and Frontier Settlers is suggested. As indicated in Table 10, the Frontier Settlers exerted economic sanctions against the Cherokee primarily during the period from 1803 to 1811. The Federal Government, on the other hand, was consistent in applying economic sanctions throughout the Federal Period.

TABLE 10

WILCOXON'S SUM OF RANKS TEST: ECONOMIC SANCTION

Count Values	Tally	Rank Values	F. G. Rank	F.S. Rank
0	FS FS FS FS FS	1+2+3+4+5 =		15
1	FS			
2	FS	6 =		6
3	FS FS	7 =		7
6	FG FG	8+9 =		17
7	FG	10+11 =	21	
8	FG	12 =	12	
9	FG FG	13 =	13	
10	FG FG	14+15 =	29	
11	FG FS	16+17 =	33	
25	FG	18+19 =	18.5	18.5
		20 =	20	
			146.5	63.5

Refer to Langley (325: 166-178) for discussion of test.

*Note: FG = Federal Government Subculture
FS = Frontier Settler Subculture

R 63.5 p = .05 $H_0 < 78$ $H_1 \geq 78$

Economic sanctions of the Frontier Settlers were typically either private trade ventures or commercial partnerships between a Settler and Cherokee (5; 58; 62; 116; 123; 135; 136; 143). Traders within the Cherokee territory were regulated by the Federal Government in an effort to restrain Frontier Settlers from infringing upon the rights of the Cherokee (345:48) and to promote business at the Federal factory at Tellico. Although regulated to some degree, traders were still able to traverse Cherokee territory.

In addition to the commercial traders, economic exchange between the neighboring Frontier Settlers and Cherokee was common. This barter economy involved the trade of food (4), land (169), Afro-American slaves (258) as well as any other material object available on the frontier. The most active trade between individuals was for horses (38; 252; 261). The occurrence of this form of one-to-one trading between neighbors is not accurately reflected by the RCIA. Contrary to the counts presented in Table 10, local trade is believed to have actually increased as the Frontier Settler increased in numbers and the Cherokee became increasingly dependent on American food and materials for basic survival.

A third form of economic interaction was the commercial establishment owned jointly by a Cherokee and Settler but operated by the Settler. In most instances the Cherokee were given partial ownership so the frontier businessman could circumvent the law and operate within Cherokee territory. In a few cases, wealthy Cherokee contracted businessmen to develop and operate commercial establishments to both fulfill a material need within the Cherokee Nation and add to the individual Cherokee's wealth.

Partnerships, such as that entered into by Toluntuskee and Clark, the latter a Kingston merchant, proved mutually advantageous. Unable to legally gain title to land in the Cherokee Nation along the Cumberland Road (Figure 1, p. 3), Clark solved his problem by entering into a partnership with an Indian. As typical in such relationships, the Settler provided the skill, capital, and supplies while the Cherokee provided title to the land. Toluntuskee's and Clark's ventures of two Houses of Entertainment on the Cumberland Road, one at Crab Orchard and the other at the foot of the east end of the Cumberland Plateau, were successful due to a steady stream of Frontier Settlers moving west into the Nashville Basin. Toluntuskee's compensation for gaining title to the land was one half of all profits (263; 264).

In other cases, wealthy Cherokee contracted tradesmen and businesmen to develop and operate commercial establishments within the Cherokee Nation to both fulfill a material need within the territory and increase the individual Cherokee's wealth. The construction and operation of grist and saw mills, ferries, and Houses of Entertainment exemplify this business relation (46; 69; 263). The rights to operate a ferry were typically leased to a Frontier Settler by the Cherokee owner. This occurred because Cherokee were unavailable or unwilling to mind a ferry and provide good service (75). In 1811, six Anglo-American ferrymen were operating within the Cherokee territory, including one at Walker's Ferry on the Hiwassee River and one operating across from Fort Southwest Point (22).

In an agreement between Doublehead and John Smith of Roane County, Smith was commissioned to "erect a suitible dam and erect on the said

stream a good Sawmill & good gristmill . . ." (69). This instance is noteworthy because the Cherokee initiated and financed the mill operation. The Anglo-American tradesman was employed simply because of his skills and expertise. Once the mills were completed, the millwright was often hired on to operate the facility. In 1811, there were four Anglo-American millers working for Cherokees along the south bank of the Little Tennessee River below Tellico, two opposite Fort Southwest Point, and two along the Hiwassee River (22).

Other skilled tradesmen also resided in the Cherokee territory, effecting a form of economic sanction. The Indian Agent provided the Cherokee with a few blacksmiths for repair work, but the demand for tradesmen with a variety of other skills was far greater than the supply. Recognizing the business potential and opportunity for acquiring good farmlands in the process, numerous tradesmen attempted to gain a license to enter the Cherokee territory (86).

There forms of interactions represent economic sanctions for they all pressured the Cherokee to alter their own economic systems and values to that of the Anglo-American culture. The Frontier Settler injected, via trade, their monetary value system, their business practices, material culture, and associated social network into the Cherokee culture.

The pattern of economic sanction counts for the Frontier Settler, presented in Table 10, is believed more representative of the commercial trade and business ventures than of local trade between neighbors. The clustering of the counts between 1803 and 1811 reflects, in part, the

last years of the commercial deer skin trade. After 1811, the decline of the deer skin trade resulted in a concurrent decline in the number of traders entering the Cherokee territory, a fact born out by the decline in trade licenses and reflected in economic sanction counts. The end of the first decade of the nineteenth century also experienced a drought (106) and devastation wrought by the Creek conflict. These factors made the Cherokee destitute and in turn discouraged traders from entering into Cherokee territory.

The high count recorded for the year 1805 corresponds with the Treaty of Tellico (352:189) and follows by only two years the opening of the Federal Road through the Cherokee Nation (163). Both factors apparently stimulated Settler business potential within the Cherokee Nation.

Economic sanctions imposed by the Federal Government on the Cherokee differed in purpose from those exerted by the Frontier Settler. Whereas Settlers exerted economic sanctions for the purpose of financial gain, the Government used economic situations to bring about intentional changes in Cherokee culture. The Government was not necessarily concerned with making a profit. For the Government, economic dealings with Cherokee were inextricably entwined with political and military interests. Material goods as well as personal services, were provided the Cherokee in a conscious effort to assimilate them into American culture. Material goods were also given to the Cherokee as compensation for treaty concessions, such as the cessation of land. Economic commerce was also the foundation upon which the "civilization program" was

developed. The Cherokee were offered an array of material elements which the Government believed would encourage a yeoman farmer lifeway. This had great impact upon the Cherokee. As shown by the analysis of artifact patterns, the Cherokee amassed an assemblage that in many respects approximated that of the Frontier Settler (compare the artifact classes of the Cherokee assemblages from Chota, Citico, and Starns with the Frontier Settler assemblages from Harrison Branch, Hodge, and McGhee Cabin in Appendix B).

The pattern of counts in Table 10, p. 95, indicates Government policy exerted a consistent emphasis upon economic sanctions. The small number of sanctions (six) for the year 1813 is attributed to the Creek War (1813-14) and the War between Great Britain and the United States (1812-15). Both actions diverted financial support from Indian programs to more pressing military needs. This reduction in economic aid severely affected the Cherokee, forcing many into destitution. The extraordinarily large number of sanctions (twenty-five) for the year 1817 mirrors the Federal Government's attempt to entice the Cherokee into ceding lands and removing to the Arkansas territory. The Federal Government offered Cherokee who voluntarily removed west a supply of food, boats, and material supplies. Such offerings were very tempting to Cherokee who had suffered the ravages of drought, war, and famine between 1812 and 1817 (218).

The economic policies of the Federal Government proved destructive for the Cherokee because the fortunes of the Cherokee were dependent upon the whims of Federal policy makers. Examples of such dependency

are repleat. One policy of the civilization program was to encourage Cherokee to raise cotton as a cash crop. By the end of the eighteenth century, many Indians had followed the Federal Government's direction and planted cotton. A series of bumper crops ensued in 1799, 1801, and 1803, however much of it went unused due to the lack of adequate equipment to work the raw fiber. The Federal Government had failed to provide adequate numbers of cards, looms, and wheels as well as instructions for the processing of cotton (72; 122).

Another example occurred during the final seven years of the Federal Period. Frontier Settler militia traveling through Cherokee territory during the Creek conflict stole and destroyed much Cherokee Cherokee personal property. Destitute, the Cherokee were thus placed in the position of being totally dependent upon the Federal Government's provision of corn, especially when supplies were lowest during the late winter and spring (52). This dependence created a great financial strain on the Federal Government. In 1817, Cherokee requests for food had, by April, exceeded Federal expenditure limits for the entire year. The Department of War responded by instructing Indian Agent Meigs that "the issue of rations . . . requires very considerable reductions" (67). In essence, after cultivating the Cherokee's dependence upon Federal supplies, the Government cut back on the minimum quantity of rations to be distributed without any concern for the welfare of the Cherokee. Faced with starvation, the Cherokee were forced to request an annuity advancement against the following year (1818) so that corn could be purchased (27; 30; 217; 276).

The destitute condition of the Cherokee at the close of the Federal Period, intensified by an ever growing debt incurred by borrowing against future annuity payments, paved the way for land cessions (i.e., Jackson's Treaty of 1817 and the Calhoun Treaty of 1819) (352:212, 213, 223). Because of the Cherokee's vulnerability at this time, material gifts were also offered "to forward their removal" to Arkansas (218). Again, because of financial limitations and logistical problems the Federal Government was unable to provide promised aid to many Cherokee who chose to remove west. An account of the plight of one group of Cherokee states that they were to take a boat that winter down the Tennessee River to Arkansas, however "there not being boats enough we are compelled to remain here until next winter" with only limited supplies. "We are driven to this desparet situation by a Failure of Government or its agents" (53).

Obviously, the economic policies and commerce conducted by the Frontier Settler and Federal Government with the Cherokee were integral in effecting culture change. This is not to state that every instance of economic contact was a conscious effort on the Anglo-American's part to bring about change in Cherokee culture. Every economic interaction between the cultures, regardless of how insignificant it may appear, served to further entwine the Cherokee economy in that of the Anglo-Americans and bring about drastic changes within Cherokee culture.

Economic sanctions brought change not only within the Cherokee economic system, but the total culture. One notable example of this was the change in the Cherokee's inheritance system. This shift is

directly related to the Federal Government's civilization program, application of Anglo-American law, and economic sanctions which emphasized land ownership and the accumulation of material wealth. In 1805, Indian Agent Meigs described the traditional system of Cherokee inheritance:

> The property left by the decease of the head of the family descends to the male who is nearest a Kin, which by their custom is the oldest Brothers to the deceased. He takes all the property & the widow and her Children are left destitute, unless she had some property which she brought to the family or acquired by her industry. (174)

Between the time of Meig's observation and 1810, there was a shift toward an Americanized inheritance system where personal possessions were transferred to surviving spouse and children instead of the surviving brother of the decreased. Furthermore, the new inheritance system was legally protected through the use of written wills (88; 100; 224; 230; 260). This shift in the inheritance pattern was most prevalent in those families occupying high social and economic levels as defined by Anglo-American standards. Clearly these persons were most open to accepting aspects of Anglo-American culture and were thereby greatly involved with the American economic system.

In summary, analysis indicates economic sanctions were not exerted similarly by the Federal Government and Frontier Settler subcultures. Counts of sanctions exerted by the Settlers were found to reflect both the presence of traders in the Cherokee Nation and business ventures involving Cherokee and white partners. Local trade between neighboring Cherokee and Settlers was not mirrored in the sanction counts made. Whereas the number of professional traders in the Cherokee Nation

apparently declined in the first decade of the nineteenth century, local trade is presumed to have increased throughout the Federal Period. This increase was the result of increasing numbers of Settlers living in proximity to the Indians. Economic sanctions exerted by the Federal Government were part of Federal Indian policy. All aspects of economic interaction with the Cherokee were purposefully developed so as to effect change in Cherokee culture. Analysis reveals the Government exerted economic sanctions at a constant rate throughout the Federal Period. The one exception was in 1817, when sanctions were increased in an effort to pressure the Cherokee into ceding lands and removing to the Arkansas Territory. The effect of economic sanctions on Cherokee culture was great. Because of economic policies of the Government, the Cherokee were enticed with trade goods into following the directives of the "civilization program." Once materially dependent on Federal supplies, changes in policies often left the Cherokee unable to acquire even basic essentials.

Moral Sanctions

Moral sanctions are incidents in which pressure was exerted on Cherokee to alter their values and conform to the Anglo-American standard of socially accepted mores and behavior. Counts indicative of the frequency of moral sanctions and the statistical test of the relative similarity between sanctions exereted by the Federal Government and Frontier Settler subcultures are presented in Table 11. The alternate hypothesis (H_1) that the Settler and Government subcultures exerted moral sanctions similarly was accepted since R was found to equal 78.

TABLE 11

WILCOXON'S SUM OF RANKS TEST: MORAL SANCTION

Count Values	Tally	Rank Values		F. G. Rank	F.S. Rank
0	FG FG FG FS FS FS FS FS FS FS FS	1+2+3+4+5+ 6+7+8+9+10+ 11	=	18	48
1	FG FG FG FG FG FS FS	12+13+14+ 15+16+17+ 18	=	75	30
2	FG	19	=	19	
3	FG	20	=	20	
				132	78

Refer to Langley (325: 166-178) for discussion of test.

Note: FG = Federal Government Subculture
FS = Frontier Settler Subculture

R = 78 p = .05 $H_0 < 78$ $H_1 \geq 78$

The conscious attempts by both groups of Americans to bring about change in Cherokee mores and value systems were limited to isolated missionary schools. Moral or value changes effected were more the result of economic and legal sanctions than of purposeful moral sanctions (193). An example of the Federal Government exerting a moral sanction is revealed in a letter by Indian Agent Meigs in which he emphasizes that the Cherokee must pay for Frontier Settler claims brought against them:

> . . . it is the only corrective in our power to make them feel the effect of the conduct of their bad, idle people. (184)

This excerpt expresses the Federal Government's desire to change Cherokee values and social behavior to that which was more socially acceptable to the Anglo-Americans. Most conscious efforts to bring about change within the Cherokee culture, nevertheless, were directed toward the more tangible, visible material trappings of the Cherokee. Interest in changing Cherokee moral values were expressed usually as long range goals, espoused primarily as justifications for more immediate directed change such as effected by economic sanctions.

The pattern of moral sanction counts (Table 11) is most reflective of missionary activity in the Cherokee nation between 1803 and 1809 (11; 36; 65; 87; 113; 249). Sanctions recorded for the Federal Government represent, in many instances, governmental assistance of private missionary groups. Although providing limited support to these ventures, the government did not actively endeavor to develop missionary schools as part of their civilization program. Similarly, the few counts of moral sanctions exerted by the Frontier Settlers were by special

religious interest groups working within the Cherokee territory as missionaries. Moral sanctions, particularly those provided by the missionaries, had little impact upon the Cherokee (40; 249).

Legal Sanctions

Legal sanctions are incidents of interaction which pressured the Cherokee to accept and conform to the legal system of Anglo-American culture. Statistical test of the frequencies of legal sanctions exerted by the Federal Government and Frontier Settler suggest the two subcultures differed significantly (Table 12). As ascertained from the RCIA, the Federal Government exerted legal sanctions more than twice as frequently as the Frontier Settler over the same span of time. Federal application of the American legal system to the Cherokee (149) and the pressuring of Cherokee to adopt and follow the American legal system brought about many changes within Cherokee culture. Nonetheless, the Cherokee were not subjected to all aspects of the law while remaining within Cherokee territory. The American legal system was applied to the Cherokee whenever a U.S. citizen was involved whether within the domain of the United States or in Indian territory. Internal matters of the Cherokee Nation were handled by a Cherokee legal system imparted with concepts from both the traditional Cherokee legal system and the Anglo-American legal system (36; 60).

The pattern of counts representing legal sanctions imposed by the Federal Government (Table 12) indicates a gradual decline from the beginning to the end of the Federal Period. This pattern reflects the government's initial attempt to instruct the Cherokee in certain facets

TABLE 12

WILCOXON'S SUM OF RANKS TEST: LEGAL SANCTION

Count Values	Tally	Rank Values	F.G. Rank	F.S. Rank
0	FG FS FS FS	1+2+3+4 =	2.5	7.5
1	FG FS FS FS	5+6+7+8 =	6.5	19.5
2	FG FG FG FS	9+10+11+12+13+14+15 =	36.	48.
3	FG FG	16+17 =	33.	
4	FG FG	18+19 =	37.	
5	FG	20 =	20.	
			135.	75

Refer to Langley (325: 166-178) for discussion of test.

Note: FG = Federal Government Subculture
FS = Frontier Settler Subculture

$R = 75$ $p = .05$ $H_0 < 78$ $H_1 \geq 78$

of the Anglo-American legal system. As more pressing problems such as illegal intruders and economic support of the Cherokee arose, efforts to effect change in the Indian legal system received less emphasis. The pattern of the Frontier Settler exertion of legal sanctions, on the other hand, remained consistent throughout the Federal Period (Table 12).

The legal sanctions imposed by the Frontier Settlers and Federal Government differed significantly. Legal sanctions applied to Cherokee by the Frontier Settlers were an extension of economic interactions. Joint business ventures were often formalized legally by written contract (263). Although such contracts were initially required by order of the Indian Agent in an effort to protect Cherokee interests, the Cherokee quickly appreciated the protection offered and took it upon themselves to utilize legal agreements in business transactions. The Frontier Settler also utilized the Tennessee State legal system to settle disputes and claims against Cherokee. A number of cases involved disputed sales and title to land, slaves, and horses (31; 85; 204; 243; 265). Most cases, including those of violent crimes committed outside the Cherokee territory were normally heard by the State courts. Unfortunately for the Cherokee, State courts were notorious for their prejudiced ruling against Cherokee (179).

Although the Cherokee were required to abide by Anglo-American law, they were restricted from receiving all legal rights enjoyed by U.S. citizens. The court systems refused to allow Indian testimony in court. This practice was justified with the reasoning that the savage mind tended to give untruthful testimony and the Cherokee were not legal U.S.

citizens (68). Meigs commented in a letter to a jailer on this legal paradox:

> We try them for crimes & punish them even capitally, at the same time we hold them in such a degraded State as not to be competent witnesses even in defense of their dearest rights. (201)

Because of prejudiced rulings by State courts against Cherokee, the Cherokee themselves preferred to be tried by the Federal Courts (179). In a number of cases, Indian Agent Meigs realized the inequitible proceedings of the State courts and intervened on behalf of the Cherokee. In one example, Meigs wrote John McGee and William Williamson, both Justices of the Peace in Blount County, asking that investigations into the deaths of two white Settlers be respective of the rights of the Cherokee suspects (225).

The legal concerns of the Federal Government regarding the Cherokee were much greater than those of the Frontier Settler. A primary purpose of the Indian Agent Office was to oversee and implement the articles of the Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts (144). In attempting to maintain peace along the frontier, civilize the Cherokee, and enact Federal policy, Government representatives impressed upon the Cherokee both the general concepts and specific statutes of Anglo-American law (181; 184).

A notable affect of legal sanction on the Cherokee was a shift to a more structured system of social control. The Cherokee formulated laws oriented toward reducing the rampant stealing of cattle and horses, providing a legal process for the control of illegal settlers on Cherokee land (36). Directed efforts of the Federal Government also blunted the traditional Cherokee form of justice by which a member of the family or

clan of the victim attempted to gain "satisfaction," literally retribution for the crime committed (323). Victims or their relations were instead urged by the Indian Agent to pursue justice through the Anglo-American legal system (205).

The Cherokee became adept at utilizing the American system of justice to reclaim losses incurred from the depredations of Settlers. Many of the Cherokee claims were thus ruled upon by the Indian Agent in an equitable manner (8; 64; 117; 124; 181; 184; 222; 237). Of this process, Meigs remarked:

> Some of the cases are intracate, particularly with the Indian Claims & it is difficult on account of their language & of the prejudices of the parties, to come at the truth; as the Indians cannot be admitted to make oaths—Yet having rights, their testimony must be attended to. (165)

Aggression Sanctions

Aggression sanctions are incidents of hostile, injurious, or destructive behavior directed against the Cherokee. The frequency of aggressive sanctions revealed in Table 13 indicates a distinct difference between those exerted by the Federal Government and those exerted by the Frontier Settler. The collision of two ethnically and culturally distinctive peoples typically brings about misunderstandings, prejudiced attitudes toward the opposing culture, blatant attempts at dominance, and resistance. For the Federal Period contact situation in eastern Tennessee such confrontations were inevitable. Nevertheless, while the Federal Government attempted to minimize blatant displays of aggression, the Frontier Settlers actively invoked aggression against the Cherokee.

TABLE 13

WILCOXON'S SUM OF RANKS TEST: AGGRESSION SANCTION

Count Values	Tally	Rank Values		F.G. Rank	F.S. Rank
0	FG FG FG FG FS	1+2+3+4+5	=	12.	
1	FG FG FG FG FG	6+7+8+9+10	=	40.	
3	FG FS	11+12	=	11.5	11.5
4	FS	13	=		13.
5	FS	14	=		14.
6	FS	15	=		15.
8	FS FS FS	16+17+18	=		51.
13	FS FS	19+20	=		39
				63.5	146.5

Refer to Langley (325: 166-178) for discussion of test.

Note: FG = Federal Government Subculture
FS = Frontier Settler Subculture

R = 63.5 p = .05 $H_0 < 78$ $H_1 \geq 78$

At the close of the Revolutionary Period, the Federal Government rejected a proposed policy to subdue or eliminate the Indian by military conquest in favor of a more conciliatory policy (345:44). Aggressive sanctions employed by the Federal Government throughout the Federal Period consisted primarily of veiled threats of military actions or reprisals if the Cherokee actively resisted Governmental directives. For example, the Federal Government responded to the Cherokee's refusal in 1805 to cede land by indicating that "the white people are irritated at their refusal" (174). The implication was that the Settlers would aggressively lash out at the Cherokee if the desired lands were not granted. In a much stronger message, Meigs warned the Cherokee Council that any alliance with either the British or Spanish would be cause for the U.S. to promptly "crush" the Cherokee (194).

The one violent act of aggression committed by a representative of the Federal Government, noted in the RCIA, was an incident where a Federal soldier stabbed a Cherokee in the town of Kingston (158). Although a soldier and thereby a member of the Federal Government subculture, the incident is more reflective of ideosyncratic behavior or possibly ingrained Frontier Settler mentality of the soldier. This incident was not typical of normal Federal Government aggressive sanctions.

The effect of the Federal Government's aggressive sanctions against the Cherokee undoubtedly altered individual and tribal behavior. Unfortunately, such effects were not identified from the RICA.

Unlike the subtle aggressive sanctions of the Government, those of the Frontier Settlers were "domineering and oppresive" (227).

Horse and cattle stealing by Frontier Settlers was common. These incidents were, in part, simply criminal acts, although many were reprisals in response to Cherokee horse stealing activities (8; 41; 59; 84; 95; 96; 131; 142; 156; 176; 198; 228). Aggressive incidents of stealing within the lower Little Tennessee River valley were often recorded by the Indian Agent. In 1801 Meigs reported horses stolen from Cherokee living near the Tellico Blockhouse (152). Four years later a rash of stealing again erupted between Cherokee and Settlers in proximity to the ferry immediately downstream from the Tellico Blockhouse (195). In addition to the theft of cattle and horses, robberies of furs (7; 98; 105; 150), home furnishings (42), Afro-American slaves (90; 127; 197), and other property (3; 35; 233) were committed by outlaw Settlers.

Incidents of aggression were not, nevertheless, a constant feature of life for everyone on the frontier. In discussing the aggressive actions of the Frontier Settler, one Cherokee observed:

> We [the Cherokee] and the White People live in sight of each other, almost together. Of each party there are some rogues who will steal. (137)

Another form of aggressive sanction was the murder of Cherokee. As already noted, such acts of violence were not unknown to the frontier. An incident near Fort Southwest Point involved a Settler who beat a Cherokee to death. The Settler moved to "Green County" after the incident and was never brought to trial (137). Meigs reported another murder of a Cherokee named Wa,lo,no,no,eckee, killed:

> . . . by a whiteman, or white men, while peacibly descending Sequichee Creek with a Canoe, having at the time his wife and two Small Children with him and within the Indian boundary. (196)

Violent confrontations instigated by the Frontier Settlers were prevented from flaring into small frontier wars by the intervention of the Federal Government (97; 129). Even with the presence of Governmental authority, incidents of violence and aggression increased as more and more whites illegally settled Cherokee lands.

Constant aggressive actions by the Frontier Settlers had a great affect upon Cherokee culture. The most blatant was the increased submissiveness of the Cherokee. Realizing they could not sustain armed conflict with the Settlers without creating an unwanted confrontation with the Federal Government, the Cherokee could only refrain from violent retaliations and depend upon the promised protection of the Federal Government.

Aggressive sanctions underscored for the Cherokee the necessity of adapting certain visible aspects of Anglo-American culture so as to appear to the whites less different or foreign. Such alterations in appearance and behavior may have tempered the aggressive actions of the Frontier Settler, and certainly would have gained the approval of the Federal Government. This would not, however, have totally alleviated aggressive sanctions. Cherokee acceptance of certain features of American culture was an attempt to stem future acts of aggression. The Cherokee did not realize that this would not halt either the advance of the Frontier Settlers or their exertion of aggressive sanctions. Disruption of Cherokee lives by aggressive sanctions served to reduce strong

Cherokee resistance against acculturative efforts of the Federal Government.

Land Acquisition Sanctions

Land acquisition sanctions are incidents of illegal intrusion onto Cherokee lands or the seizure of lands owned by the Cherokee. Behavior associated with this type of sanction often is no different than that exhibited as an aggressive sanction. Land acquisition behavior, however, need not have been aggressive in nature. Counts indicating incidents of land acquisition sanctions show a difference between the number imposed by the Federal Government from those imposed by the Frontier Settler (Table 14).

The form of sanction imposed by the Settler differed considerably from that of the Federal Government. The Settlers moved into Cherokee territory at an ever increasing rate, claiming the most desirable farm land. This onslaught continued despite attempts by the Cherokee and Federal Government to halt it. In the end, the intrusions of Settlers and their quest for land proved to be the death knell for the Cherokee of eastern Tennessee.

Federal Government land acquisition sanctions were founded in the policy of preventing conflicts on the frontier through segregation of the Cherokee and Frontier Settlers as well as the desire to develop the frontier. The building of roads through Cherokee territory to connect Anglo-American settlements was a natural development in the Federal Government's attempts to tame the wilderness. This form of land acquisition sanction made no significant reduction in Cherokee land

TABLE 14

WILCOXON'S SUM OF RANKS TEST: LAND ACQUISITION SANCTION

Count Value	Tally	Rank Values		F.G. Rank	F.S. Rank
0	FG	1	=	1.	
1	FG FG	2+3	=	5.	
2	FG FG FG	4+5+6	=	15.	
3	FG	7	=	7.	
4	FG FS FS FS	8+9+10+11	=	9.5	28.5
5	FS	12	=		12.
6	FS	13	=	13.	
8	FS FS	14+15	=		29.
10	FS	16	=		16.
12	FS FS	17+18	=		35
14	FG	19	=	19.	
16	FS	20	=		20
				69.5	140.5

Refer to Langley (325: 166-178) for discussion of test.

Note: FG = Federal Government Subculture
FS = Frontier Settler Subculture

R = 69.5 p = .05 $H_0 < 78$ $H_1 \geq 78$

holdings. It did, however, hasten the advance of Settlers into areas of the Cherokee nation. Land acquisition by the Federal Government also took the form of accepting large settlements of illegal intruders in the Cherokee Nation. Unable to remove the great numbers of intruders and yet still attempting to continue their policy of maintaining peace through segregation, the Federal Government treatied for a land cession from the Cherokee. With the area in which a high density of illegal Settlers resided ceded to the Federal Government, a new boundary between the Settler and Cherokee could be established. Unfortunately for the Cherokee, their land holdings were periodically reduced by cession of large tracts of land. Even with reestablishment of boundaries, the Federal Government was unable to restrain illegal Settlers from advancing further into Cherokee territory.

By the end of the Federal Period, the Federal Government had shifted its policy from maintaining peace along the frontier and protecting the rights and land of the Cherokee to one of actively utilizing the intrusions of Frontier Settlers as leverage to gain even more land cessions. The illegal intruders were also a reason, presented to the Cherokee, for Governmental attempts to effect removal to Arkansas. The significant difference between the Frontier Settlers and Federal Government in exerting land acquisition sanctions was that the Settlers illegally claimed land and established title by right of occupancy whereas the government obtained lands from the Cherokee through a formal, legal process in which terms were agreed to in a treaty and compensation given the Indian for land ceded. In either case, nevertheless, the

Cherokee were virtually powerless to resist demands made upon them for land.

Cherokee complaints of illegal Settlers on their land were registered in Georgia (2; 4; 161; 269), Carolina (2; 3; 108; 109), and Alabama (18; 73; 109; 186). Intrusions onto Cherokee land in proximity of the lower Little Tennessee River valley were also common. This is indicated through one Settler's letter to Meigs, objecting to his removal from Cherokee land in 1809.

> I have been up at Tellico and I find six families settled on the Long Bottom [?] the head of Tuskegey Island which bottom I have been settled on but was ordered off it by government. (37)

In the decade following the year of this letter, intruders were reported "upstream" along the river plain, "opposite the Tellico ferry," and immediately "downstream" from the Tellico Blockhouse (42; 81; 82; 141; 200; 234; 239). Land use, versus occupation, represented another form of land acquisition sanction. Settlers residing in U.S. territory along the north bank of the Little Tennessee River utilized Cherokee lands, including the islands in the river, to graze cattle (82). The cattle destroyed Cherokee fields, forage used by Cherokee cattle, and cane breaks utilized by the Cherokee for fencing both fields and cattle.

Frontier Settlers also advanced from eastern Tennessee over the Cumberland Plateau, via the Cumberland Road (Figure 1, p. 3), into the Nashville Basin of central Tennessee. Not only did migrating Settlers disturb Cherokee hunting lands atop the plateau, but their settlements in central Tennessee brought considerable pressures upon the Cherokee of that region. This resulted in fighting between the Anglo-Americans

living along the Duck River and Cherokee of Crow Town (159; 162; 164; 186; 244; 248).

Another area within Tennessee in which land acquisition sanctions were exerted was the Sequatchie Valley. This is a narrow, elongated valley extending from the Tennessee River, southwest of present day Chattanooga, northeast to within fifteen miles of Crossville on the Cumberland Plateau (Figure 1, p. 3). The fertile soils of this region were sought by Settlers even though the Cherokee held official title to the valley (14; 15; 24; 25; 26; 39; 132).

Not all Anglo-Americans residing on Cherokee land were there illegally, for skilled tradesmen as well as tenant farmers, known as "croppers," were issued permits by the Federal Government to work within the Cherokee Nation. Permits were issued with the stipulation they be renewed every two years. Once improvements were made to a tract of land, however, the Settlers were inclined to view the tract as their own property and disregarded the necessity for additional permits (14). For some Settlers, the permit procedure was a legal means of gaining access to choice lands in the Cherokee territory (83). Once obtained, the permits enabled these Settlers to stake out a tract of land and build a farmstead. Once a farm was established, it was difficult for the Cherokee or Federal Government to remove the Settler even though the permit expired. Abuses of the permit system tended to counter the initial purpose of Governmental authorization: to control the movement of Settlers into the Cherokee territory. Once a Settler became established on a prime trace of land within the Cherokee Nation other illegal Settlers naturally followed (212).

The increasing number of Settlers intruding on Cherokee land made good farm tracts a premium. This situation resulted in a few instances where Settlers forcibly occupied Cherokee plantations.

> . . . as to the intruders there are coming in with Stocks and also taking our plantations by violence also Mr. Brown has rushed on the Crow Mocker and taken his plantation forcibly. (134)

Regulation of the encroaching Settlers was a primary function of the Indian Agent and Federal military at Fort Southwest Point, the Tellico Blockhouse, and the Hiwassee Garrison (345). The effectiveness of the Federal Government in this pursuit was, nevertheless, limited. Forcible removal was the only effective method of clearing illegal Settlers from Indian land. Turtle-at-Home noted, however, in a letter to Colonel Meigs that as soon as the Federal troops withdrew from an area, intruders:

> . . . returned as thick as crows that are scattered from their food by a person passing on the road, but as soon as he is passed they return again. (266)

The impact of land acquisition sanctions on Cherokee culture was devastating. The Cherokee were forced to contend with individuals of a dominant culture within their legal territory. Such intrusions violated the Cherokee sense of autonomy and tribal domain. Intruders instigated aggressive sanctions against the Cherokee and greatly reduced the land on which the Cherokee could reside. The Cherokee were powerless to repell the onslaught of Settlers, able only to retreat within a more unified, centralized tribal organization in an effort to create a barrier between themselves and Settlers. The proximity of illegal intruders served to provide the Cherokee with American material

elements and also impart certain social nuances. The presence of Settlers also brought the pressures of directed culture contact to the Cherokee on a daily basis. The sanctions of the Federal Government eventually displaced the Cherokee from the Hiwassee Tract, an area that only fifty years earlier included the capital of the Overhill Cherokee.

Identification of Boundary Maintenance Behavior

The third condition characteristic of directed contact is boundary behavior. Such behavior was a response to sanctions exerted by the superordinate culture and served to insulate the Cherokee culture from acculturative forces. In so doing, boundary behavior also served to reinforce traditional culture by maintaining its indigenous integrity.

For the Cherokee, the erosion of tribal land holdings by Government and Settler sanctions posed a threat to their survival as a people. In the early Federal Period, the Cherokee ceded land to the Government in an attempt to placate land acquisition sanctions and also secure the little tribal land which remained. The Cherokee responded to U.S. demands for land during the 1805 treaty:

> . . . the above described Lands the Cherokee agrees to Relinguish to the U.S. in Hopes they will be satisfied— as the Cherokee wishes to Enjoy the Ballance of their Lands in peace. (48)

The expressed hope that additional land cessions would not be demanded by the Federal Government is an expression of boundary behavior for it presented a barrier to future Governmental attempts to acquire more land. At the same 1805 treaty convention held in Hiwassee, the Cherokee

thwarted the land acquisition sanctions of the Federal Government by offering land that was:

> . . . too little and not of the area desired by the U.S. Government. . . . [The lands offered were] only to evade their compliance with the Just views of the Government which they know they must ultimately comply with, to which at this time they had a greater aversion. (255)

At subsequent treaties the Cherokee submitted to more demands for land. Realizing the Federal Government could not be placated with offerings of small areas of poor quality land, the Cherokee purposefully delayed meetings so to prevent further land cessions (240). In one instance where the Federal Government attempted to arrange a conference between the Cherokee and a Governmental delegation, headed by General Andrew Jackson, the Indians refused to attend. The stated reason for the refusal was that the Cherokee doubted General Jackson had any "matters of importance" to present them (216). In reality, the refusal was a thinly veiled response designed to put off Governmental attempts to gain land cessions.

Responses of the Cherokee to illegal Frontier Settlers were tempered because of the Indians' subordinate position, the military threat of the Federal Government, and the threat of violent reprisals by Settlers. Attempts to preserve tribal territory from encroaching Settlers were generally limited to requests of the Federal Government for help (99; 139; 257). Occasionally the Cherokee reacted to illegal intruders with threats of violence. Old Bark, an inhabitant of Chota Old Town (234), sought permission from the Indian Agent to burn the cabins of two illegal Settlers. There is no indication whether the

threat was ever carried out. Nevertheless, the threat in itself was an obstinate expression of boundary behavior directed against the intruding Settlers.

Even though culture change was a constant condition of the Cherokee situation, they fought to preserve the traditional integrity of their culture. The reinforcement of traditional features of Cherokee culture served to distinguish, behaviorally, the Cherokee from the Anglo-Americans. One form of reinforcing behavior was the horse stealing and trading complex which evolved throughout the Southeast, in which the horse replaced deer skins as a commodity and monetary unit (105; 184; 333). Although the commodity changed, the basic economic system and traditional male social role remained relatively unaltered (333:71-73). Incidents of Cherokee horse stealing were numerous throughout the Federal Period (20; 45; 61; 101; 198; 203; 269; 275).

Acculturation is often viewed through archaeological contexts by the relative presence of nontraditional material elements within an assemblage. Boundary behavior is conversely revealed by the continued use of a traditional artifact form despite the availability of a superior counterpart. Examples of this among the Cherokee include the continued use of pottery and its associated decorative motifs and the continued manufacture of stone pipes. On the personal level, traditional items were utilized simply because they were the most familiar, or most "comfortable." In 1809, Norton (323) observed that the Cherokee women, considered by present day anthropologists to have been conservative and less prone to acculturative influence, were clothed in Anglo-American

styles of dress. Cherokee men, on the other hand, retained their traditional style of clothing. Retention of traditional male dress is interpreted as an expression of boundary behavior. The clothing provided a visable affirmation of traditional Cherokee culture and an affront to Anglo-Americans and their attempts to assimilate the Indian.

Another form of boundary behavior was the resistance of Federal authority by an individual Cherokee. In one instance, John Walker questioned the authority of the Federal Government to grant rights to work a salt peter cave, located in Cherokee territory, to a Frontier Settler. He stated in a letter to Meigs:

> . . . it is my opinion that the Honorable Secretery of War has no power as to permitting White Men to Occupy our Rights. (272)

In yet another instance, John Lowrey's ferryman at the Hiwassee River crossing refused to serve the post rider travelling between Knoxville and Athens (75). Although this incident was possibly the result of a personal disagreement or sour business relations, the behavior may have been an expression of boundary behavior in which a Cherokee simply reacted negatively to the wants of an Anglo-American. In this one instance the Cherokee wielded the upper hand to the Anglo-American and was not going to submit to the wish of the post carrier.

Boundary behavior was similarly expressed by the Cherokee tribal council. The Cherokee governing system became more structured and centralized as a result of increasing acculturative pressures created by the Anglo-Americans (49; 340). In order to cope with intruding Frontier Settlers and improve the internal tribal governing body, the

Cherokee council developed written laws (268). These laws were an outward response to Federal Government pressures to adopt aspects of the Anglo-American political and legal systems. The formulation of laws by the Cherokee council was, nevertheless, an act of boundary behavior. Sections of the laws were directed more toward the control of illegal Settlers within the Cherokee territory than toward the Cherokee themselves, thereby enabling the Cherokee to act against illegal intruders in a manner acceptable to Federal authority.

The dominance of the Federal Government over the Cherokee national council often frustrated the Cherokee because of their inability to act independently. Indian Agent Meigs noted such frustration when he pursuaded the Cherokee to not pursue aggressions against the Osage Indians. Even though the Federal Government's wish was accepted by the council, a chief,

> . . . expressed himself dissatisfied with having any restraint laid on them with respect to their quarrels with the red People. (173)

The mere expression of this sentiment is a form of boundary behavior, for it reinforces the personal and tribal self-image by an open show of discontent and resistance toward the dominant authority.

Boundary maintenance behavior did not stop the acculturation of the Cherokee cultural system. It did, however, enable the Cherokee to incorporate change without total cultural disintegration.

Identification of Active Resistance

Employment of active resistance by the subordinate culture against the superordinate culture is the fourth condition characteristic of

culture contact. Boundary behavior and active resistance are similar in that they hold a similar objective; that of reducing or stopping acculturation brought to bear by a dominant culture. They differ primarily in the degree and impact of resistance. Boundary maintenance behavior does not typically present an antagonistic front to the superordinate culture. In contrast, active resistance is the forceful, often hostile repelling of the encroaching, dominant culture. Active resistance rarely effects its intended purpose. Instead, the superordinate culture usually reacts with vengeance and intensified effort to subdue and change the subordinate culture. This results in change occurring within the subordinate culture at an even faster rate than experienced before active resistance was initiated.

By the beginning of the Federal Period the Cherokee had practically exhausted their military strength and resources from years of active resistance against the Frontier Settlers. With support from the Federal Government, the tribal strength of the Cherokee was regenerated, although their military power never again attained a level where it was a threat to the U.S. Aware of the military strength of the Federal Government, the Cherokee never attempted to mount any actions of active resistance. Isolated incidents of active resistance perpetrated by individuals were not, nevertheless, unknown.

The previously mentioned threat of Old Bark to burn the cabins of disruptive intruders (234) would have constituted an act of active resistance if followed through. At the time, Old Bark's need to eliminate the cause of considerable local disruption overshadowed the

backlash from Frontier Settlers and the Federal Government that may have ensured if he followed through on his threat.

Within the same area in which Old Bark resided two illegal Settlers who created constant trouble for the local Indians were murdered apparently by Cherokee (225). It was not ascertained from the RCIA whether the two victims were the same people against whom Old Bark reacted. The murder of Frontier Settlers by the Cherokee is the epitome of active resistance behavior. The oppressive social conditions created by the illegal Settlers forced the Cherokee to act. Having failed to gain satisfaction through Federal authorities, the Cherokee were faced with the option of submitting to the oppressive conditions or eliminating the problem. The former option, often times followed, tended to reinforce the subordinate position of the Cherokee and further the disintegration of Cherokee cultural integrity. The latter option, on the other hand, afforded the Cherokee opportunity to resolve the problem in a manner acceptable to their social norms. In so doing, the Cherokee reinforced their beliefs and self-view of superiority and sovereignty. Isolated incidents such as this tended to have a unifying affect on the Cherokee tribe and intensified their nationalistic feelings.

Chapter Summary

In summary, analysis shows economic, moral, legal, aggressive, and land acquisition sanctions enabled the Anglo-American subcultures to effect change within Cherokee culture. Although the incidents identified as representing such sanctions often appear trivial when viewed separately,

their combined effect was to cause great change within Cherokee culture. Total assimilation was resisted by Cherokee boundary maintenance behavior. This enabled the Cherokee to resist or reject sanctions without inciting subjugative action from the superordinate culture. Active resistance occurred infrequently during the Federal Period, with most incidents being isolated reactions by individuals. Cherokee cultural survival through the Federal Period was partly due to the tempering of active resistance, for violent resistance would have brought military reprisals from the Federal Government.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY

This study examined and illustrated the nature of Anglo-American and Cherokee culture contact during the Federal Period in eastern Tennessee. The Federal Period contact situation is significant to our understanding of the Cherokee culture tradition, from the protohistoric period to the present. It was a period of extreme cultural stress and change. In some ways, these conditions facilitated the present analysis for they fleshed many superficial traits, laying bare the core traits of Cherokee culture. The Cherokee, in this contact situation, could not be properly examined without consideration of the Anglo-American participants, too. Core traits were therefore identified, for both Indian and Anglo-American, through analysis of historic documents and archaeological remains. The present study proceeded to isolate factors integral to the dynamic relationship between Anglo-American and Cherokee cultures. In so doing, an understanding of the motives behind American actions toward the Cherokee, and Cherokee actions toward the Americans, was achieved. Moreover, insight into the process of directed contact was provided.

A significant contribution of this study is the integration of archaeological and ethnohistoric data in a systematic analysis, oriented toward the solution of specific anthropological questions. This is not to imply that such an approach is unique, but only to indicate that most archaeologists use historic data to substantiate particular

historic events evidenced by the archaeological record. Here, the two data sets were used to investigate anthropological problems such as the identification of normative beliefs and the relationship of beliefs to patterns of material remains. Given this approach to analysis, the two data sets compliment each other and enable interpretations that are not always possible from either data set individually.

A methodological contribution of this study is the formulation of an artifact classification format, adapted from South (363), that encompasses both Euroamerican and Native American material culture. This scheme enabled quantification of material acculturation experienced by the Indian. Moreover, by defining a series of quantitative artifact patterns, with each pattern representing a specific period, the scheme provides the means to demonstrate Indian acculturation, from precontact up to the present, and show the rate of acculturation. In the present study, this classification scheme enables the comparison of contemporary Indian and Euroamerican assemblages.

Analysis began with the identification of normative beliefs for the Cherokee, Federal Government, and Frontier Settler subcultures. Beliefs often determined behavior patterns exhibited by each subculture, and are therefore fundamental to understanding the ideational motivation of participants in culture contact.

This study shows that the survival of Cherokee culture, during the Federal Period, in part hinged on two normative beliefs. One belief was a self-view of cultural and tribal preeminance, despite actions of the Federal Government and Frontier Settler which suggested the contrary.

The second belief was the freedom of an individual, clan, town, or group of towns from tribal decisions and actions. Diversity in opinions and behavior were tolerated within the culture as long as it did not threaten tribal unity. Whereas the first belief provided tribal and cultural unity, the second belief enabled the culture to experience a wide range of change without incurring extreme social and cultural disruption. Together, these beliefs provided both the cohesiveness and flexibility required for the Cherokee to survive directed contact.

The Cherokee placed tremendous value on Euroamerican material culture. Analysis suggests this value compromised the Cherokee by creating a vital dependency on Euroamerican material elements. Once established, this dependency made the Cherokee vulnerable to American efforts at directed change and assimilation.

The Federal Government subculture's Indian policy was founded in American enlightenment philosophy. Government beliefs identified here include the natural rights of the Indian, the hierarchial stages of cultural complexity, the innate ability of less developed cultures to advance to a more "civilized" state, and the preeminant position of American culture. Reflecting these beliefs, Federal policy was oriented toward assimilating the Indian into Anglo-American culture. These beliefs and their resulting policies fostered major changes in Cherokee culture. The changes were neither as rapid nor as complete, however, as the Federal Government desired. Even though it dominated the Cherokee, the Federal Government was unable to totally eliminate traditional Cherokee culture.

The Frontier Settler subculture held the beliefs that the wilderness offered free land for claiming, plentiful resources, and an opportunity for personal success. In acting on these beliefs, the Settler temporarily discarded the social norms typical of an established, stable settlement. The resultant "frontier mentality" frequently produced socially disruptive behavior that included an almost total disregard for the rights and possessions of the Cherokee. Such behavior, compounded by the constant flow of Settlers into Cherokee territory, had a devastating effect on Cherokee culture. With the stabilization of farmsteads, settlements, and communities, the Frontier Settler reverted to socially accepted, nondisruptive behavior. The impact of "frontier mentality" behavior was overwhelming and largely irreversable for the Cherokee, despite the subsequent shift in the Settler's beliefs and behavior.

The beliefs identified greatly influenced the outcome of the contact situation. Change was forced on the Cherokee either as deliberate Government policy or resultant from the Settlers self-serving actions and disregard for the Indian. The Cherokee on the other hand struggled to maintain a semblance of autonomy and cultural tradition by selective acceptance and rejection of American cultural traits.

Analysis was directed toward material remains in an effort to identify culture specific behavior patterns and normative beliefs which influenced such behavior. Artifact patterns formulated for the Federal Government, Frontier Settler, and Cherokee subcultures permit quantitative comparison of the Anglo-American and Indian assemblages. This comparison was undertaken to determine the degree to which Euroamerican

material elements were assimilated into the Cherokee material assemblage. Analysis shows that the Cherokee and Frontier Settler artifact patterns are, overall, very similar. This likeness is interpreted as reflecting the impact of the Government's "civilization program" upon the Cherokee. Cherokee material culture and its functional contexts indicate a shift from a lifeway emphasizing hunting and subsistence agriculture to an agrarian lifeway and market economy. This observed similarity is also attributed to the use, by the Cherokee and Settlers of a common supply network for Euroamerican goods and the limited material wealth of the Frontier Settler during their initial years of settlement.

Having isolated normative beliefs and behavior patterns for each subculture, analysis was directed toward the dynamic relationship of the subcultures. Conditions characteristic of the process of directed culture contact were identified in both the ethnohistoric and archaeological data.

The superordinate-subordinate relationship between the American and Cherokee cultures was defined and illustrated with emphasis given to details not previously distinguished. Analysis shows that domination of the Cherokee resulted from a weakening of their traditional economic system. The Cherokee dependency on Euroamerican material culture entwined their economic system with that of the Anglo-American, making it susceptible to control and eventual domination by the whites. The Federal Government used this economic power to force changes within Cherokee culture. Governmental control of material goods and food proved more effective in forcing change than the threat of military

action. Analysis also suggests that for subjugation to occur, the entire culture system need not weaken or experience disintegration. Only one vital aspect of the culture system, such as economy, needs to be infirm. Aspects of traditional Cherokee culture are shown to have remained relatively unchanged and vital throughout the Federal Period despite cultural domination brought about by Cherokee dependence on Euroamerican material culture.

Sanctions, which forced the Cherokee to assimilate aspects of Anglo-American culture, were identified for the Federal Government and Frontier Settler subcultures. Each subculture tended to exert different sanctions, or gave different emphasis to similar sanctions. Economic sanctions imposed by Settlers tended to be in the form of commercial trade, commercial business ventures, and local trade between Indian and white neighbors. Such sanctions brought about changes in the traditional Cherokee material holdings, economic values, and inheritance system. Economic sanctions exerted by the Federal Government were in the form of controlled trade and annuities or gifts. Governmental control of trade and the Cherokee's dependency on Euroamerican material elements gave tremendous leverage to economic sanctions. Such sanctions were found, in analysis, to have been exerted at times of Governmental efforts to induce the Cherokee to cede lands and remove to the Arkansas territory. In 1817, the Government more than tripled the number of sanctions exerted in previous years as it began offering food, tools, and blankets to induce individuals to move west.

Moral sanctions were exerted with similar emphasis by the Government and Settlers. Most sanction counts recorded in analysis represent

missionary activity within the Cherokee Nation and the limited Government support of these efforts. The effects of moral sanctions on the Cherokee were not readily determined because of limitations in the ethnohistoric data. However, missionary activity is assumed to have had only a slight overall effect on the Cherokee population.

As expected, the Federal Government was found to have exerted legal sanctions more frequently than the Frontier Settler. Such sanctions forced the Cherokee to accept and abide by American law. In so doing, the Cherokee were entangled in a paradox of the legal system. While directed to follow Anglo-American law, the Cherokee were restricted from receiving all legal rights enjoyed by U.S. citizens. Legal sanctions resulted in a dual legal system for the Cherokee. Internal tribal affairs followed an integrated system of traditional and American legal elements, while external affairs were under the jurisdiction of the American legal system.

Aggressive sanctions exerted by the Frontier Settler differed greatly from those of the Federal Government. Whereas Government sanctions were generally veiled economic or military threats intended to force the Cherokee to submit to demands, sanctions of the Settler were oppressive and often violent. Theft was a major form of aggressive sanction. In stealing personal property from the Cherokee, the whites asserted their superordinate position and reinforced the subordinate posture of the Cherokee. Unable to gain satisfaction from the American legal system for such offenses, the Cherokee could do little but submit to these indignities. Violent sanctions included murder and armed confrontations.

The Cherokee were unable to sustain an armed conflict with the Settlers and thus forced to refrain from retaliation, depending upon the protection of the Federal Government which was very limited. These sanctions were a source of great disruption in Cherokee lives and were a major force in reducing Cherokee resistance against acculturation. Here it is concluded that the Cherokee actively accepted visible features of American culture in an attempt to retard acts of aggression through the projection of an Anglo-American image.

Land acquisition was another sanction that greatly affected Cherokee culture. Illegal intrusions onto Cherokee territory reduced Indian land holdings and increased contact between the two cultures. Settler demands for land also prompted the Federal Government to treaty for more land cessions from the Cherokee. The Cherokee were powerless to resist the onslaught of Settlers who violated both the Cherokee's title to land and sense of tribal domain. The acquisition of land by the whites forced major changes within Cherokee culture and eventually displaced them from their ancestral homeland.

Cherokee efforts to resist sanctions exerted by the superordinate subcultures took the form of boundary maintenance behavior. This study showed that while submitting to aspects of directed change, the Cherokee developed subtle methods to thwart certain acculturative pressures. Common resistance included the desire to retain land, voiced in direct opposition to Government demands for land cessions. More subtle boundary behavior was the formulation of a centralized, political body which facilitated smoother interaction with the Federal Government while at

the same time provided unified resistance to undesired aspects of directed change. Boundary behavior is also revealed by archaeological remains. A possible example is the continuance of traditional forms of pottery through the Federal Period, despite the availability of Euroamerican ceramic wares. Boundary maintenance behavior enabled the Cherokee to reinforce traditional culture traits and exert some selectivity in the assimilation and rejection of Anglo-American traits.

This study reveals the Federal Period as a time during which the Cherokee struggled to maintain their cultural integrity against American efforts of directed change and assimilation. These were years during which the Cherokee practiced nonviolent methods of resistance against Anglo-American aggression and learned to adopt certain white manners and culture traits so to ease American pressures to become "civilized." These were also years during which the Cherokee experienced near cultural collapse on three or four separate occasions because of stresses created by the Anglo-American culture. Remarkably, the innate qualities of Cherokee culture enabled its survival.

The significance of this study transcends the substantive contribution of documenting the eastern Tennessee contact situation during the Federal Period. Underlying the present work is the belief that current Cherokee research needs to pursue a diachronic synthesis of belief systems, behavior patterns, and artifact patterns for the Euroamerican colonial, Anglo-American, and Cherokee cultures. The research questions posed, analytic methods utilized, and conclusions derived here are applicable to such an objective.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

ANALYSIS OF THE FEDERAL PERIOD CHEROKEE COMPONENT AT THE CITICO SITE (40MR7)

ANALYSIS OF THE FEDERAL PERIOD CHEROKEE COMPONENT AT THE CITICO SITE (40MR7)

The Citico site is located at the confluence of Citico Creek and the Little Tennessee River (Figure 3, p. 9). Archaeological investigations revealed two major components, Mississippian Dallas and Cherokee, and suggest a third, an early Middle Archaic.

Historic Documentation

One of the earliest references to "Suittico" is in Colonel Chicken's journal (ca. 1725). The Hunter map, dating to 1730, indicates Citico was a substantial Overhill Cherokee settlement (376:114). The community maintained its large size through the mid-eighteenth century, as evidenced by Henry Timberlake's account and map (375:62, map). The tumultuous Revolutionary Period brought a marked decline in the Overhill population, but Citico retained its relative importance as a community, as indicated by Virginia's Indian Agent, Colonel Martin, along with four permanent Indian traders residing at Citico during the 1780s (321:125; 376:259, 262).

A record of the United State's dispersal of the Cherokee annuity in 1807 suggests "Setico" was inhabited by upwards of seventy-five Cherokee (12). In 1811, families residing at "Cytico" were listed as receiving food from the Indian Agency (21). In response to terms of the Treaty of 1817 (352:212), in which the Cherokee ceded the tract of land north of the Tennessee River between Walden's Ridge and the Little Sequatchee in exchange for equivalent lands in Arkansas, a number of Cherokee chose to remain in the east on family reservations. Among those who remained were Andrew Taylor and his family of two, who settled at "Sitico Old Town" (278:175). It is not apparent whether the Taylor family subsequently remained at Citico or removed after the Treaty of 1819.

Archaeological Investigations

J. W. Emmert initiated archaeological investigations at Citico in 1884 (368; 369). Excavations were conducted in five mounds located northwest of the embouchure of Citico Creek. Thomas, in his analysis of Emmerts data, concluded the recovered artifacts were all Cherokee. This cultural designation was based upon Timberlakes' map, which designated the site as an Overhill town. Not until the late 1930s were cultural period designations such as Mississippian and Historic utilized in Tennessee and distinctions observed between Mississippian Dallas and Historic Cherokee components.

In 1967 and 1968, excavations were conducted by The University of Tennessee, Knoxville in one mound and the surrounding village midden (353:26-84). The deposits tested were primarily Mississippian Dallas. Only a few isolated Cherokee features were identified in the course of this field work.

For many years amateur collectors plundered the site. These activities caused extensive damage to the archaeological deposits. The occasional records of these diggings are at best mere displays of select artifacts (328; 334; 341; 346; 349).

In 1978, The University of Tennessee conducted investigations at Citico in an effort to acquire a greater understanding of the Cherokee Component (291). Based on the results of controlled plowing and surface collection, five excavation areas were selected and dug (Figure 6). An additional area (Area 5) was excavated after backdirt from relic collectors revealed late Historic Cherokee deposits. Analysis dated eight features from excavation area 5 to the Federal Period (300). These features (170, 171, 237, 270, 271, 275, 277, 281) and their artifact content comprise the data base for the following analysis (Figure 7).

The objective of analysis is the identification and description of the Federal Period Cherokee assemblage. This descriptive analysis was prerequisit to the contact research presented in this report. With the inclusion of a discussion of features, it should also provide a data base to which future research may refer.

Excavation Procedure

Excavations were conducted under the field supervision of Mr. Robert Newman. The plowzone was removed by backhoe equipped with a three foot toothless bucket, after which shovel skimming was employed to reveal features and postmolds. Once mapped, features were sectioned, profiled, and then completely excavated as a single unit. Feature deposits were water-screened through 1/2, 1/4, and 1/16 inch mesh (292:7-8).

Feature Description

During the 1978 field season at Citico 194 features were excavated and recorded. Of these, eight were ascribed to the Federal Period Cherokee occupation (300:98-100). Dating was based primarily on Euroamerican ceramics. Substantiation of these mean ceramic dates and the dating of those features devoid of Euroamerican ceramics was achieved by: (1) the presence of datable machine cut nails (Features

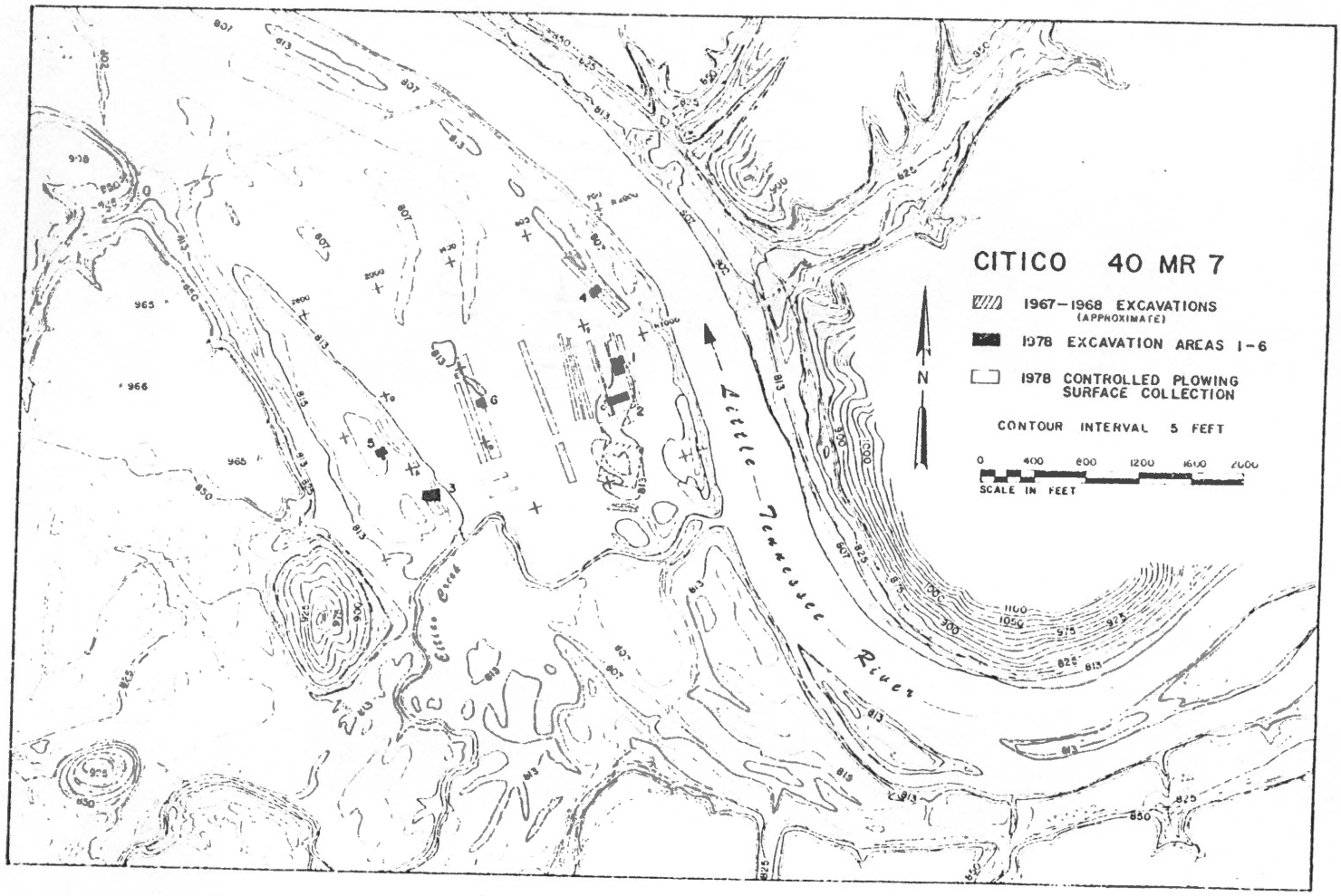


Figure 6. Plan View of Excavation Areas at the Citico Site.

Taken from Chapman (291:Figure 1).

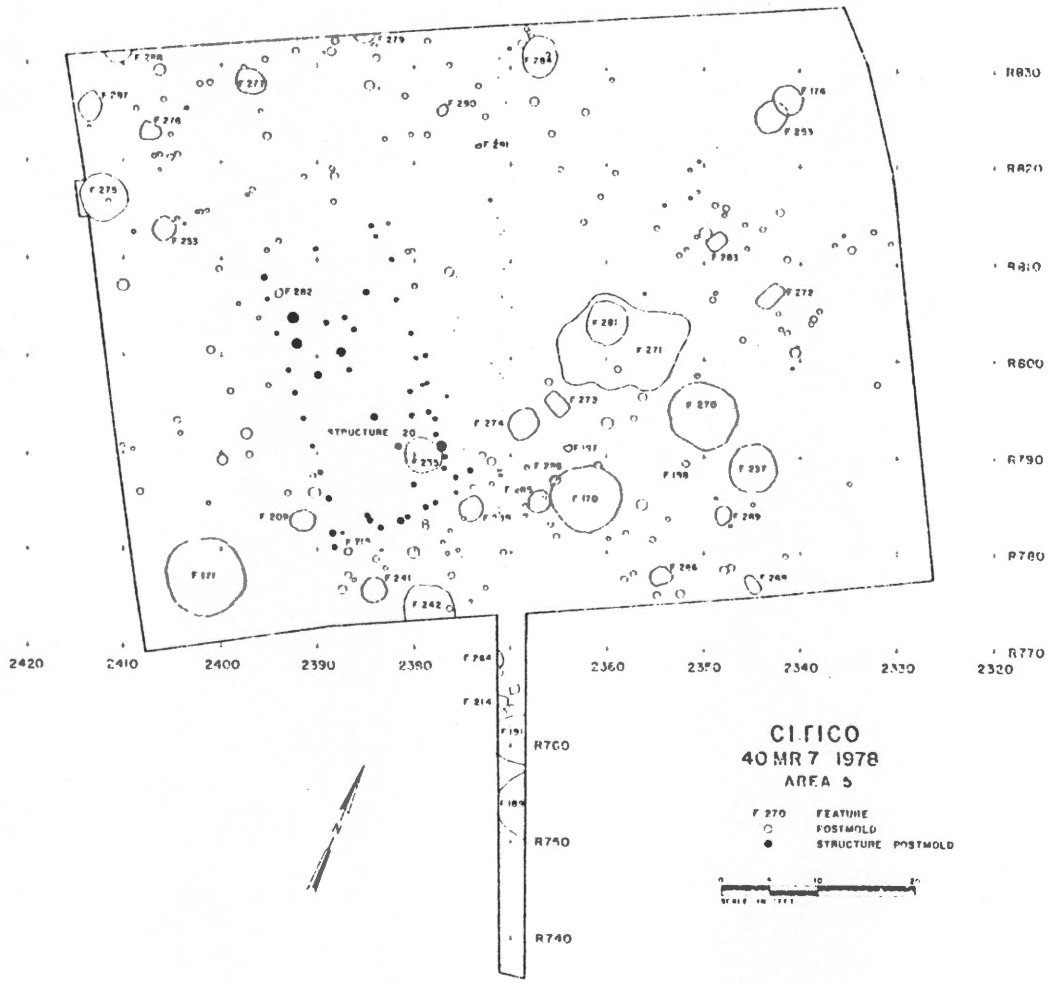


Figure 7. The Citico Site, Excavation Area 5.

Taken from Chapman (291:Figure 11).

170, 171, 277, 281); (2) application of kaolin pipestem dating formulae (Features 171, 237, 281) (300:80), and (3) the association of features by cross mending artifacts (Features 237, 170, 171, 270, 271, 281). Most features are securely dated, however, Feature 237 may date ten to fifteen years earlier than the remaining sample.

Feature descriptions are presented in Table 15. Primary functions have not been established. Fill in all the features appears to be primary deposit, yet represents the secondary function of the features; that of refuse pits. Features which exhibited stratified deposits (Figures 8 and 9) shed no light on their primary function because of excavation methodology. Excavation of feature fill as a single unit (292:8) prevented analysis of distinct strata.

Feature 281 is unlike other features at Citico in both shape and size (Figure 8). Sluffing of the lower walls has given this feature its bell shape. Evidence of sluffing and the high incidence of small reptile remains (i.e., toad, frog, snake) suggest this pit was open for a considerable period before it was filled. The function of this pit has generated considerable speculation among excavators. The size of the feature suggests it may have been a well or privy. Because of its extreme depth, the latter possibility is dismissed. Conversely, the feature appears too shallow, not even penetrating the present-day ground water level, to have been a well. The Cherokee who removed to Arkansas in the first decade of the nineteenth century were constructing pits similar to Feature 281 for the purpose of procuring salt. It may be speculated that Feature 281 represents an attempt at a similar industry in eastern Tennessee. The most plausible function of this pit was for the storage of fodder. Prior to the use of silos, hay and other fodder were typically stored in pits (359:47).

One rectangular pattern of postmolds was delineated in excavation area 5 (292:16) (Figures 7 and 10). Measuring thirty-two by fourteen feet, this structure is similar to the "summer house" described by Polhemus (343:145-150), dating to the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Because of this early date, Structure 20 is not believed to be associated with the Federal Period features analyzed herein.

Artifact Description

The Federal Period collection from Citico is comprised of 32,156 artifacts. Classification follows the format presented in Chapter III. Analyses of faunal remains, fabric specimens, and lithics were conducted by Mr. Arthur Bogan (282), Ms. Nancy Wyatt (379), and Mr. Wayne Roberts (350), respectively.

TABLE 15

DESCRIPTION OF FEATURES FROM CITICO

Feature	Form	Dimensions		Feature Fill	Associations
		Dia. or L/W	Intrusive Depth		
170	Circular, basin shaped	dia. 7.55	1.2'	Dk. brown sandy clay	F-285 and 286 possibly intrude into F-170. Amateur digging prevents substantiation.
171	Basin-shaped	L: 7.6' W: 7.8'	2.4'	Dk. brown/black organic clay w/ lenses of charcoal and yellow mottled clay.	Ceramics cross-mended with specimens from F-271 and 281.
237	Basin-shaped, straight wall, flat bottom.	L: 5.0' W: 4.7'	.8'	Dk. brown sand w/ clay, mottled yellow/brown sand	Within three feet of F-270
270	Circular, basin shaped pit	L: 7.0' W: 6.8'	2.8'	Dk. brown sand/ clay, mottled yellow clay, Lt. brown clay, charcoal	In proximity to F-237 and 271, 281.

TABLE 15 (Cont'd)

Feature	Form	Dimensions		Feature Fill	Associations
		Dia. or L/W	Intrusive Depth		
271	Thin midden deposit	L: 14.0' W: 9.5'	0.3'	Brown sand w/ clay.	Overlying F-281. In proximity to F-271.
275	Circular, basin shaped pit	Dia. 2.5'	1.5'	Black sand clay w/scattered pockets of orange fired soil and charcoal.	
277	Oblong, shallow basin-shaped pit.	L: 3.2' W: 2.3'	.35'	Brown sand clay portion disturbed by rodent.	
281	Deep, bell-shaped pit	Dia. 3.8'	13.2	Dk. brown sandy clay w/charcoal. Brown sandy clay. Gray ash. Brown sand with mottled yellow sand.	Underlying F-271. Artifacts cross-mended with F-170 and 171.

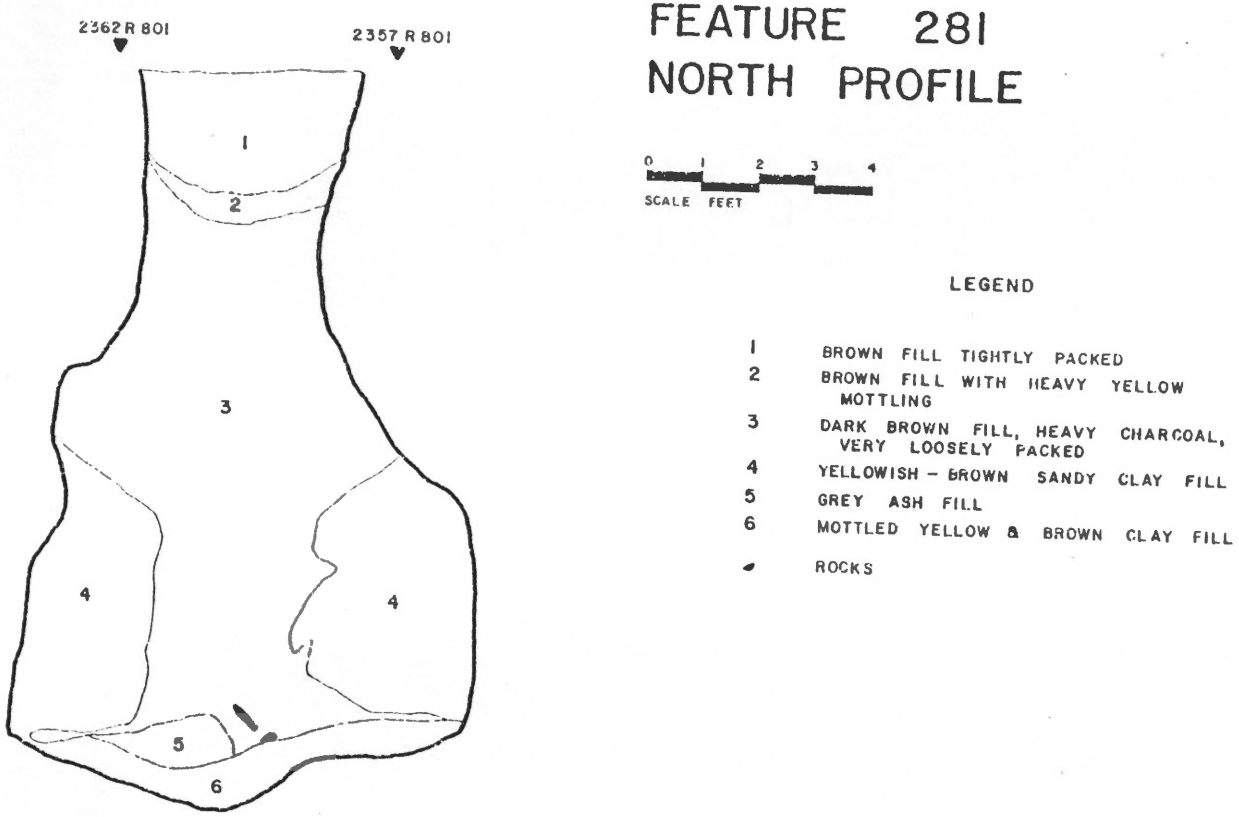


Figure 8. Profile of Feature 281.

From Chapman (291:Figure 23).

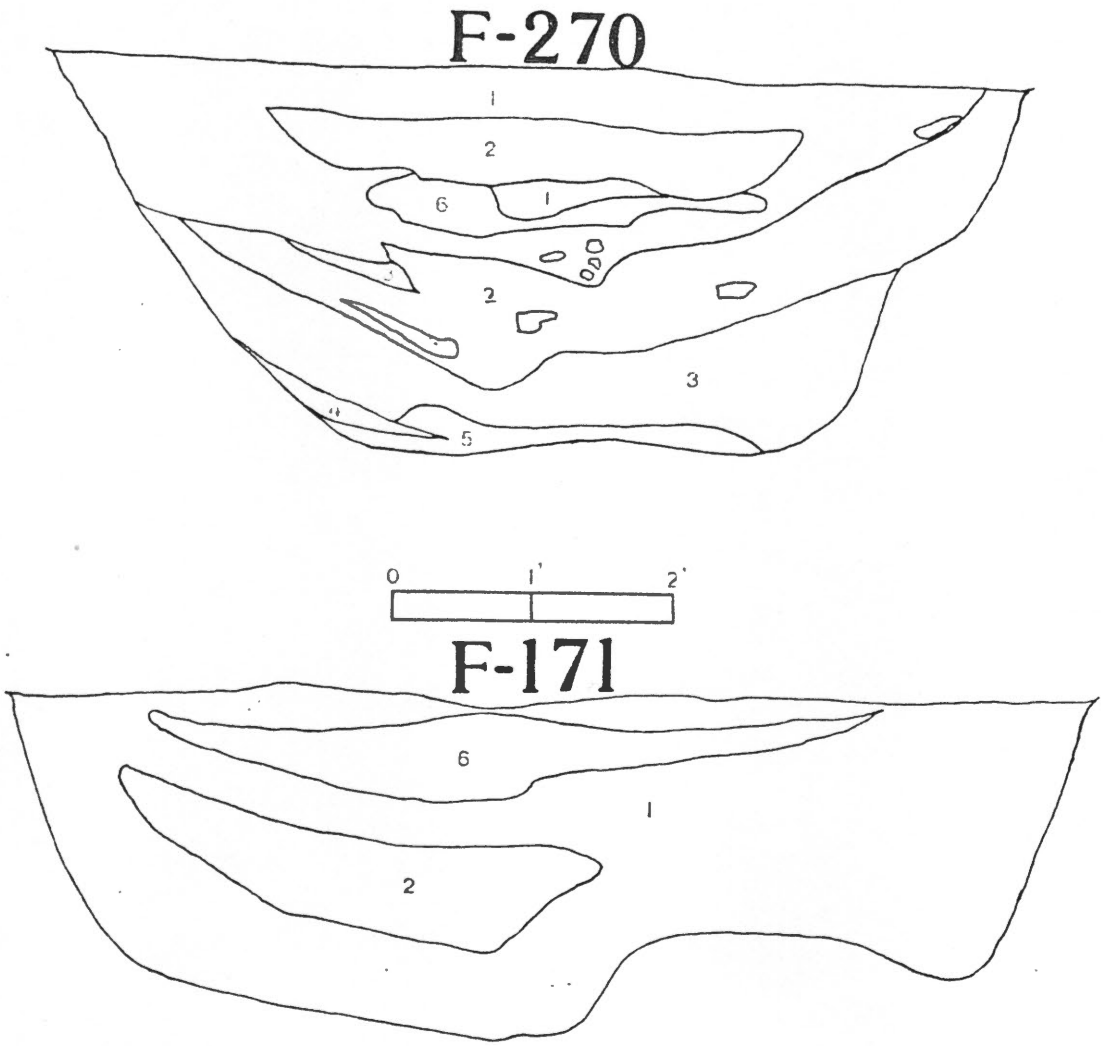


Figure 9. Feature Profiles.

Soil Types:

1. Dark Brown Sandy Clay
2. Dark Brown with Yellow Mottled Sandy Clay
3. Mottled Yellow Clay
4. Light Brown Clay
5. Dark Brown Clay
6. Dark Brown Sandy Clay with Charcoal

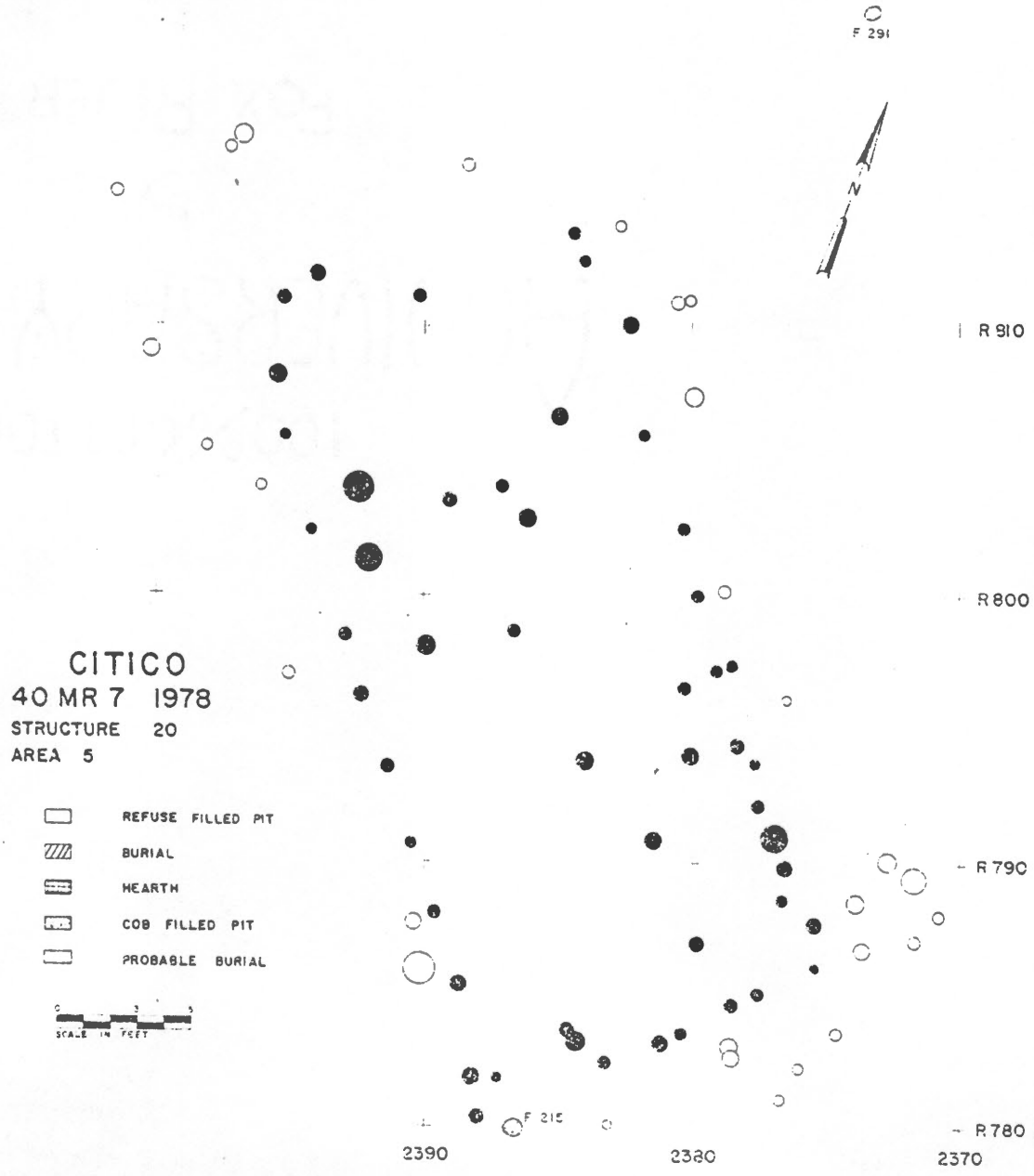


Figure 10. Structure 20, Postmold Pattern.

After Chapman (291:Figure 22)

Kitchen Group

Euroamerican Ceramics

The identification and distribution of Euroamerican ceramic types are presented in Table 16 (Figures 11-14). For descriptions of the types noted, refer to Noel Hume (338) and South (362:210).

Ceramics are a valuable artifact class from which to date site occupation. South's (362:83) mean ceramic dating formula was utilized to identify a number of the Federal Period features (Table 17). Of the five features dated by this method, four possessed ceramic samples of significant size, thus providing mean dates of high validity. The mean dates derived from the four features (170, 171, 271, 281) cluster around 1807.7, approximating the midpoint of the Federal Period. The date derived for Feature 275 is not secure given the ceramic sample. Even so, the mean date of this feature falls within the time frame of the Federal Period. The mean date calculated from ceramics from all five features was 1809.6.

Native Ceramics

Pottery was recovered from all features. A substantial portion of the sample is comprised of moderately large (>60 mm on a side) sherds, exhibiting sharp broken edges and well defined decoration. These characteristics indicate minimal weathering and suggest the feature fill is primary deposit. Numerous sherds were found to articulate, enabling vessel reconstruction and determination of vessel form and size. Such analyses are not pursued here since they do not contribute to the primary objective of this study.

Table 18 presents pottery types and distribution. Pottery classification follows Bates (280). Types are defined according to temper, surface treatment, and rim and lip form. Five general type categories are defined: Overhill, Qualla, Fatherland, Degenerate, and Residual. The pottery series of Overhill, Qualla, and Fatherland by definition imply cultural affinities to eighteenth century antecedents defined within restricted spacial ranges. The social pressures created by encroaching Euroamerican cultures brought about native population movements into the lower Little Tennessee River valley, movements which are reflected, in part, by the culturally distinctive pottery series identified.

Overhill ceramics culturally affiliated with the Overhill Cherokee of eastern Tennessee are characterized by coarsely crushed shell tempering. Shell tempering is also representative of Mississippian pottery, making the plain body sherds of Mississippian and Overhill

TABLE 16

DISTRIBUTION OF EUROAMERICAN CERAMICS

Ceramic Type	Features					
	170	171	271	275	277	281
Porcelain:						
Chinese trade	2	-	-	-	-	-
English polychrome overglaze	-	-	-	-	-	1
Stoneware:						
Brownpaste, brown salt-glaze	9	-	1	-	-	5
Alkaline glaze	2	-	-	-	-	-
Earthenware, refined:						
Red paste, high luster finish	3	-	-	-	-	-
Red paste, brown luster finish	3	-	-	-	-	-
Buff paste, gray-brown glaze	2	-	-	-	-	-
Earthenware, coarse:						
Red paste, brown lead-glaze on one side	4	3	3	-	-	4
Buff/pink paste, orange brown lead glaze on one surface	1	1	1	-	-	1
Earthenware, coarse:						
Plain, unglazed	2	1	3	-	-	3
Creamware:						
Plain	18	2	-	-	-	22
Annular ware, blue field, brown bands	3	-	-	-	1	0
Marbled	1	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 16 (Cont'd)

Ceramic Type	Features					
	170	171	271	275	277	281
Pearlware:						
Plain	65	15	10	1	-	38
Underglazed, polychrome stencilled patterns	32	7	-	-	-	21
Underglazed, sponged yellow	2	-	-	-	-	1
Underglazed, sponged brown-green	-	-	-	-	-	3
Underglazed, polychrome	9	-	-	-	-	10
Underglazed, blue hand-painted		3	1	-	-	2
Annular ware	6	2	1	-	-	-
Mocha	4	-	-	-	1	2
Embossed fish scales	-	-	-	-	-	1
Shell Edged, blue	3	7	0	0	1	9
Shell Edged, green	2	-	-	-	-	1
Feather incised, blue	-	3	-	-	-	-
Transfer printed, willow pattern	4	4	3	-	-	2
Transfer printed, miscellaneous	15	2	-	-	-	5
Unidentified Sherds:	19	3	-	-	-	-

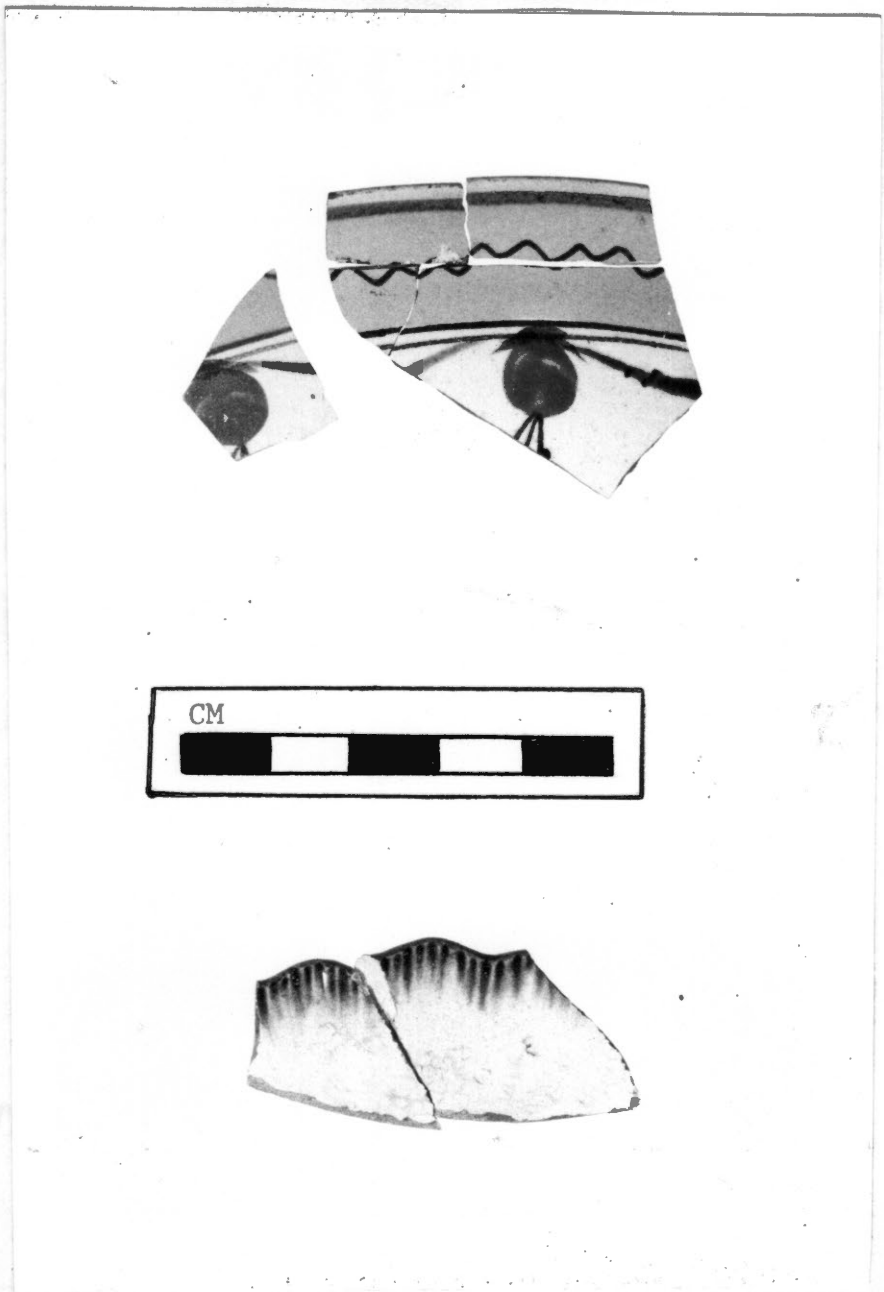


Figure 11. Euroamerican Ceramics from Citico (Examples 1 and 2).

Top. Polychrome hand painted pearlware of a bowl vessel form. The thin horizontal bands are brown, the background two shades of yellow, and the floral motif green and orange. Sherds are from Features 170 and 171.

Bottom. Articulating blue painted shell-edge pearlware sherds, recovered from Feature 171.



Figure 12. Euroamerican Ceramics from Citico (Example 3).

Mocha decorated (fern-like motif) pearlware. The fern pattern and bands are dark brown, the background is a light rust-brown, and the vessel lip is cream color. Specimens illustrated were recovered from Features 170, 277, and 281.



Figure 13. Euroamerican Ceramics from Citico (Example 4). Jackfield-like ware, with a refined red earthenware body and a dark brown-black lustrous glaze. The three sherds pictured, one with the glaze burned off, are from a sugar or muffineer. Specimens recovered from Feature 170.



Figure 14. Euroamerican Ceramics from Citico (Examples 5 and 6).

Top. Polychrome stencil painted pearlware. The floral pattern is composed of brown, green, and yellow on a white background. Specimens are from Feature 170.

Bottom. Polychrome hand painted pearlware decorated in a strawberry pattern or red, green, brown, and black. Specimens recovered from Features 170, 171, and 281.

TABLE 17

MEAN CERAMIC DATES OF CITICO FEATURES

Feature	Sherd Count n	Mean Date
170	184	1811.4
171	49	1808.7
271	23	1802.2
275	3	1815.3*
281	132	1808.8

*Note: Dates derived from small sherd samples will tend to reflect the median manufacturing date of the few types represented. The validity of the mean occupation date is therefore reduced.

TABLE 18

DISTRIBUTION OF NATIVE CERAMICS FROM CITICO

Pottery Series and Type	Features								
	170	171	237	270	271	275	277	281	Total
Overhill Plain:									
Body Sherds	117	4161	-	482	-	19	-	5324	10103
Rim Sherds									
Plain rim, inverted rim contour, rounded lip, notched rim strip	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
Plain rim, everted rim contour, rounded lip, notched rim strip	-	7	-	7	-	-	-	-	14
Plain rim, everted rim contour, rounded lip, notched rim strip	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Plain rim, everted rim contour, rounded lip, notched rim strip	-	55	-	-	-	-	-	-	55
Plain rim, everted rim strip, flat lip, unnotched rim strip	-	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	40
Plain rim, everted rim strip, flat lip, without rim strip	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	6

TABLE 18 (Cont'd)

Pottery Series and Type	Features								
	170	171	237	270	271	275	277	281	Total
Plain rim, direct rim contour, round lip notched rim strip	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	37	37
Plain rim, direct rim contour, rounded lip, without rim strip	-	17	-	-	-	-	-	6	23
Plain rim, direct rim contour, flat lip, notched rim strip	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	48	51
Plain rim, direct rim contour, flat lip, unnotched rim strip	-	17	-	1	-	1	-	-	19
Plain rim, direct rim contour, flat lip, without rim strip	-	16	-	1	-	-	-	6	23
Plain rim, undetermined rim contour, rounded lip, notched rim strip	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	13	21
Plain rim, undetermined rim contour, rounded lip, without rim strip	-	86	-	7	-	-	-	1	94

TABLE 18 (Cont'd)

Pottery Series and Type	Features								
	170	171	237	270	271	275	277	281	Total
Plain rim, undetermined rim contour, flat lip, notched rim strip	2	20	-	-	-	-	-	3	25
Plain rim, undetermined rim contour, flat lip, without rim strip	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	65	68
Plain rim, undetermined rim contour, missing lip, notched rim strip	-	28	-	-	-	-	-	13	41
Notched extended rim, undetermined rim contour, flat lip, without rim strip	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Unnotched extended rim, undetermined rim contour, rounded lip, unnotched rim strip	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	7
Rolled rim, inverted rim contour, rounded lip, without rim strip	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Rolled rim, everted rim contour, rounded lip, notched rim strip	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1

TABLE 18 (Cont'd)

Pottery Series and Type	Features								
	170	171	237	270	271	275	277	281	Total
Rolled rim, everted rim contour, rounded lip, without rim strip	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	14	22
Rolled rim, undetermined rim contour, rounded lip, without rim strip	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	58	59
Thickened exterior rim, undetermined rim contour rounded lip, without rim strip	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Thickened exterior and interior rim, everted rim contour, round lip, without rim strip	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Plain rim, direct rim contour, rounded lip, without rim strip, bifurcated lug handles	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
"Pinch pot"; notched or incised rim (pseudo- rim decoration), flat lip without rim strip	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Fabric impressed (loom woven material), body sherds	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	5

TABLE 18 (Cont'd)

Pottery Series and Type	Features								
	170	171	237	270	271	275	277	281	Total
Overhill Check Stamped:									
Body Sherds	9	5	-	6	-	-	-	371	391
Rim Sherds									
Plain rim, everted rim contour, flat rim, notched rim strip	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	8
Plain rim, everted rim contour, flat lip, unnotched rim strip	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Plain rim, undetermined rim contour, missing lip, notched rim strip	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Notched extended rim, everted rim contour, flat lip, without rim strip	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Rolled rim, undetermined rim contour, round lip, without rim strip	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	14
Undetermined rim form, check stamped body	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	16

TABLE 18 (Cont'd)

Pottery Series and Type	Features								
	170	171	237	270	271	275	277	281	Total
Overhill Complicated Stamped:									
Body Sherd, rectilinear pattern	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Rim Sherds									
Notched rolled rim, direct rim contour, flat lip, without rim strip	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Qualla Plain:									
Body Sherds	-	8	-	4	-	-	14	3	29
Rim Sherds									
Plain rim, undetermined rim contour, rounded lip, notched rim strip	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Plain rim, undetermined rim contour, rounded lip, without rim strip	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Plain rim, undetermined rim contour, missing lip, notched rim strip	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

TABLE 18 (Cont'd)

Pottery Series and Type	Features								
	170	171	237	270	271	275	277	281	Total
Rolled rim, everted rim contour, rounded lip, notched rim strip	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Rolled rim, undetermined rim contour, rounded lip, without rim strip	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Notched extended rim, everted rim contour, flat lip, without rim strip	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Thickened interior rim, undetermined rim contour, rounded lip, without rim strip	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Qualla Check Stamped:									
Body Sherds	-	234	-	6	-	-	-	72	312
Qualla Complicated Stamped:									
Body Sherds, undetermined pattern	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Degenerate Plain:									
Body Sherds	-	99	-	22	-	-	-	2	123

TABLE 18 (Cont'd)

Pottery Series and Type	Features								
	170	171	237	270	271	275	277	281	Total
Rim Sherds									
Plain rim, undetermined rim contour, rounded lip, without rim strip	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Plain rim, undetermined rim contour, rounded lip, notched rim strip	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	3
Plain rim, undetermined rim contour, flat lip, notched rim strip	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Rolled rim, undetermined rim contour, rounded lip, without rim strip	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Undetermined rim, undetermined rim contour, missing lip, notched rim strip	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Degenerate Check Stamped									
Body Sherds	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Residual Sherds, shell temper:									
Body Sherds	97	431	-	359	5	-	1	587	1480

TABLE 18 (Cont'd)

Pottery Series and Type	Features								
	170	171	237	270	271	275	277	281	Total
Residual Mississippian:									
Rim Sherds									
Undetermined rim, undetermined rim contour, round lip, without rim strip, incised decoration	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Strap handle fragment	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hiwassee Island, red film	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Fatherland Incised:									
Body Sherd	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Residual Sherds, grit temper:									
Body Sherds, plain	28	6	-	60	18	52	5	86	255
Cord marked	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	5
Simple stamped	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	5
Checked stamped	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	7
Complicated stamped, pattern undetermined	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Residual Sherds, limestone temper:									

TABLE 18 (Cont'd)

Pottery Series and Type	Features								
	170	171	237	270	271	275	277	281	Total
Body Sherds, plain									
Fabric impressed	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Incised	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3
Pode fragment	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Residual Sherds, and temper:									
Body Sherds, plain	-	11	-	-	-	9	-	6	26
Simple stamped	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Connestee plain	-	47	-	-	-	-	-	3	50
Connestee cord marked	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Rim Sherd									
Thickened interior rim, inverted rim contour, flat lip, cord impressed surface	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1

indistinguishable. Plain shell tempered sherds of the Citico sample were categorically identified as Overhill, based on the dated contexts from which the sample was derived. Overhill series surface treatment includes plain which are either scraped or poorly smoothed, cord impressed, cob impressed, stamped, brushed, and incised. In addition, the rim contour (R-C), shape of lip, presence of an applied rim-strip, and occurrence of notching on either the lip or rim-strip all distinguish Overhill types (Figures 15-18).

Five Overhill sherds from Feature 171 exhibit impressions of a tightly woven fabric, undoubtedly loom woven. The impressions occur on basal sherds, suggesting they resulted by placement of the green vessel on fabric before firing and were not necessarily intentional surface decorations. Similar impressions from loom woven fabric have been reported from late historic contexts at Chota and Starnes (320:35).

The Qualla Series implies cultural affinity to the Cherokee Middle, Valley, and Out Towns of western North Carolina (297:201; 298). Qualla types are characterized by moderate to abundant quantities of grit temper and partial burnishing of the vessel interior. Check stamping predominates all other kinds of surface treatment exhibited in the Citico sample, giving support to Kelly and Neitzel's (316:40) observation that check stamping was a prominent late Cherokee surface treatment.

A single Fatherland incised sherd identified within the Citico sample probably resulted from the disturbance of earlier deposits when Feature 170 was dug. This particular sherd does not exhibit weathering, indicating it probably was not exposed on the ground surface for any extended period of time. Fatherland incised pottery was brought into eastern Tennessee by an eastward movement of Natchez in the 1740's (305). For a formal type description of Fatherland incised refer to Quimby (347).

The degenerate pottery category is a new classification, formulated to distinguish pottery that has deteriorated in form, quality of manufacture, and decoration from its supposed antecedents. It is characterized by a soft, pink to orange, locally derived clay. Tempering is distinctive by its absence. Sporadic bits of quartz, sand, and shell suggest inclusions in the clay matrix, not intentional additions for temper. Inclusions of fired clay and hematite in the paste may be temper, yet these too do not occur uniformly throughout the paste. All sherds are poorly fired, displaying considerable variation in hardness. Surface decoration and rim form apparently are of Cherokee derivation. Sherds with a relatively harder paste have a poorly executed check stamp decorative pattern on the exterior surface. The relatively softer paste sherds have plain surfaces, although they exhibit notched rim-strips, rolled rims, and either flattened or rounded lips (Figure 19). Such decorative treatments are similar to those of the Overhill series. The sample of degenerate body sherds from Feature 270 display roughened exteriors and burnished interiors reminiscent of Qualla series surface treatments.



Figure 15. Native American Pottery from Citico (Example 1).

Overhill check stamped with plain rim, everted rim contour, flat lip, and a notched rim strip. Note that the rim strip was flattened against the vessel body before it was notched. Specimens recovered from Feature 281.

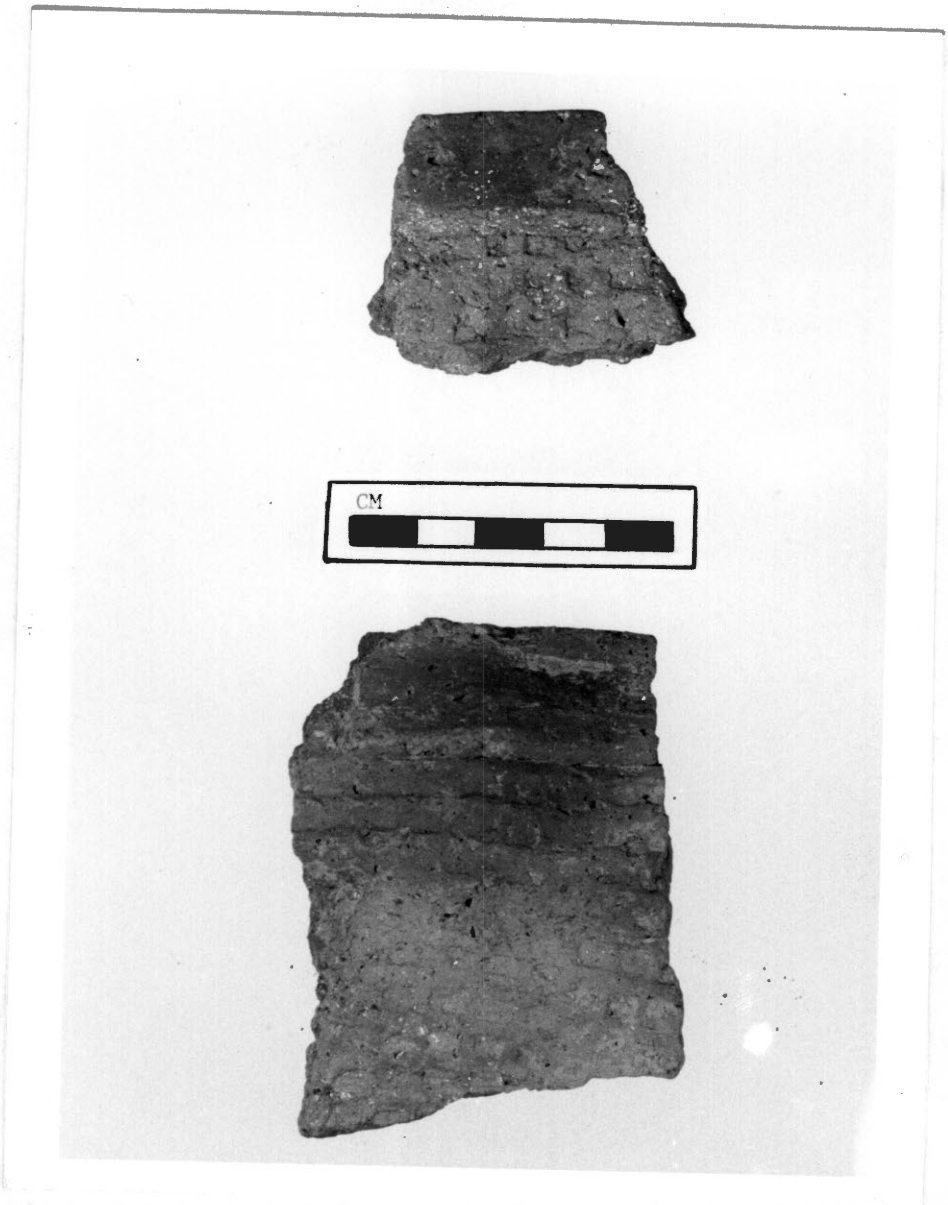


Figure 16. Native American Pottery from Citico (Example 2).

Overhill check stamped with plain rim, everted rim contour, flat lip, and an unnotched rim strip. This type differs from that in Figure 15, p. 193, only in the absence of rim strip notching. Note the shell temper, visible as white specks, characteristic of Overhill Cherokee pottery. Both sherds were recovered from Feature 281.

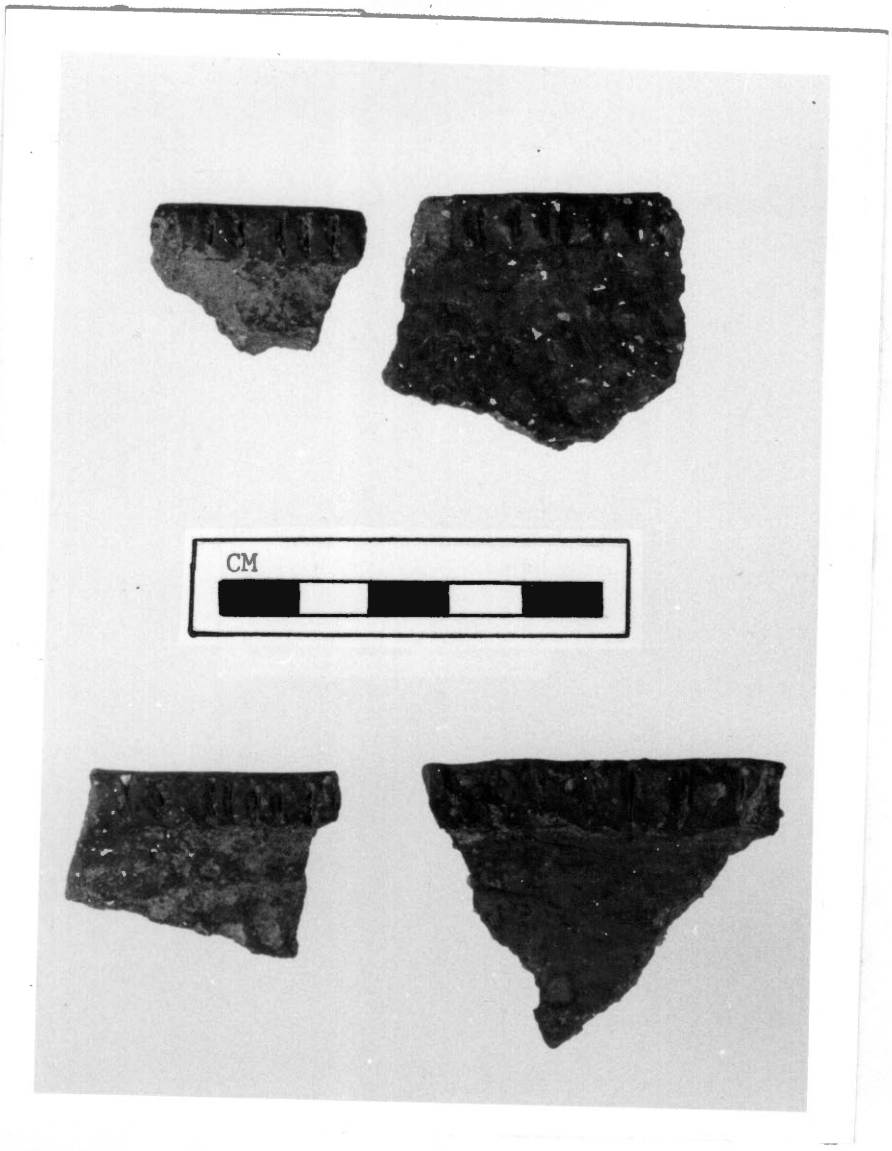


Figure 17. Native American Pottery from Citico (Examples 3-6). Top and bottom left. Overhill Cherokee check stamped, from Feature 281. Bottom right. Qualla Cherokee plain, recovered from Feature 170. These four specimens exhibit notched extended rims, everted rim contours, flat lips, and no rim strips.



Figure 18. Native American Pottery from Citico (Example 7). Overhill plain, with a plain rim, everted rim contour, rounded lip, and notched rim strip. Specimens recovered from Feature 270.



Figure 19. Pottery from Citico.

Degenerate plain or colono-Indian ware, with plain rim, undetermined rim contour, rounded lip, and notched rim strip. This pottery could have been made by either Cherokee or Afro-Americans. Specimens recovered from Feature 270.

One explanation for the origin of degenerate pottery is that it was a product of the social stresses experienced by the Cherokee at the close of the Federal Period. Declines in manufacture and stylistic elements may mark the extreme in Cherokee social disruption believed to have occurred along the interface of contact between the Anglo-American and Cherokee cultures. Geographically, Citico was closely situated to the boundary supposedly dividing these two cultures. Pottery was traditionally produced by the Cherokee female. The continued use of pottery by the eastern Cherokee into the second quarter of the nineteenth century reflects social stability and Cherokee tradition founded in the strong matriarchal organization of households. Witthoft (378:204) observed that wives and mothers represented "the anchors of social life." Possibly the social stresses of the eastern Tennessee contact situation were of such magnitude that even the traditionally resilient female core of Cherokee society faltered. This degree of social disintegration would have had a marked affect on domestic industries, resulting in products of poor quality, as exemplified by the degenerate pottery.

A second explanation for degenerate pottery is that it was produced by African-Americans who were either Cherokee owned slaves or freemen residing in the Cherokee Nation. Noel Hume described similar pottery, concluding it was produced by Indians for sale to both whites and blacks, thus the designation colono-Indian pottery was produced and utilized by African-Americans. In many cases this pottery imitates Euroamerican vessel forms. The Citico sample differs in that Cherokee vessel form and decorative elements were adapted, not Euroamerican. Elsewhere in the lower Little Tennessee River valley, colono-Indian pottery has been reported at the Tellico Blockhouse Site (344:255-259).

The residual categories encompass small, weathered sherds which may predate the Federal Period Cherokee deposits. The occurrence of these sherds in Federal Period features at Citico is attributed to disturbance of earlier cultural deposits when the features were being dug and the subsequent deposition of surface scatter as the features were filled.

Residual shell tempered sherds are very small, with rounded broken edges and obliterated surface treatments. The shell temper has leached out in most specimens, leaving small linear spaces within the paste. All specimens are body sherds, with the exceptions of a rim sherd and a strap handle fragment.

Three residual Hiwassee Island Red Filmed sherds were recovered from Feature 81. Tempered with finely crushed shell, these sherds have smooth surfaces covered with a red oxide paint. Formal type descriptions are presented by Lewis and Kneberg (329:103-104).

The residual grit tempered category is comprised of both grit and quartz tempered sherds. Surface decorations were discernible on nineteen sherds. Quartz tempered sherds are probably Woodland period types (280) whereas grit tempering occurs up through the historic period (297:298).

Residual limestone and sand tempered sherds, all believed to be Woodland types, exhibited extreme weathering. A substantial collection of Connestee plain sherds and one Connestee cord marked sherd were recovered from Feature 171. Connestee sherds are characterized by their fine sand temper, hard paste and relative thinness of the sherds (279:30-32).

Bottle Glass

One hundred and thirty-two bottle fragments were recovered from the Federal Period features at Citico. This sample is divided into three class categories: Wine or Rum Bottle, Pharmaceutical Bottle, and Unidentified Bottle glass.

Forty-one wine or rum bottle fragments were identified. All fragments are olive-green (285:100) and derive from round-sectioned bottles.

Eight pharmaceutical bottle or phial fragments were identified by the thinness and curvature of the glass. The glass fragments are lightly tinted in green or yellow, both very common glass colors (338: 72-75).

Eighty-three unidentified bottle glass fragments were excavated. Bottle form could not be determined due to small sherd size and deformation. Many glass fragments recovered from Feature 281 were burned.

Glassware

Decanter

A decanter rim was recovered from Feature 170. The blown, clear glass specimen displays a straight neck and rounded rim. The interior of the neck is ground. A decanter stopper with frosted glass inset, surface collected at Citico, possibly matches the decanter fragment described (300:52).

Kitchenware

Brass Kettle Parts

Three brass kettle parts were recovered (Table 19). This sample is comprised of one substantial sheet brass fragment, a cast brass lug,

TABLE 19

DISTRIBUTION OF KITCHEN GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM CITICO

Artifact Class Types	Features						
	170	171	237	270	271	277	281
Bottle Glass:							
Wine/rum	5	8	-	7	-	-	21
Pharmaceutical	7	-	-	-	-	1	1
Unidentified	35	4	-	1	4	-	39
Glassware:							
Decanter	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kitchenware:							
Brass kettle parts, sheet brass	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
iron lug	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
iron bale wire	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Lithic mano	-	-	1	-	-	-	-

and an iron bale wire. Most of the fragmentary sheet brass recovered reflects reuse and alteration of brass kettles and therefore is classified within the activities artificts group under miscellaneous hardware.

Lithic Mano

One mano or pitted cobble was identified by Roberts (350). The specimen is a river cobble with one flat ground surface and a central depression in each opposing broad surface. This implement functioned as a grinding or milling stone, being pushed against an anvil stone or mortar. The specimen was recovered from Feature 237 (Table 19).

Architecture Group

Nails, window glass, and daub comprise the architecture related artifacts recovered from Citico. Following the Revolutionary War Period (336:8) the Cherokee of eastern Tennessee shifted from building traditional domestic structures to erecting horizontal log homes (343:150). The Federal Period archaeological data does not reflect this change when compared with mid-eighteenth century architecture artifact samples from either Citico (300:55) or Chota-Tanasee (336:32-35).

The limited number of artifact classes comprising the Citico architecture group (e.g., the absence of door locks, hinges and pintles, shutter hooks, etc.) probably reflects the frontier position of the eastern Tennessee region up through the Federal Period and an Overhill Cherokee conservatism towards certain Anglo-American acculturative forces. The frontier position of this area undoubtedly restricted the availability of certain structural hardware, although not altogether as indicated by the assemblages from Fort Southwest Point and the Tellico Blockhouse (Appendix B). Apparently the availability of such items to the Cherokee was restricted by the limited demand for them. The needs or desires of the Federal Period Cherokee were directed towards "light fabrics, linens, and hardware" (331:78). Nails, the one item that apparently was in demand, exhibit a quantitative increase in the archaeological record from the Colonial to Federal Periods (300:Table 6). Whether this increase is the result of the increased availability of nails or the shift in Cherokee domestic architecture, or both, cannot be resolved from the present archaeological data base. Historical documents tend to support the former explanation. In attempts to advance the Federal Government's program of "civilizing" the Indians, the factor at the Tellico Blockhouse provided specific supplies and equipment to the Cherokee (370:13, 14).

Whereas historic documents indicate Cherokee domestic structure form changed, the Cherokee evidently maintained, to a degree, their

traditional patterns of dwelling construction, furnishing, and use of interior space. The writings of Louis-Philippe (331:84) reveal this, noting that "instead of selecting good thick trucks for construction [typical of Anglo-American heavy timbered structures] they took thin ones." The Cherokee stuffed "the chinks with a mastic made of earth and sand," a construction method no different than the traditional daubing of structure walls and archaeologically evidenced at Citico. Louis-Philippe also gives brief mention to the interior of the structure:

> . . . the fire was at one end of the room in a fireplace like our own, and the beds, made of slats laid the long way and covered with blankets, stood against the long wall. (331)

Outwardly, the Cherokee bowed to the acculturative pressures placed upon them to adapt dwelling structures similar to the Anglo-Americans. Cherokee structures took the form of Anglo-American cabins, even to the extent of ridged roofs (331:87) and a fireplace and chimney at the end of the dwelling. Inwardly, the Cherokee resisted total acculturation, continuing to utilize scant furnishings of beds, or benches, along the interior walls, reminiscent of benches found in traditional Cherokee sbructures revealed by archaeology.

Window Glass

Sixteen fragments of clear, flat glass were recovered (Table 20). These fragments are classified as window glass in lieu of any distinguishing attributes besides the two mentioned. The lack of windows in Cherokee structures pictured in a circa 1804 painting (331:87, see Figure) and the absence of window glass in trade records (336:32, 33) suggests the flat glass sample possibly represents functional items other than window glass.

An attempt was made to distinguish the glass fragments within three defined types (i.e., crown, broad, and cast plate) according to their method of manufacture (285:127). Unfortunately, type distinguishing features were nearly impossible to accurately discern on the small fragments comprising the Citico sample.

Nails

Two hundred and twenty-three nails were recovered from Citico (Table 21). Following Newman (336:33), nails are classified according to head form, size, and method of manufacture. Three types of hand wrought nails were identified: rose head, T-head, and L-head. In addition, three types of machine made (cut) nails were distinguished: early machine headed, modern cut, and cut-spring.

TABLE 20

DISTRIBUTION OF WINDOW GLASS FROM CITICO

Feature	Sample
171	7
270	1
277	4
281	4
Total	16

TABLE 21

DISTRIBUTION OF NAILS FROM CITICO

Feature / Length (mm)	Hand Wrought			Machine Cut			Unidentified
	Rose Head	L-Head	T-Head	Pre-1820	Post 1820	Cut Spring	
F-170							
-24mm	3	1	-	3	-	-	4
24-51mm	2	-	2	16	4	-	19
51-89mm	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
F-171							
-24mm	3	-	3	-	-	-	9
24-51mm	2	-	5	6	2	1	14
F-237							
51-89mm	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
F-270							
-24mm	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
24-51mm	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
F-277							
-24mm	0	0	1	-	-	-	-
24-51mm	-	-	2	1	-	-	-
51-89mm	-	-	1	2	-	-	1
F-281							
-24mm	18	-	7	-	-	-	15
24-51mm	11	-	24	-	3	-	18
51-89	1	-	10	-	-	-	-
Total	45	1	57	30	9	1	81

While common to historic sites, nails hold limited dating potential (335). Technological advances occurring between 1790 and 1830 serve as the best chronological markers, although limited to machine stamped nails. The cut spring type machine made nail was manufactured after 1810, providing a terminus post quiem yet no reliable date range. Only one specimen of this type was recovered, from Feature 171. The remaining two types of machine cut nails are distinguished by the presence or absence of a constricted shaft immediately below the head. This deformity, caused by the heading device, provides a rough date range of 1815-20 for early machine headed nails. Nelson (335) cautions that manufacturing techniques continued after more sophisticated machines were developed. The majority of machine made nails from Citico are the early type exhibiting shaft deformation.

Beginning around 1820, cut nails with machine stamped heads were produced without shaft deformation. A total of nine such nails were recovered from Citico. The occurrence of such nails suggests the features date after 1819, the date of Cherokee removal from the lower Little Tennessee River valley. A number of possibilities could explain this apparent discrepancy. First, it is conceivable that advancements in technology enabled production of cut nails without shaft deformation prior to the currently accepted date of 1820. This possibility has been raised by Larrabee (326) who recovered modern cut nails from contexts dated to 1812. Furthermore, a pre-1820 occurrence of modern cut nails is reported within eastern Tennessee at the Tellico Blockhouse (344: 202). Second, the late date of the Citico features may indicate a continued Cherokee occupation after the general removal in 1819. Review of historic documents has failed to shed light on this possibility. Third, the corroded nature of the specimens could very easily conceal evidence of shaft deformation, resulting in the misidentification of nine specimens. Reexamination of the specimens in question failed to resolve this possibility.

Daub

Daub specimens were reported in the fill of all Federal Period features. The counts of daub per feature presented in Table 22 are representative samples collected during excavation and do not reflect the total daub content of each feature. The residual nature of specimens makes it impossible to relate the daub solely to the Cherokee component.

Daub is composed of sun baked or fire hardened clay and sand. Inclusions of grass, feathers, and pebbles are common. The mixture was applied to the cane walls of traditional structures (329:48) and used to chink the later, horizontal log buildings.

TABLE 22

DISTRIBUTION OF DAUB FROM CITICO

Feature	Sample Weight* (grams)	Count
170	683.2	-
171	595.0	-
237	34.1	3
270	88.3	17
271	27.9	-
275	9.3	16
277	-	0
281	1745.6	165

*Note: The author did not examine daub specimens. Samples were weighed during preliminary separation and analysis, counts made for only those features indicated, and then the specimens were apparently discarded. Although noted and discussed, the daub counts were not utilized in computing the artifact group frequency.

Furniture Group

No furniture remains were identified in the Citico collection. With the exception of metal furniture hardware, furniture remains survive interment poorly. This is very true of native furnishings constructed from wood and cane.

Arms Group

The arms group is primarily composed of artifacts associated with firearms. In many instances firearms are linked with military functions and thus possibly should be placed within the military objects class of the activities group. Firearms, however, were integral to a much broader range of functions in civilian as well as military contexts, therefore arms are distinguished from military functional items.

This group also includes the surviving native counterpart to firearms, lithic and brass projectile points.

Lead Shot, Balls, and Sprue

Twenty lead balls and shot were recovered, of which thirteen were not deformed (Table 23). The one measurable ball is .551 inch or 14 mm in diameter.

Twelve undeformed shot ranged in diameter between .078 inch and .315 inch. Shot measuring .275 inch and .315 inch in diameter were cast (buck or swan shot). The method of producing the smaller shot is not certain, although a few specimens display traces of a waister "collar" indicative of casting.

The high ratio of shot to balls is immediately apparent in this sample. Comparison of the Federal Period sample to a mid-eighteenth century sample, also from Citico (300:64), reveals a substantially lower ratio of shot to balls in the earlier contexts. This difference possibly reflects shifts in Cherokee firearm use patterns from the mid-eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century. Such shifts may be related to one or more of the following: (1) the decline of large game animals in proximity to the lower Little Tennessee River; (2) the replacement of English trade guns with American manufactured firearms; and (3) an emphasis by American factories toward the use of shot, thereby conserving supplies of lead and also reducing the effectiveness of Cherokee guns if they should be turned on the Federal military.

Thirteen pieces of sprue were collected. These specimens are indicative of casting activities at Citico.

TABLE 23

DISTRIBUTION OF ARMS GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM CITICO

Features:	170	171	237	270	271	275	277	281
Lead Balls and Shot (dia.):								
.078" (2mm)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
.118" (3mm)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
.138" (3.5mm)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
.157" (4mm)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
.275" (7mm)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
.315" (8mm)	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
deformed shot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
.551" (14mm)	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
deformed ball	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3
Lead Sprue:	1	3	-	-	2	-	-	7
Gunflints:								
Spall, gray-brown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
gray-black	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Blade, blond-lt. gray	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
lt. gray	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
drk. gray-black	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gun Parts:								
brass trigger guard	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1
brass butt plate	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
musket barrel	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
sear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
tumbler	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
trigger	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
stock screws	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Projectile Points:								
sheet brass, triangular	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lithic, *stemmed, large	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
small	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
pentagonal	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
excurvate, concave base	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
triangular	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
straight, straight base, tri.	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
incurvate, concave base, tri.	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
misc. fragments	1	8	-	4	-	-	-	7

*Note: Intrusive items predating Federal Period were not included in group frequency.

Gunflints

Seventeen gunflints were excavated at Citico. Specimens are classified according to Stone's typology (366:247), dividing the sample into four blade flints and thirteen spall flints. A number of the specimens exhibit use as fireflints. The primary function of these specimens, however, was a gunflints as indicated by the large flaking scars along the flint edge and front bevel (308:121-22). The small dimensions of two spall flints suggest they may have been utilized in pistols. No attempt was made to assign a source of these specimens. To date, attempts to correlate specific kinds of flint and knapping techniques to European outcrops and production areas are far from conclusive. Two spall specimens (Features 171 and 281) are of chert common to eastern Tennessee.

Gun Parts

Fifteen firearm parts were recovered, of which five are brass and the remainder iron. A brass trigger guard fragment from Feature 270, although unmarked, matches the trigger guard illustrated by Hanson and Hsu (309:Figure 43E) from Fort Stanwix. This heavy casted specimen is probably from a British military issue musket.

Two brass buttplate fragments, from Features 270 and 281, articulate. The dovetail inset on the left side of the fragment from Feature 281 indicates this buttplate is from a rifle, versus a musket (Figure 20) (336:Figure 5E).

The remaining iron musket parts include a barrel fragment, one sear, two tumblers, two trigger fragments, and four stock screws.

Projectile Points

Sheet Brass

One brass triangular projectile point was excavated from Feature 171. This specimen is of Cherokee manufacture, cut from the sheet brass fragment of a brass kettle. Similar projectile points, some still hafted, were recovered from Historic Cherokee contexts at Chota-Tanasee. These artifacts represent the substitution of metal for stone along with the incorporation of new manufacturing techniques. Whereas the substitution of a new material for a traditional one reflects a very limited degree of culture change (374:159), the incorporation of new techniques to alter the new raw material is indicative of culture change of a relatively greater degree. The single brass projectile point collected at Citico is the tangible product of a series of acculturative changes which occurred within the Cherokee culture system.

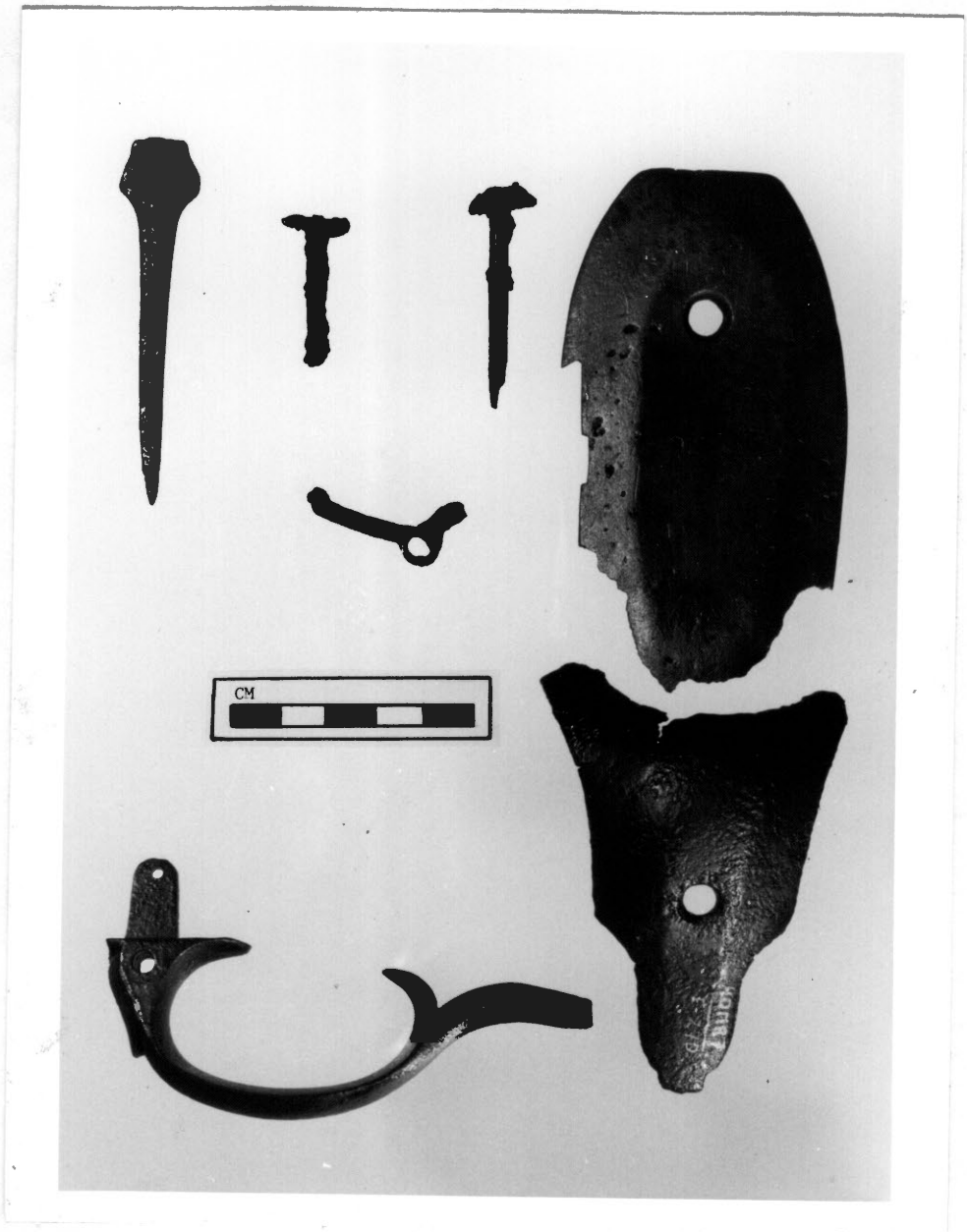


Figure 20. Gun Parts from Citico.

Top left. Brass triggerguard finial, recovered from Feature 270.

Top center. Iron stock screws from Feature 281.

Right. Two articulating fragments of a brass buttplate. Note the cut-out section for the patch box lid. Specimens from Features 270 and 281.

Center. Iron sear, from Feature 281.

Bottom. Brass triggerguard from Feature 270.

Lithic

Thirty-four lithic projectile points were collected from Federal Period contexts (Table 23). Current understanding of Historic Cherokee lithic technology is imperfect, and thus prevents differentiating the products of the Federal Period Cherokee and that of earlier occuptations. Undoubtedly, a number of the projectile points collected are residual inclusions in Federal Period deposits. Unfortunately, only five specimens can be assuredly associated with distinctive archaeological culture periods and therefore excluded from the Federal Period Cherokee "assemblage." Eight other specimens have been variously affiliated with the Late Mississippian and Historic Cherokee Periods. These specimens cannot be dismissed as pre-Federal Period lithics simply on the basis of the notion that Cherokee lithic technology was lost early in the historic period as stone tools were superseded by iron trade items.

Projectile Point descriptions which follow are based upon an analysis of the Citico lithics by Roberts (350).

Five stemmed triangular projectile points with excurvate edges are similar to types recovered from Late Archaic and Woodland contexts in the lower Little Tennessee River valley (287). These specimens are not included in the counts utilized in figuring the arms group frequency profile.

Two pentagonal projectile points with straight edges and concave bases are associated with the Mississippian Period. Similar shaped specimens from the Carolina Piedmont (Pee Dee Pentagonal) are associated with protohistoric components (296:49).

One fragmentary triangular point specimen has excurvate edges and a concave base. With the exception of a slight difference in the base, this specimen is similar to Dallas Excurvate Triangular (329:113) and Late Mississippian Triangular (324:85) types. These types have been recovered from both Late Mississippian Dallas and Historic Cherokee contexts.

One broken triangular point specimen possesses straight edges and a convex base. This type is similar to the Madison type point defined by Scully (357), with the exception of the base shape. Roberts (350) notes that similar types, collected from Historic Cherokee contexts at Chota-Tanasee, mirror the length and width measurements of sheet brass projectile points.

Three additional triangular projectile points with straight edges are similar to the Madison type points. One specimen has a straight base while the other two specimens have concave bases. Kneberg (324:85) associates similar types with the Last Mississippian and Historic Cherokee Periods.

Two fragmentary triangular point specimens with incurvate edges and a concave base are similar to Hamilton projectile point types (329:110-111). Traditionally associated with Late Woodland and Mississippian components, Roberts (350) suggests this type may also relate to Historic Cherokee components.

Clothing Group

Buckles

Seven buckles are represented by frame, hook, and tongue fragments. Buckle terminology and typology utilized herein are adapted from Stone (366:25-44).

Two buckle fragments are brass. One specimen has a rectangular frame with rounded corners and the remnants of an iron tongue on the hinge bar (Dimensions: frame length, 39 mm; frame width, 26 mm). The other brass specimen is a variant of the "D" shaped brass buckel discussed by Newman (336:42) (Dimensions: frame length, 24 mm; frame width, 26 mm).

The five remaining specimens are iron. One buckle has a flanged or winged iron hook, a hinge bar, and a double pronged tongue. The winged features of this hook served to secure cloth or leather to the buckle (Dimensions: maximum hook width, 28 mm). The fragmentary condition of the remaining specimens precludes their description (Table 24).

Buttons

Fourteen buttons comprise the sample from Citico. All specimens are placed within South's (361) button typology (Table 25).

Sleeve Links

Five sleeve links or fragments were recovered from Features 170, 277, and 281. All specimens are of cast brass, falling within the definition of South's type 35 (361:125). Four specimens have glass sets with marbled brown and white coloration. The single variant form has an embossed face instead of glass sets.

Clothing Hook

One iron clothing hook was excavated from Feature 281. Stone (366:81) describes similar hooks as:

TABLE 24

DISTRIBUTION OF CLOTHING GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM CITICO

Description Description	Features			
	170	171	277	281
Buckles:				
Brass	-	-	-	2
Iron	2	-	-	3
Clothing Hook:	-	-	-	1
Sewing Needle:				
Iron	-	-	-	4
Awls:				
Iron	-	-	-	1
Bone	-	-	-	1
Scissors:	-	2	-	-
Straight Pins:				
Iron	-	-	-	5
Brass	-	-	1	-
Fabric:				
Cotton	-	-	-	5
Bale Seal:	-	-	-	1

TABLE 25

DISTRIBUTION OF BUTTONS AND SLEEVE LINKS

South (1964) Type No.	Sample	Diameter (mm) Range	Mean	Distribution (n)		Description/Comments
1	4	10-13	12	F-171 F-281	(1) (2)	One piece cast brass or white metal back, drilled eye, domed cast face, a few with relief design on face.
3	4	-	-	F-281		Fragment only, embossed brass and gilt face, no back present.
7	2	15-22	17.5	F-170 F-281	(1) (1)	White brass disc, iron wire eye cast in position, flat face and back, spun back.
8	1	-	25	F-281		Cast brass disc, molded relief design on face, no evidence of mold seam or spinning, raised center boss around eye hold.
10	1	-	26	F-281		Cast brass, domed face.
15	1	-	8	F-277		Bone disc, one central hole, either button disc or back.
18	3	14-19	17	F-170 F-281	(2) (1)	Brass disc, soldered eye wire plain face, back stamped with double concentric lines, lettering, and wreath motif. One specimen stamped with an eagle.
35	5	10-12	11	F-170 F-277 F-281	(2) (1) (2)	Sleeve links, domed brass back drilled eye, glass set. One specimen with embossed face.

> . . . composed of a single piece of brass or iron wire formed into a shaft which terminates with two round loops (thread eyes), one end to which the fabric is attached, and a hook-like shank (hook bill) on the other end. The hook bill is formed by bending the double wire 180° or parallel to the hook shaft.

Hook and eye pairs were used to secure clothing sections such as collars, cuffs, and seams. The single hook specimen from Citico is fragmentary, missing the thread eyes. No corresponding eyes from the hook and eye pair were recovered.

Sewing Needles

Four iron needles are identifiable. All specimens are from Feature 281 (Table 24). The broken specimens range in length between 12 mm-30 mm. Newman (336:45) concludes that iron needles were a highly desired trade item. The observation of Louis-Philippe (331:78) that "needles are worth more than money" lends credence to Newman's statement.

Awls

One iron awl was recovered from Feature 281. This specimen is diamond shaped in cross-section, with one end curving into a small hook. The opposite end is offset from the main shaft of the tool by a slight bend. This implement was possibly utilized in making tatting. One bone awl was also recovered.

Scissors

Two nail or embroidery scissors were found in Feature 171. One specimen is nearly complete with only a blade top and portions of the eyes missing. Following the descriptive terminology and typology utilized by Noel Hume (338:267-68), both scissors are similar to narrow blade, straight haft types. The nearly complete specimen has a length of 139 mm. The other specimen is too corroded to yield dimensions.

Straight Pins

One brass and six iron pins were collected at Citico. All but one specimen are fragmentary. The complete iron pin is 23 mm in length. All heads are coiled wire soldered to the shaft. This sample is distinctive from pin samples from other sites (309; 138; 336:46; 366: 162) in that iron pins are present. Possibly iron pins emerged as a trade item in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century when supplies were being produced by American industry.

Fabric

Four pieces of fabric were excavated from Feature 281. One additional specimen was evidenced by an impression in a fragment of tar or pitch. All specimens were coated with tar or pitch evidently as a means of water-proofing. Identification of the fabric material was made by microscopic evaluation, flame testing, and chemical solubility testing. All specimens were 100 percent cotton (Figure 21). The first specimen analyzed exhibited a plan 1 × 1 weave. The yarn was 2-ply and in an S-twist conformation. The second specimen was woven 4-ply yarn, of an S-twist conformation, in a plain 1 × 1 pattern. The third specimen also was of 4-ply yarn, of the S-twist conformation, and woven in a plain 1 × 1 pattern. This last piece of fabric is brown in color and pliable, appearing much like canvas.

> The fabric pieces in general were made of finely spun and uniform yarns. This would indicate that the yarns were formed on a machine or more sophisticated instrument than a hand spinner. (379)

This observation does not negate the possibility that the fabrics were woven by Cherokee since looms were possessed by the 1790s. Nonetheless, the tightness of the weave and, more importantly, the uniformity of the spun yarns suggest the fabrics were trade items. Records of the Tellico Factory show that thousands of yards of fabrics were received for the purpose of trade (344).

Bale Seal

One lead bale seal was recovered from Feature 281 (Table 24). It is stamped on the obverse with a heart enclosing the initials "V B." The reverse is incised with "$\frac{7}{3/3}$" (Figure 22).

Beads

A total of 501 beads were recovered from Federal Period contexts at Citico. The beads comprising this sample are glass with the exceptions of one rolled sheet iron, one stone, and two shell specimens.

Glass beads are classified according to the Kidd and Kidd (317) typology and briefly described in Table 26. Within this typology, classes are defined as to hollow cane (drawn tube) (classes I-IV) and wire wound (mandrel wound) (classes WI-WIV) methods of manufacture. These manufacturing methods were distinguished in the majority of the Citico bead sample, however a third blown method was also recognized.

Blown glass beads are manufactured by creating an air bubble within a small amount of molten glass held on the tip of a glass-blowing



Figure 21. Cotton Fabric Specimens from Citico. These specimens were recovered from Feature 281.

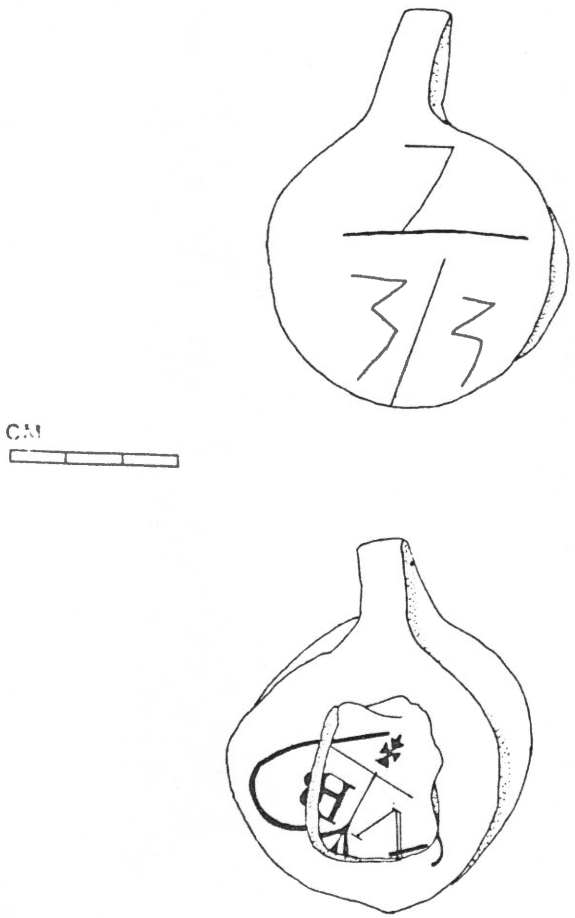


Figure 22. Lead Bale Seal from Citico.

Specimen recovered from Feature 281.

TABLE 26

DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF BEADS FROM CITICO

Type	Sample by Feature		Color and Glass	Sample by Diameter (mm)					Comments
	n	Feature		2	2-4	5-7	8-10	10	
Glass:									
1a 3	1	281	Lt. Gray/clear	-	1	-	-	-	Simple monochrome tubular beads.
1a 5	1	277	White/opaque	-	1	-	-	-	
	1	281	White/opaque	-	1	-	-	-	
1a 20	1	170	Navy blue/opaque	-	-	1	-	-	
1b 4	1	281	Black/opaque six white stripes	-	-	1	-	-	Monochrome, simple stripes.
1f	1	277	Lt. Gray/clear	-	-	1	-	-	Tubular with ground facets.
	1	277	Aqua blue/clear	-	-	1	-	-	
			Cranberry red/ translucent	-	-	2	-	-	Some specimens are possibly molded.
	-	277	Surf Green/ translucent	-	-	-	1	-	
11a 7	5	170	Black/opaque	-	5	-	-	-	Monochrome segment of tubular bead, heated and tumbled to round or donut form. Class include common "seed" beads.
	18	171	" "	-	18	-	-	-	
	1	237	" "	-	1	-	-	-	
	7	270	" "	-	7	-	-	-	
	5	271	" "	-	5	-	-	-	
	55	281	" "	-	55	-	-	-	
	1	170	" "	-	1	-	-	-	Monochrome segment of tubular bead type IC (square in section before drawing), heated and tumbled into an octagonal form.
	2	271	" "	-	2	-	-	-	

TABLE 26 (Cont'd)

Type	Sample by Feature n	Feature	Color and Glass	Sample by Diameter (mm) 2	2-4	5-7	8-10	10	Comments
IIa 14	14	170	White/opaque	-	14	-	-	-	Monochrome segment of tubular bead, heated and tumbled to round or donut form.
	110	171	" "	-	110	-	-	-	
	4	237	" "	-	4	-	-	-	
	30	270	" "	-	30	-	-	-	
	7	271	" "	-	7	-	-	-	
				-	1	-	-	-	
				-	96	-	-	-	
IIa 15	1	281	White/opaque	-	-	-	10	-	Monochrome, oval form.
IIa 19	4	281	Amber/opaque	-	4	-	-	-	Monchrome, donut form.
IIa 27	1	281	Emerald green, heavy patina/ opaque	-	1	-	-	-	Monochrome, round to donut form. This bead may be composed of glass paste instead of drawn glass.
IIa 32	1	281	Turquoise/opaque	-	-	1	-	-	Monochrome, oval form
IIa 34	1	270	Lt. Aqua/clear	-	1	-	-	-	Monochrome, donut
	9	281	" "	-	9	-	-	-	
IIa 37	1	171	Aqua blue/opaque	-	1	-	-	-	
IIa 42	1	281	Robin's egg blue/ opaque	-	-	1	-	-	Monochrome, oval form

TABLE 26 (Cont'd)

Type	Sample by Feature n	Feature	Color and Glass	Sample by Diameter (mm) 2	2-4	5-7	8-10	10	Comments
IIa 53	2	170	Ultramarine/clear	-	1	-	-	-	Monochrome, donut form
IIa 56	4	281	Bright navy/clear translucent	-	1	-	-	-	
				-	3	-	-	-	
IIa 59	3	281	Rose, wine/ translucent	-	3	-	-	-	
IIa 62	1	171	Rose-brown/ translucent	-	1	-	-	-	Monochrome, donut form. Form and color are additions to Kid and Kid typology.
	1	272	"	-	1	-	-	-	
	10	281	"	-	10	-	-	-	
IIa	1	171	Wedgewood blue/ opaque	-	1	-	-	-	Monochrome, donut form.
	4	281	Lt. gray/clear	-	4	-	-	-	
IIa	1	277	Lt. aqua blue/ translucent	-	-	1	-	-	Monochrome, oval form.
	1	277	Turquoise/clear	-	1	-	-	-	
IIb 12	1	170	Black body/opaque Four white stripes	-	1	-	-	-	Monochrome, with simple stripes. Round form.

TABLE 26 (Cont'd)

Type	Sample by Feature n	Feature	Color and Glass	Sample by Diameter (mm) 2	2-4	5-7	8-10	10	Comments
II (b18?)	1	281	Lt. gray/clear	-	1	-	-	-	Monochrome, donut form. Possibly decorated with stripes.
IVa 3	1	170	Core: Lt. gray/ clear	-	1	-	-	-	Multilayered glass tube, altered by heating and tumbling into donut form.
	1	171	Exterior: redwood/ Opaque	-	1	-	-	-	
				-	14	-	-	-	
IVa 20	21	281	Core: white/ translucent to clear. Exterior: oyster white/translucent	-	20	-	-	-	Multilayered, donut form. Type number is an addition to Kid and Kid typology.
WIb5	1	171	Pale blue-alabaster/	-	-	-	-	1	Wire Wound, monochrome round in form. Two specimens 14mm and one specimen 16mm in dia.
	1	281	Translucent	-	-	-	-	1	
WIb16	1	171	Bright navy/ translucent	-	-	-	-	1	
WIb	1	281	Amethyst/ translucent	-	-	-	-	1	Wire Wound, monochrome. Round form.
	1	170	Palm green/ translucent	-	-	1	-	-	

TABLE 26 (Cont'd)

Type	Sample by Feature n	Feature	Color and Glass	Sample by Diameter (mm) 2	2-4	5-7	8-10	10	Comments
	1	171	Black/opaque	-	-	-	-	-	
	3	281	" "	-	3	-	-	-	
WI	1	170	White/opaque	-	1	-	-	-	Wire Wound, monochrome. Donut form.
WIc1	2	171	White/opaque	-	2	-	-	-	Wire Wound, monochrome. Oval form.
	1	237	" "	-	1	-	-	-	
	1	281	Rose-brown/ translucent	-	-	4	-	-	
	13	270	Black/opaque	-	-	13	-	-	
WII	1	281	Lt. aqua blue/ clear	-	-	-	1	-	Wire Wound, monochrome, facetted.
	1	281	Bright navy/clear	-	-	-	-	1	
	1	281	Surf green/clear	-	-	-	1	-	
WIIb	1	170	Core: rose/clear	-	-	1	-	-	Wire Wound, polychrome. Core has molded facets. The exterior glass was applied in a very thin layer, so the darker core facets project through. The form is round.
			Exterior: light pink translucent	-	-	1	-	-	

TABLE 26 (Cont'd)

Type	Sample by Feature n	Feature	Color and Glass	Sample by Diameter (mm) 2	2-4	5-7	8-10	10	Comments
WIIId	5	171	Core: white/opaque Applied decoration: navy blue/opaque	-	-	5	-	-	Wire Wound. Body decorated with leaf designs. Applied during winding process. Oval bead form.
BIb	1	277	Gold-amber/opaque	-	-	1	-	-	Blown, hollow center, round bead. Kid and Kid (1970) discuss the manufacture of this type yet do not incorporate the category into their typology. Type number is appended to Kid and Kid typology.
BIII	1	170	Body: white/translucent Applied decoration: droplets pink/translucent	-	-	-	-	-	Blown, hollow center, polychrome. Round form. Specimen is fragmentary.
Unidentified Glass Bead:									
	1	281	Light aqua blue/clear	-	-	-	-	-	Fragmentary specimen

TABLE 26 (Cont'd)

Type	Sample by Feature n	Feature	Color and Glass	Sample by Diameter (mm) 2	2-4	5-7	8-10	10	Comments
Native Iron: NIa	1	170	Iron	-	1	-	-	-	Rolled sheet iron, oval bead form.
Shell: NIa	1	281	Lt. purple, shell	-	1	-	-	-	Drilled shell, tubular form. Commonly referred to as wampum.
	1	281	White, shell	-	-	-	1	-	
Stone: NIa	1	281	Black with small white inclusions, stone.	-	1	-	-	-	Drilled stone, tubular form.

rod. The resultant bead is hollow and possesses a very thin wall. Decorations of molten glass droplets are applied once the blown body has cooled. Because of the delicateness of blown glass beads they are not commonly recovered from archaeological sites. Both specimens from Citico are fragmentary. The Kidd and Kidd typology has been expanded to include a blown bead class (classes BI and BIII).

Beads of material other than glass are also placed within a newly formulated class incorporated within the Kidd and Kidd typology (Native Manufacture, class NIa). The rolled sheet iron bead is a native modification of Euroamerican material. The stone and shell beads are tubular in form and exhibit evidence of drilling. Both may be of local Cherokee manufacture, although they could be of American manufacture specifically for the Indian trade. This latter possibility is suggested by a 1798 inventory of trade goods at the Tellico Factory that lists three thousand "wampum (white)" beads (344:323).

Personal Group

Finger Rings

One brass finger ring was recovered from Feature 281. A central mount is flanked on each side by three smaller mounts clustered on the band. The mounts are for glass sets, all of which are missing from this specimen. Such rings were a common Indian trade item (Table 27; Figures 23 and 24).

Earrings

A wire loop, a deformed dangle, and a cast tear-drop shaped dangle, all silver, comprise the earring sample from Citico. Silver tear-drop earrings were commonly traded to the Cherokee, a fact indicated by trade records and archaeological data (336:13, 50).

Bracelets

A single "C" bracelet made from a strand of curved brass wire, was exhumed from Feature 281. This item is believed to have been made from wire specifically traded for Cherokee manufacture.

Spangles

Three spangles or tinklers are sheet brass cut into triangular pieces and rolled into cones.

TABLE 27

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONAL GROUP ARTIFACTS

Specimen	Feature 170	Feature 171	Feature 281
Finger Rings: Brass, glass sets	-	-	1
Earrings: Silver, tear-drop	-	1	2
Bracelets: Brass wire "C"	-	-	1
Spangles: Brass	-	-	3
Ornamental Cylinders: Rolled brass "hair" ornaments	1	-	-
Hookeye or Watch Fob: Gilt brass	-	-	1
Razor: Iron, straight	-	1	-
Hair Plucker: Brass wire	-	-	3
Turtle Shell Rattle:	-	-	1

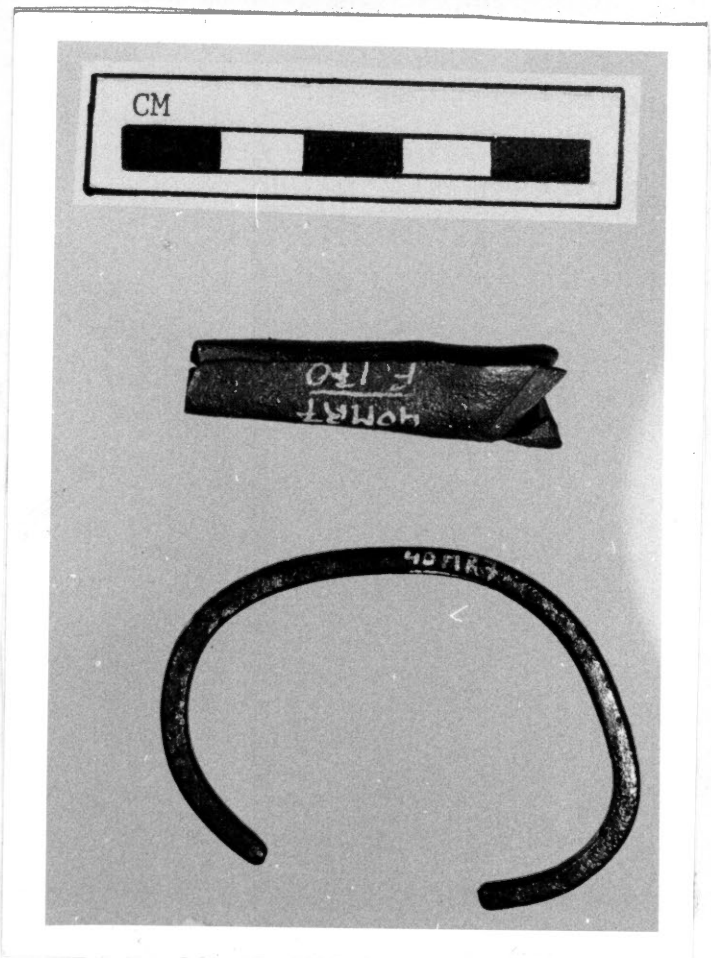


Figure 23. Personal Items from Citico.

Top. Rolled sheet brass tube, probably utilized as a hair pipe. Specimen recovered from Feature 170.

Bottom. Brass wire C-bracelet recovered from Feature 281.

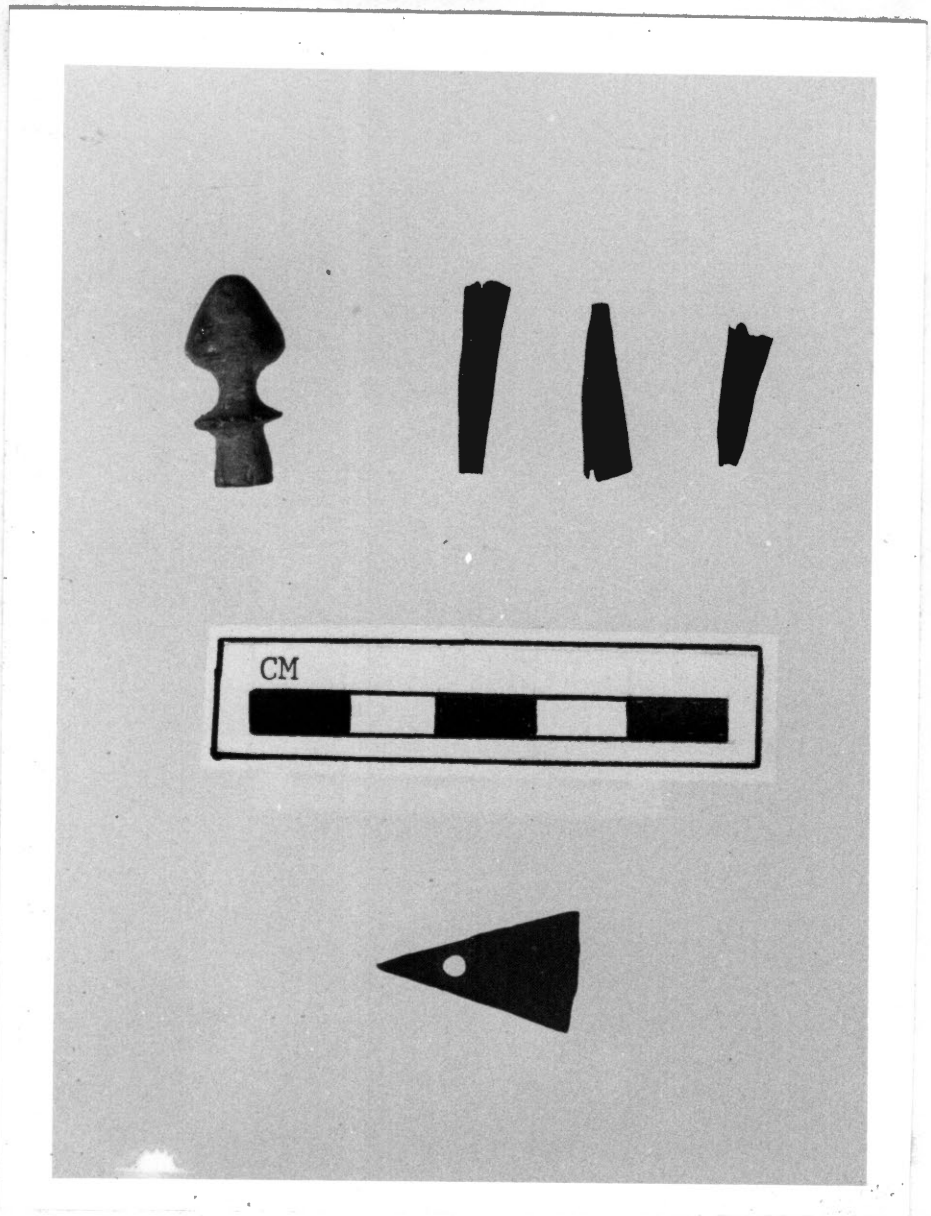


Figure 24. Miscellaneous Artifacts from Citico.

Top left. Brass flap peg possibly from a saddle bag. Recovered from Feature 281.

Top right. Spangles made from triangular cut pieces of sheet brass and used to decorate clothing by attaching to leather thongs. Specimens recovered from Feature 281.

Bottom. Sheet brass projectile point recovered from Feature 171.

Ornamental Cylinders

An ornmanetal cylinder, found in Feature 170, was probably utilized as a decorative hair pipe. As were the spangles, this cylinder was made from a piece of cut brass kettle.

Watch Fob or Hookeye

This gilt brass hookeye has threading on its shaft, suggesting it is part of a fine piece of jewelry such as a watch fob.

Razor

One iron straight razor blade was recovered (Table 27). No maker's marks are evident on the blade.

Hair Pluckers

Three coiled lengths of brass wire are tentatively identified as hair pluckers (336:99). These specimens represent raw Euroamerican material, in this case brass wire, being acquired by the Cherokee and then utilized in the production of a purely native implement.

Turtle Shell Rattle

One worked bone fragment, identified as turtle shell (282) is believed to have been part of a rattle. Rattles were made from box turtle shells scraped on the inside and filled with small pebbles. Lewis and Kneberg (329:126-27) report turtle shell rattles positioned at the arms of Mississippian Dallas burials. Norton, in his travels through the Cherokee Nation in 1809, observed female dancers with turtle shell rattles attached to their legs (323).

Tobacco Pipe Group

This group has been altered from that presented by South (363). South's tobacco pipe group was established to reflect differences in the use of kaolin pipes. Other pipes such as stub-stemmed were placed in a separate class within the activities group. Herein, all forms of smoking implements are included under one group. Comparisons and contrasts between the occurrences of various types of pipes can still be conducted, however at the class level. Smoking pipes recovered from Citico are divided into three classes: (1) kaolin pipes; (2) stub-stemmed pipes; and (3) native stone pipes.

The Citico pipe sample totals 219 specimens, of which all but 9 are kaolin. Fragments falling within the kaolin class are 105 stems, 84 bowls, and 21 stem-bowl junctures (Table 28). Maker's marks were noted on 17 bowl specimens from Feature 237. All marks exhibit the initials "T D" enclosed or framed within a braided circle. Three distinct patterns are discernable in the sample (Figure 25). Mark differences occur in (1) the size of the letters and enclosing circle; (2) the positioning of the initials within the circle; and (3) the presence of motifs, in one case a pipe, above and below the initials within the circle. The significance of the ubiquitous T D mark is not known. With variance in the mark pattern, it is impossible to even assume the samples were products of a single manufacturer. No decorations besides the maker's marks were noted.

The concentration of marked pipebowl fragments in Feature 237 possibly date to the early Federal Period and is indicative of a shift in the quality or source, or both, of kaolin pipes offered in the American controlled Indian trade. Kaolin pipes recovered from eighteenth century Cherokee contexts, contemporaneous with the British control of trade, are primarily unmarked. Stylistic changes which occurred within the total kaolin pipe industry in the early nineteenth century resulted in pipes heavily adorned with molded ribbing, stars, sprigs, or other decoration. The beginning of this dramatic increase in molded and stamped decorations is reflected in the kaolin fragments from Feature 237. This evidence suggests deposits of this feature may date somewhere between 1780 and 1800. Application of pipestem dating formulae (281; 310) to the specimens from this feature resulted in the respective dates of 1778.81 and 1785.90 (300:80). Even with the increased probability of error experienced when attempting to date pipestems from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the derived dates fall near the end of the Revolutionary Period. In comparison, the dates calculated for Features 171 and 281 fell within the Federal Period, notwithstanding the high probability of error.

The near absence of stub-stemmed clay tobacco pipes in Cherokee contexts is indicative of the sole offering of kaolin pipes in the late Indian trade. Stub-stemmed pipes were manufactured through the last half of the eighteenth century, with the industry flourishing in the early nineteenth century (372). The increased use of this type of pipe is evident in the archaeological remains from Fort Southwest Point (370) and the Tellico Blockhouse (344). One small fragment from Citico and one specimen surface collected from Toqua (Polhemus, personal communication, Feb. 1979) are, however, the only reocrded occurrences of stub-stemmed pipes at Cherokee sites in the lower Tennessee River valley.

Eight carved and polished stone pipe fragments were identified by Roberts (350). Two specimens of siltstone and one of steatite display stems which are hexagonal in cross-section. This form is typically Historic Cherokee. The other fragmentary specimens include three bowls, one stem, and one "rifle butt."

TABLE 28

DISTRIBUTION OF PIPE SPECIMENS FROM CITICO

Specimens	Feature 170	171	237	270	281
Kaolin stem fragments	-	6	45	-	54
Kaolin bowl fragments	-	-	37	-	48
Kaolin stem-bowl fragments	-	-	18	-	3
Stub-stemmed pipe fragments	1	-	-	-	-
Native hexagonal-stem pipe	-	-	-	1	2
Native, unidentified fragments	-	-	-	1	4

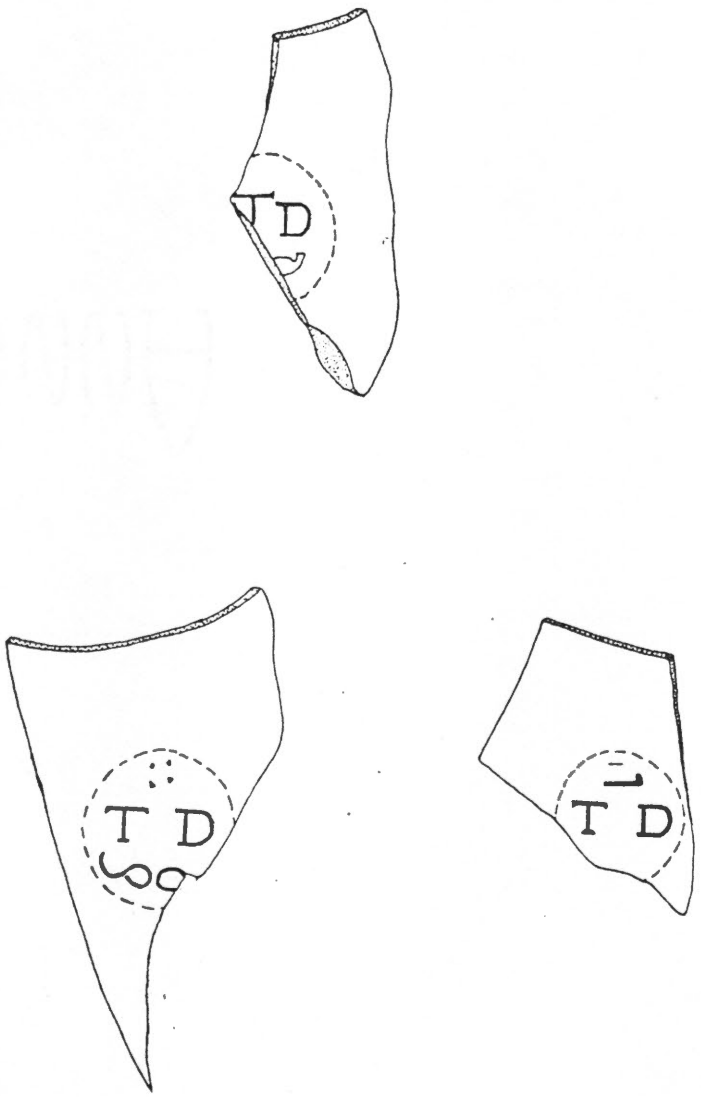


Figure 25. Kaolin Pipebowl Fragments, Exhibiting Three Variations of the "T D" Mark.

Activities Group

The activities group is a catchall for artifact classes which cannot be placed within a definite functional group (Table 29). Items such as unidentified iron fragments and tin-ware fragments reveal little as to their original form and function, and therefore are included below. Artifact types such as clasp knives are also placed within this group as they were utilized in a number of functional contexts. The activities group also includes distinctive functional classes which are not relevant to questions being asked of the data and therefore do not warrant designation as separate groups. Examples of such classes are construction tools and lithic tool manufacture.

Construction Tools

Iron Axes

A strap poll axe fragment was recovered from Feature 281. This style is similar to the trade axes recovered from mid-eighteenth century contexts at Chota-Tanasse (336:77).

Iron Adze

An iron blade fragment is tentatively identified as an adze blade. Identification is suggested by a slight longitudinal curvature of the blade when viewed in cross-section, a squared back edge, and a honed cutting edge (Dimensions: partial length, 79 mm; width, 75 mm).

Iron Gouge or Drill Bit

One fragment of an iron shaft is tentatively identified as a gouge or drill bit. Identification is based upon its similarity to specimens from Fort Michilimackinac (366:298, Figures 184 and 186).

Agrarian Farm Tools

Iron Hoe

One broad hoe was recovered from Feature 171. This hoe type is typical of eighteenth century sites (338) (Figure 26).

TABLE 29

DISTRIBUTION OF ACTIVITY GROUP ARTIFACTS

Artifacts	170	171	237	270	271	275	277	281	Total
Construction Tools:									
Iron axe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Iron adze	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Iron gouge or drill bit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Agrarian Farm Tools:									
Iron hoe	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Slate hoe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Stable and Barn:									
Spurs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Saddle brace	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Stirrup	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Harness ring	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Brass harness boss	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Brass flap peg	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Fishing Hardware:									
Lead disc fishing weight	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Lithic net sinker	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Miscellaneous Hardware:									
Clasp knives, bolsters	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	4	6
Clasp knives, backspring	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Bone knife handle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Lithic knife	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Hammerstone	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Abraders	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	3	5

TABLE 29 (Cont'd)

Artifacts	170	171	237	270	271	275	277	281	Total
Miscellaneous Hardware (cont'd)									
Lithic graver	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	3
Lithic spokeshave	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Lithic side scraper	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Bipolarized biface, lithic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Lithic microtool	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Utilized flakes	26	34	1	15	16	41	2	43	178
Retouch flakes	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Utilized pièces esquillées	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	4
Brass wire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Iron chain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Iron rod	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Sheet silver	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Sheet iron	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Sheet iron lattice	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3
Tin ware fragments	4	15	-	-	-	-	-	14	33
Unidentified iron	-	6	-	10	-	1	-	22	39
Unidentified pewter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Unidentified ground stone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Lithic Tool Production:									
Cores, bipolar	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3
Cores, blades	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Cores, miscellaneous	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	4	9
Flakes, thinning and trimming	533	895	92	404	221	539	22	1632	4328
Flakes, decoration	83	156	8	45	32	104	4	227	709
Flakes, bipolar	8	10	1	2	1	11	-	7	40
Flakes, blades	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Flakes, slate	9	35	-	16	1	7	-	13	81

TABLE 29 (Cont'd)

Artifacts	170	171	237	270	271	275	277	281	Total
Lithic Tool Production (cont'd)									
Preforms	9	8	-	2	4	6	-	11	40
Pièces esquillées	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	4
Shatter fragments	55	162	10	44	32	58	4	121	486



Figure 26. Iron Broad Hoe.

This worn, yet complete specimen from Feature 171 is a typical eighteenth century hoe type. Two illegible maker marks are evident on the hoe blade, flanking the spine.

Slate Hoe

A large, ovate, bifacially worked slate slab was identified as a hoe. Wear striations and polish are evident on both faces, running parallel to the long axis of the blade. Similar specimens have been excavated from Chota-Tanasee (350).

Stable and Barn

Spurs

One iron spur fragment was excavated from Feature 281. The presence of figure-eight loops, to which leather straps were attached, are indicative of pre-nineteenth century manufacture.

Saddle Brace

An iron saddle brace fragment from an English riding saddle was recovered from Feature 281. Similar braces have been recovered from the sites of Chota-Tanasee (336:83), Tellico Blockhouse (344:260), and Toqua (Polhemus, personal communication, Feb. 1979).

Stirrup

A single iron stirrup fragment was found in Feature 270. The eliptical platform of the stirrup is an eighteenth century style. The width of the platform is 92.0 mm, closely approximating in form and size a stirrup from Fort Ligonier (307:117, Plate 42-9).

Harness Ring

An iron ring is tentatively identified as a harness ring.

Harness Boss

A brass harness boss was found in Peature 281. The face of this specimen is undecorated.

Flap Peg

A brass peg was collected from Feature 281 (Figure 24, p. 229). This artifact type has not been previously recorded from sites within

the lower Little Tennessee River. Grimm (307:115-16) illustrates similar specimens from Fort Ligonier, referring to them as flap pegs. Apparently these pegs were secured to a saddle bag or similar item. Flaps were then fastened by passing the peg through a hole or eye in the flap.

Fishing Hardware

Lead Disc Fishing Weight

One lead disc with a lipped, central perforation was recovered from Feature 171. A number of suggestions as to the function of this artifact type are presented in the literature. Newman (336:97) states that "this object probably served as a pendant." Good (306:154) believes the perforated disc to be a whizzer. The functional interpretation accepted in this analysis is that of Heldman (311:251) who classifies these objects as fishing weights.

Net Sinker

One slate net sinker was found in Feature 171. Biconvex in cross-section, this specimen is merely a river stone notched on opposing lateral edges (350). Net sinkers are common to sites in the lower Little Tennessee River valley and are difficult to associate with a particular cultural period. Chapman (290:92) notes the occurrence of net sinkers with Late Archaic and Early Woodland components.

Miscellaneous Hardware

Clasp Knives

Eight iron and one bone clasp knife parts were recovered. Six bolster fragments are virtually nondescript because of their corroded condition. Most specimens exhibit remnants of bone or wood handles. A separate bone handle panel was also collected (Figure 27).

Two types of backsprings are represented in the Citico sample (Figure 28). One specimen from Feature 281 is straight, with a uniform width in the horizontal plane and a taper at each end in the vertical plane. This form of backspring has been commonly collected from sites in eastern Tennessee. The second type of backspring differs from that described above in that it is hook-shaped. The hook-shaped spring is believed to be distinctive of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This is based on the occurrence of this type at Fort

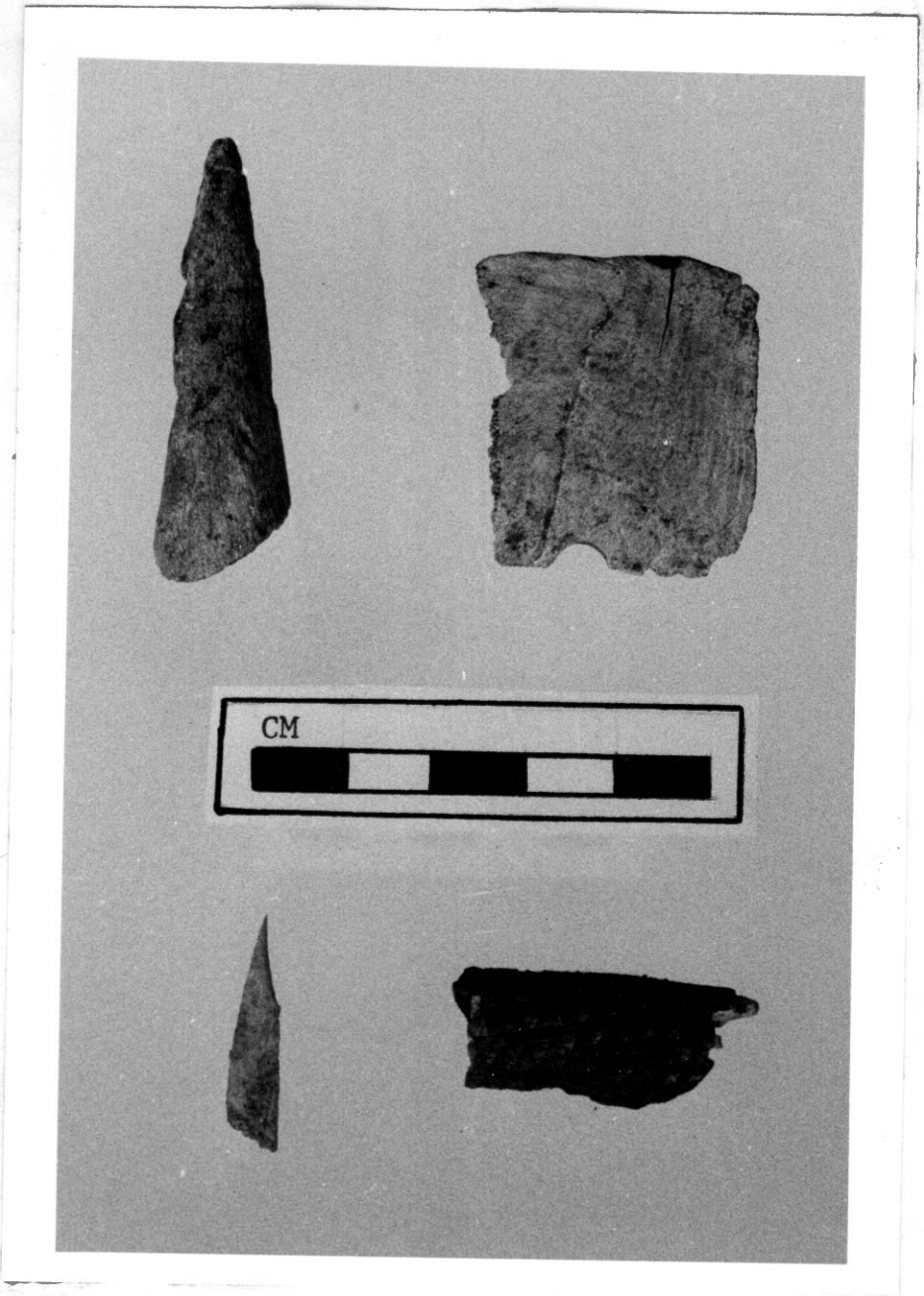


Figure 27. Worked Bone from Citico.

Top left. Antler tine evidencing carving.

Top right. Turtle shell rattle fragment with drilled holes.

Bottom left. Bone splinter with knife sharpened point.

Bottom right. Carved bone knife handle fragment.

All four specimens were recovered from Feature 281.

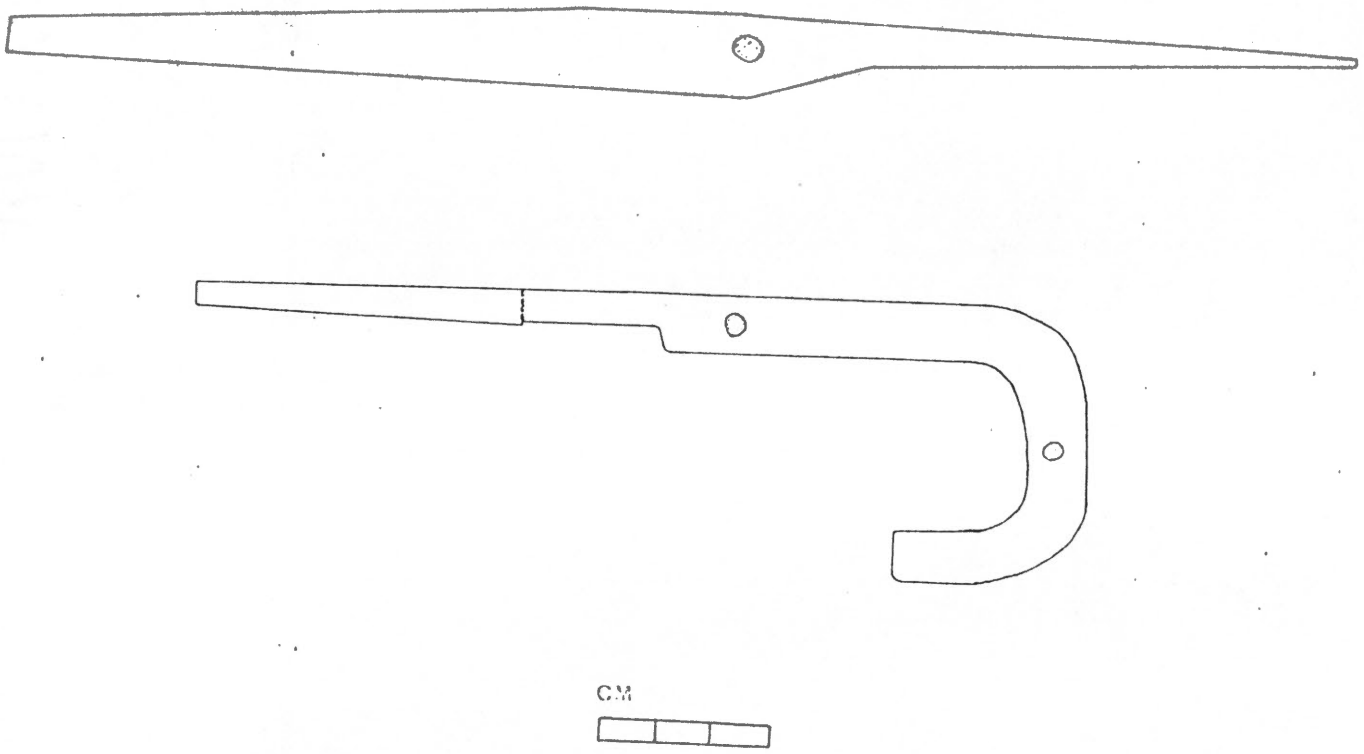


Figure 28. Clasp Knife Backsprings.

Straight (Top) and hook-shaped (Bottom) types. The hook-shaped form has been recovered from eastern Tennessee contexts dating no earlier than the Federal Period.

Southwest Point (370:294) and the Tellico Blockhouse (344:248) and its absence from mid-eighteenth century contexts. This spring form is not associated with the heavy bolster typical of the straight backspring clasp knife. Instead, the bolster is made of a thin sheet metal that was totally covered by handle material such as wood, bone, or leather.

The occurrence of clasp knives, with hook-shaped backsprings probably reflects American stylistic and technological developments. Furthermore, the occurrence of this clasp knife type in Cherokee contexts reflects the shift in trade good sources from the British to Americans.

Lithic Knives

Two lithic knife fragments were identified. Both specimens are quartz with excurvate sharp, sinuous, serrated edges (350). It is impossible to be sure whether these specimens are associated with the Federal Period Cherokee assemblage.

Hammerstone

One river cobble recovered from Feature 171 displays battering on the edges and scars where two large flakes were detached. These surface features are characteristic of use as a percussor, such as a hammerstone (350).

Abraders

Three tabular slate and two miscellaneous ground stone implements exhibit smoothing and wear striations from use as abraders. Roberts (350) comments that the slate specimens "were probably used for fine grinding or polishing of larger implements or to sharpen edged tools."

Lithic Graver

Three chert gravers were identified (350). Gravers are defined as any flake with retouch along an edge, isolating a triangular projection. Retouch is unifacial and fine (319:84). Gravers are presumed to have been utilized in incising and engraving bone and wood. Gravers are not believed to have been utilized by the Cherokee, since they are commonly associated with Paleo-Indian and Archaic components (289:139; 290:84).

Lithic Spokeshave

Roberts (350) identified a chert flake with "an intentional semicircular multiple blow notch" as a spokeshave. The purposeful notch is believed to have been used to scrape round, cylindrical, or conical objects of wood or bone.

Lithic End Scraper

This specimen is a chert flake which has been steeply retouched at one end to produce a continuous convex working edge. The working edge has regular unifacial pressure retouch (350).

Lithic Side Scraper

A chert side scraper was recovered from Feature 270. This tool is made from a decortication flake with steep unifacial pressure retouch along one edge (350). Side scrapers have been associated with Archaic components within the lower valley of the Little Tennessee River (289: 134; 290:66-70).

Bipolarized Biface

This specimen is a bifacial chert implement that has been altered, creating a sharp edge characteristic of a pièce esquillée (350).

Microtool

This implement is a small, thin chert flake with fine pressure retouch along the lateral margins (350).

Utilized Flakes

Roberts (350) identified 178 utilized chert, quartz, and jasper flakes. The flakes exhibit alteration from use along one or more edges. It is impossible to distinguish flakes that may have been utilized by the Federal Period Cherokee from those resultant from earlier occupations of the site.

Retouch Flake

One chert flake displays pressure retouch along both edges (350).

Utilized Blades

Twenty-two chert blades exhibit alteration from use along either one or both lateral edges (350).

Utilized Pièces Esquillées

Roberts (350) identified four pièces esquillées with evidence of use along one or more edges. Pièces esquillées are "flakes or expended bipolar cores that exhibit crushing on one or more edges produced by the bipolar flaking technique" (290:82).

Brass Wire

Two wire specimens, both 1 mm in diameter, were recovered. Newman (336:85) notes that brass wire was a common trade item valued by the Cherokee as raw material.

Chain

An iron chain segment was collected from Feature 281. This specimen is comprised of two wire links. Each link is 27 mm in length.

Iron Rod

One iron rod was found in Feature 171. In cross-section, this rod modulates from triangular to rectangular shapes. This irregular shape is indicative of hand wrought manufacture.

Sheet Silver

Two pieces of sheet silver are probably waste from native alteration of Euroamerican trade items.

Sheet Iron

Two pieces of unidentified sheet iron were recovered from Feature 270.

Sheet Iron Lattice

Three fragments of sheet iron cut in lattice were collected. The function of these specimens is unknown.

Tin Ware Fragments

Thirty-three pieces of tin were excavated. These unidentified fragments are probably remnants of kitchenware containers.

Unidentified Iron

Thirty-nine iron specimens are unidentifiable because of corrosion.

Unidentified Pewter

Three fragments of pewter were excavated from Feature 281. Decomposition of the metal precluded functional identification of the specimens, yet most are believed to represent kitchenware or utensils.

Unidentified Ground Stone Fragment

One piece of a slate river pebble displays evidence of grinding or abrading (350).

Lithic Tool Production

Cores

Thirteen cores, debitage of the initial step in the lithic reduction sequence, were distinguished according to the method of reduction. One chert core, recovered from Feature 281, was specially prepared for striking off blades. The reduction of three chert core specimens was accomplished by a bipolar technique, resulting in sheared cores and an absence of negative bulbs of force in the flake scars. The remaining nine specimens are all chert nodules or nodule fragments with flake scars indicating reduction techniques other than bipolar (350).

Flakes

A total of 5,110 chert, jasper, slate, and chalcedony debitage were recovered from Citico. Roberts (350) has further distinguished this sample by the apparent reduction techniques which produced various types of flakes.

Thinning/trimming flakes are characterized by a bulb of force and one or more ridges on the dorsal surface. Little or no cortex is apparent and the flakes do not display evidence of use. A total of 4,328 thinning/trimming flakes were identified.

A total of 709 decortication flakes were distinguished in the flake sample. These flakes are distinguished by the presence of cortex over 20 percent of the dorsal surface.

Bipolar flakes, resultant from the bipolar flaking technique, display sheared cones and crushing on one or more edges. Only 40 bipolar flakes were identified.

Blades

Two fragmentary blades were recovered from Feature 275. Roberts (350) defines blades as specialized flakes with parallel or subparallel lateral edges and with a length of more than twice the width. Both specimens are chert.

A total of 81 slate flakes were identified. These flakes typically display bulbs of force or flake scars.

Preforms

Preforms are unfinished lithic implements resulting from the termination of the reduction process. Most specimens exhibit flaws in the stone which would have weakened and broken the implement if reduction had continued (350). Forty preforms were recovered.

Pièces Esquillées

Only four specimens pièces esquillées do not exhibit evidence of utilization. These specimens are either chert flakes or expended bipolar cores, with sheared cones and crushing along the edges.

Shatter Fragments

Shatter fragments are pieces of chert which show no purposeful flaking (350). Shatter fragments are not included in the count used to formulate the activities group artifact frequencies since they are the result of nonhuman factors.

Subsistence Refuse Group

Faunal Remains

The faunal remains from the eight Federal Period features at Citico totaled 10,655 (282) (Table 30).

TABLE 30

FAUNAL REMAINS FROM CITICO

Remains	Specimens by Feature								
	170	171	237	270	271	275	277	281	Total
Mammal:									
Shrew	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
E. Cottontail Rabbit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Squirrel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Marsh Rice Rat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Mouse, sp.	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	3
Black bear	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	30	35
White-tailed deer	1	22	-	2	-	-	-	74	99
Antler	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Cow/bison	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Domestic pig	39	24	4	11	-	-	-	451	529
Horse	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	5
Unidentified mammal bone	416	778	35	75	103	55	33	7156	8651
Aves:									
Bufflehead	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Shorebird	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Passgrine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Chicken	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	14
Turkey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
cf. Turkey	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Unidentified bird bone	7	-	-	-	2	-	-	13	22
Eggshell	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	240	240
Reptiles:									
Musk turtle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
E. box turtle	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	12	17
Turtle, sp.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	8

TABLE 30 (Cont'd)

Remains	Specimens by Feature								
	170	171	237	270	271	275	277	281	Total
Aves (cont'd):									
Nonpoisonous snake	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Snake, sp.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Amphibians:									
Bullfrog	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	6
Frog	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	21
E. spadefoot toad	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	88	89
Toad	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	83	84
Frog/toad	-	1	-	-	4	-	-	264	269
Salamander	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Fishes:									
Redhorse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	7
Sucker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
Catfish, sp.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Sunfish	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Bass	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Sunfish/bass	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Unidentified bone	4	1	-	-	6	-	-	299	310
Unidentified scales	2	-	-	-	5	-	-	154	161
Mollusca:									
Fusconaia barnesiana	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Fusconaia subrotunda	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Purple warty back, Cyclonaias tuberculata	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Elephant ear, Elliptio crassidens	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Spike, Elliptio dilatatus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3

TABLE 30 (Cont'd)

Remains	Specimens by Feature								
	170	171	237	270	271	275	277	281	Total
Mollusca (cont'd):									
cf. Lexingtonia colabelloides	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Pleurobema plenum	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Pleurobema oviforme	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Mucket, Actinonaias ligamentina	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	10
Acorn shell, Epioblasma haysiana	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Dromedary, Dromas dromas	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	5
Indeterminate bivalve	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	12	17
Aquatic gastropods:									
Spiney River snail, Io fluvialis	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
	470	848	39	88	122	55	33	8999	10655

Great numbers of pigs, cows, and horses were apparently kept by the Cherokee in the early nineteenth century (337). The rare occurrence of cattle remains in archaeological contexts suggests cattle were raised more for sale to Angle-Americans than for Cherokee consumption.

Remains of domestic pig, on the other hand, are numerous. Pig remains from Citico are all from young individuals, indicating a selectivity towards yearlings and also possibly indicating a preferred season for butchering. Butchering of pigs is traditionally a late fall or early winter activity for Anglo-Americans in eastern Tennessee. Perhaps this butchering season was also observed by the Cherokee since the cooler weather retards spoilage of meat. Yearling pigs, born in the spring and butchered the following fall, would result in remains similar to those found at Citico.

The occurrence of white-tailed deer and black bear indicates the continued, although dwindling, importance of these animals to the Cherokee.

Fish remains are of species which would have been taken primarily by a hook.

The remains of small rodents, reptiles, and amphibians are of animals trapped in open features and therefore are not indicative of Cherokee subsistence. The box turtle remains may be an exception to this assumption.

APPENDIX B

ARTIFACT INVENTORIES OF EIGHT SELECTED SITES

TABLE 31

ARTIFACT INVENTORIES OF EIGHT SELECTED SITES

Artifact Group, Class, Type	Fort Southwest Point 40RE119	Tellico Block House 40MR50	Harrison Branch (Schroedl, 1975) 40MR21	Harrison Branch (Chapman, 1977) 40MR21	McGhee Cabin 40MR30	Hodge 40MR46	Chota 40MR2	Citico 40MR7	Starnes 40MR32
Kitchen Group:									
Ceramic Class,									
Porcelain:									
Porcelain:									
Chinese trade	68	310						2	
Overglaze transfer printed		1							
Overglaze polychrome painted								1	
Euroamerican									
English		16			32				
American (c. 1860)					54				
Stoneware:									
Brown salt-glazed, Fulham-type	2								
Misc. brown salt-glazed					2	3		15	
Brown/gray salt-glazed		8	13						
Gray salt-glazed	4			35	10				
Blue salt-glazed, Westerwald-like	7								
Alkaline glazed		65			3				
Dark feldspathic glaze							2		
Lead glaze, white ext., black int.						1			
Brown/black lead-glazed			12						
Unglazed			3						
Ironstone:									
Plain					65				

TABLE 31 (Cont'd)

Artifact Group, Class, Type	Fort Southwest Point 40RE119	Tellico Block House 40MR50	Harrison Branch (Schroedl, 1975) 40MR21	Harrison Branch (Chapman, 1977) 40MR21	McGhee Cabin 40MR30	Hodge 40MR46	Chota 40MR2	Citico 40MR7	Starnes 40MR32
Refined Earthenware:									
White refined, or white ware					95				
Blue painted white refined					2				
Transfer printed white refined	2				81				
Polychrome painted white refined				1	27				
Jackfield-like	8								
Red-paste, lead glaze	4								8
Red-paste, white slip, lead glaze					1				
Lusterware, copper			6	3	7				
Coarse Earthenware:									
General category		1684	53	34	5				
Buff-paste, lead glaze						1		4	
Red-paste, lead glaze						1	10	14	
Red-paste, unglazed				3				9	
Thin, red paste, dark magnesia glaze?					1				
Coarse and Refined Earthenware:									
General category	159								
Tin-Glazed Earthenware:									
General category	1	12							

TABLE 31 (Cont'd)

Artifact Group, Class, Type	Fort Southwest Point 40RE119	Tellico Block House 40MR50	Harrison Branch (Schroedl, 1975) 40MR21	Harrison Branch (Chapman, 1977) 40MR21	McGhee Cabin 40MR30	Hodge 40MR46	Chota 40MR2	Citico 40MR7	Starnes 40MR32
Creamware:									
Plain(Yellow)		3980			19	1		42	
Plain (lt. yellow)	935					12			
Annular	2	104						4	
Marbled								1	
Overglaze painted	1	71							
Transfer printed	1	25							
Pearlware:									
Plain	456	3535	96?	18	67		49	129	2
Annualar		153						9	
Mocha			8?				3	7	
Embossed fish scales					8			1	
Underglaze poly-chrome painted	220	2093		3	10	2	16	19	
Underglaze blue painted	112	1232	19?	43	27		24	8	1
Polychrome painted, overglaze		42						4	
Polychrome stencil painted, underglaze			10?					60	
Sponged		8	3?	1				6	
Shell-edge, blue painted	170	1608	16?	1	30	11		20	
			7?		12	1		3	
Misc. molded relief decorated edge wares	38			8			14		
Feather-edge, blue painted								3	
Misc. transfer printed		5	14			1		22	
Overhill Complicated Stamped									
Rect., body sherd		3*					1	10	
Rect., rim sherd								8	
Indeterminate							3		

TABLE 31 (Cont'd)

Artifact Group, Class, Type	Fort Southwest Point 40RE119	Tellico Block House 40MR50	Harrison Branch (Schroedl, 1975) 40MR21	Harrison Branch (Chapman, 1977) 40MR21	McGhee Cabin 40MR30	Hodge 40MR46	Chota 40MR2	Citico 40MR7	Starnes 40MR32
Overhill Incised:									
Indeterminate							1		
Boyd Check Stamped									
Boyd Check Stamped:									17
Qualla Plain:									
Body sherd								29	
Rim sherd							1	17	
Qualla Check stamped:								312	
Qualla Complitated stamped:									
Indeterminate							1	2	
Residual, shell tempered:	2343*	1007*					13	1480	
Residual, Dallas Mississippian								2*	
Residual, Hiwassee Island Mississippian:									
Red film decorated	23*							3*	
Red on buff	3*								
Residual, Fatherland incised:								1*	
Residual, Grit tempered:	6*							274	
Residual, Quarts tempered:		7*							
Residual, Watts Bar cord marked							1*		
Residual, limestone tempered	25*	171*					5*	293*	
Residual, sand	18*	34*					1*	30*	

TABLE 31 (Cont'd)

Artifact Group, Class, Type	Fort Southwest Point 40RE119	Tellico Block House 40MR50	Harrison Branch (Schroedl, 1975) 40MR21	Harrison Branch (Chapman, 1977) 40MR21	McGhee Cabin 40MR30	Hodge 40MR46	Chota 40MR2	Citico 40MR7	Starnes 40MR32
Residual,									
Connestee:									
Plain								50*	
Cord marked								2*	
Misc. residual:	1*								
Steatite vessel:		1*							
Degenerate Pottery:									
Plain								135	
Check stamped								4	
Colono-Indian pottery		50							
Misc. pottery with clay, sand, shell temper:							26		
Glass Bottle Class,									
Wine/Rum	83	285	9	1	48		12	41	
Case	1	90			1				
Pharmaceutical	89	437			11			8	
Unidentified	22		10	7	1	23		83	
Glassware:									
Tumblers	74	879		4	7				
Decanter								1	
Straw-bowl wine glasses				2					
Mold-blown essence of peppermint				2					
Misc. drinking vessel fragments					5				
Misc. glassware	331	478			3				
Unidentified Glass Sherds:	942								
Tableware:									
Table knives	26	37							
Case knives		14							

TABLE 31 (Cont'd)

Artifact Group, Class, Type	Fort Southwest Point 40RE119	Tellico Block House 40MR50	Harrison Branch (Schroedl, 1975) 40MR21	Harrison Branch (Chapman, 1977) 40MR21	McGhee Cabin 40MR30	Hodge 40MR46	Chota 40MR2	Citico 40MR7	Starnes 40MR32
Wood and bone table knife handles	7								
Forks	11	26	1	1					
Teaspoons		8							
Tablespoons	16	18		1			1		
Misc. utensil handles	10								
Iron plates		1							
Pewter plate		2							
Brittania creamer		1							
Kitchenware:									
Tinware containers	22	480							
Brass kettle parts		30							
Misc. container frags.	155							3	
Misc. cast iron		36				2			
Cast iron stove plate									
Cast iron kettle			8						
Cast iron tea kettle		1							
Cast iron griddle			5			3			
Pothook									
Iron flesh fork		1							
Lead bottle cap	2								
Lithic pestles		2*							
Lithic mano								1	
Architecture Group:									
Window (flat)									
Glass Class:	3837	7142	7	19	64		3	16	
Nail Class:									
Hand wrought;									
rosehead	1171	2661						45	
L-head	74	590						1	

TABLE 31 (Cont'd)

Artifact Group, Class, Type	Fort Southwest Point 40RE119	Tellico Block House 40MR50	Harrison Branch (Schroedl, 1975) 40MR21	Harrison Branch (Chapman, 1977) 40MR21	McGhee Cabin 40MR30	Hodge 40MR46	Chota 40MR2	Citico 40MR7	Starnes 40MR32
T-head	92	359						57	
Misc. tacks, spikes	2964	100					2		
Machine cut; cut shaft, hand wrought head		82				2			
Machine headed with shaft construction									
Without shaft construction		20	26	32		5		9	
Cut-spring								1	
Misc. cut nails	5				138				
Unidentified nails		1781					1	81	
Screws	1	9							
Staples	15	9							
Iron washer	6								
Nut	1								
Hinges	16	15		1	1				
Safety bolt	1								
Thumb and door latch	1	1							
Hook latch	1								
Door lock parts	2	29							
Keyhole escutcheon	1	1							
Latch plate	1								
Pintles	3	2							
Door knob	1								
Iron grate	1								
Hasps		3							
Padlocks	6	5							
Misc. locks		3							
Iron door hook						1			
Bricks	x	x			x				

TABLE 31 (Cont'd)

Artifact Group, Class, Type	Fort Southwest Point 40RE119	Tellico Block House 40MR50	Harrison Branch (Schroedl, 1975) 40MR21	Harrison Branch (Chapman, 1977) 40MR21	McGhee Cabin 40MR30	Hodge 40MR46	Chota 40MR2	Citico 40MR7	Starnes 40MR32
Quarried limestone blocks	x	x							
Daub	x						x		
Clay and lime mortar	x	x			x				
Furniture Group:									
Furniture hinges		9							
Trunk hasp		1							
Lock		1							
Drawer pull		1							
Escutcheon plate		1							
Brass furniture tacks		5							
Ground glass from wall mirror or picture cover	228								
Arms Group:									
Lead balls	6	44			1		1	5	
Lead shot		9	4					15	
Lead sprue	3	9					4	13	
Lead flint wraps	1	12							
Gunflints:									
Blades		69						5	
Spalls		21			1			15	
Misc. flints	37	1							
Gunparts:	28	37			1		1	15	
Projectile Points:								5*	
Lithic	24*	339*						28	1
Sheet brass								1	
Clothing Group:									
Buckles	10	23			2			7	
Clothing hook								1	

TABLE 31 (Cont'd)

Artifact Group, Class, Type	Fort Southwest Point 40RE119	Tellico Block House 40MR50	Harrison Branch (Schroedl, 1975) 40MR21	Harrison Branch (Chapman, 1977) 40MR21	McGhee Cabin 40MR30	Hodge 40MR46	Chota 40MR2	Citico 40MR7	Starnes 40MR32
Brass collar plates (military uniforms)	17	59							
Buttons	384	882			2	1	16		
Sleeve links	10	16					5		
Military insignias	2								
Beads: glass		107	2		1		485	497	2
Rolled sheet iron								1	
Stone								1	
Shell								1	
Thimbles	3	5							
Sewing needles, iron		5			1			4	
Awls:									
Iron								1	
Bone								1	
Straight pins	4	194					7	6	
Scissors	4	10			2			2	
Fabric:									
Cotton								5	
Wool	2								
Bale seals	1	2						1	
Personal Group:									
Coins	6	11							
Keys	4	12							
Pocket watch parts		2						1	
Mirrors	22	13			1				
Combs		8			1				
Ivory fan		1							
Ivory needle case		1							
Hair pluckers, brass									
wire							1	3	

TABLE 31 (Cont'd)

Artifact Group, Class, Type	Fort Southwest Point 40RE119	Tellico Block House 40MR50	Harrison Branch (Schroedl, 1975) 40MR21	Harrison Branch (Chapman, 1977) 40MR21	McGhee Cabin 40MR30	Hodge 40MR46	Chota 40MR2	Citico 40MR7	Starnes 40MR32
Finger rings	1[7]	1						1	
Earrings		4						3	
Steatite ear spool		1*							
Silver bodkin		1							
Ornamental cylinder, sheet metal								1	
Broches		4							
Spangles	1							3	
Bracelet; brass "c" wire								1	
Turtle shell rattle								1	
Glass miniature picture cover		2							
Eye glasses		5							
Straight razor	6	1						1	
Lead pencils	2	9							
Ink wells, ceramic and glass		8							
Writing slate frag.		14							
Paper	1								
Sealing wax	5								
Glass seal		1							
Tobacco Pipe Group:									
Kaolin:									
Stems					1		2	105	
Bowls							1	84	
Stem-bowl junctures								21	
Misc. fragments	24	1							
Stub-stemmed clay	11	46			1			1	
Cherokee, hexagonal stemmed stone pipe							3		

TABLE 31 (Cont'd)

Artifact Group, Class, Type	Fort Southwest Point 40RE119	Tellico Block House 40MR50	Harrison Branch (Schroedl, 1975) 40MR21	Harrison Branch (Chapman, 1977) 40MR21	McGhee Cabin 40MR30	Hodge 40MR46	Chota 40MR2	Citico 40MR7	Starnes 40MR32
Misc. Native American stone pipes		86						5	
Activities Group:									
Construction Tool Class:									
Axes, lithic		1*							
Iron		3					1	1	
Iron adze								1	
Lithic celt	3*	1*							
Iron brace bit		1*							
Iron gouge or drill bit								1	
Lithic drills	3*	5*							
Iron spoke shave		1							
Iron hammers	1	2							
Iron mattock		2							
Iron rasp		1							
Iron files	2	5		2					
Block plane bit				1					
Agrarian Farm Tool Class:									
Hoes, iron	1							1	
Slate	4*	1*					1	1	
Iron shovel	1				1				
Iron scythe		1							
Plow share		1							
Stable and Barn Class:									
Spurs		3						1	
Stirrups		3						1	
Harness rings		2						1	
Harness buckles	39	43							
Harness boss								1	
Bridle bits	4	4			1				

TABLE 31 (Cont'd)

Artifact Group, Class, Type	Fort Southwest Point 40RE119	Tellico Block House 40MR50	Harrison Branch (Schroedl, 1975) 40MR21	Harrison Branch (Chapman, 1977) 40MR21	McGhee Cabin 40MR30	Hodge 40MR46	Chota 40MR2	Citico 40MR7	Starnes 40MR32
Saddle brace	1							1	
Single tree iron		1							
Horseshoes	6	25		1	2				
Horse or oxen shores	2								
Oxen shoes	2								
Hobble		1							
Curry combs	2	2							
Farrier's clippers	2								
Farrier's knife	1								
Wagon part				1					
Flap peg								1	
Toys Class:									
Jews harps	2	9							
Clay marbles		2							
Lead whizzers		1							
Fishing Hardware Class:									
Iron fish hooks	5	13						1	
Lead disc weights								1	
Lithic net sinker		1*							
Miscellaneous Hardware:									
Clasp knives	9	34			1		11	8	
Bone knife handles							2	1	
Hunting knife (dick)	1								
Whet stone		2							
Lithic knives	3*							2	
Hammerstones	1*	9*							
Pitted cobbles	1*	4*							
Lithic abraders		4*						5	
Lithic graver	1*	2*						3	
Lithic spoke shave								1	
Lithic end scraper	3*	4*						2	

TABLE 31 (Cont'd)

Artifact Group, Class, Type	Fort Southwest Point 40RE119	Tellico Block House 40MR50	Harrison Branch (Schroedl, 1975) 40MR21	Harrison Branch (Chapman, 1977) 40MR21	McGhee Cabin 40MR30	Hodge 40MR46	Chota 40MR2	Citico 40MR7	Starnes 40MR32
Lithic side scraper	5*	4*						1	
Lithic stemmed scraper		2*							
Misc. lithic bifaces		187*							1
Bipolar biface, lithic								1	
Lithic microtool								1	
Lithic perforator, microtool	3*								
Lithic unifacial perforator							1		
Utilized flakes	60*	705*						178	
Retouch flake								1	
Utilized blade	3*							22	
Utilized pièces esquillées								4	
Iron wire					5				
Silver wire							1		
Brass wire	13						3	2	
Iron bolt	1				1				
Iron chain	10				1				
Iron rod							3	1	
Misc. cast iron	2								
Misc. iron	903	220	3	1	7	5	2	39	
Misc. sheet iron			7		5		15	2	
Misc. brass	20	67			1		4		
Misc. copper	5								
Misc. lead	5	5							
Misc. pewter	2	5						3	
Misc. tinware	2							33	
Misc. sheet silver								2	
Misc. silver plated fragment	1								
Cotter pin	1								
Iron "O" ring	2				1				

TABLE 31 (Cont'd)

Artifact Group, Class, Type	Fort Southwest Point 40RE119	Tellico Block House 40MR50	Harrison Branch (Schroedl, 1975) 40MR21	Harrison Branch (Chapman, 1977) 40MR21	McGhee Cabin 40MR30	Hodge 40MR46	Chota 40MR2	Citico 40MR7	Starnes 40MR32
Metal ring, tool fragment	1								
Unidentified ground lithic implement								1	
Hematite	4	14							
Sulphur		9							
Quartz crystal		1*							
Unidentified worked antler fragment								1	
Iron pipe fragment					1				
Lighting devices, Pewter	1								
Misc. devices		6							
Iron bell clapper			1						
Hearth equipment		7							
Storage containers		50	1		1				
Lithic Tool Production Class:									
Cores	10*	58*					1	13	1
Nodules	6*								
Preforms	2*						3	40	
Pièces esquillés		5*	16*					4	
Shatter fragments								496*	
Flakes	320*	11580*					42	5108	10
Blade debitage							1	2	
Atlatl weight, unfinished		1*							
Forge Activities:									
Nail headers	2								
Metal punch	1								
Bar iron	9								
Slag					3				
Misc. items	159								

TABLE 31 (Cont'd)

Artifact Group, Class, Type	Fort Southwest Point 40RE119	Tellico Block House 40MR50	Harrison Branch (Schroedl, 1975) 40MR21	Harrison Branch (Chapman, 1977) 40MR21	McGhee Cabin 40MR30	Hodge 40MR46	Chota 40MR2	Citico 40MR7	Starnes 40MR32
Bone Button Manufacture Class:									
Bone waste		110							
Military Objects:									
Iron cannon fragment		2							
Grapeshot	4	1							
Bayonnets	4	7							
Scabbard clip	1								
Scabbard flap peg	2								
Sword guard	1								
Subsistance Refuse Group:									
Faunal Class:									
Mammal,									
Rabbit	147	324						3	
Squirrel	11	55						6	
Shrew								1	
Rat		1						1	
Mouse		6						3	
Mole	1								
Black bear	1	6					7	35	
White tailed deer	81	420					23	99	
Antler							1		
Bison	3								
Cow/bison		9707					1	1	
Domestic cow	373			2					
Domestic pig	532	6147		1				529	
Domestic sheep		75							
Horse		7						5	
Dog	19	3							
Fox	1	2							
Domestic cat	56	65							
Bobcat		6							

TABLE 31 (Cont'd)

Artifact Group, Class, Type	Fort Southwest Point 40RE119	Tellico Block House 40MR50	Harrison Branch (Schroedl, 1975) 40MR21	Harrison Branch (Chapman, 1977) 40MR21	McGhee Cabin 40MR30	Hodge 40MR46	Chota 40MR2	Citico 40MR7	Starnes 40MR32
Subsistance Refuse Group cont'd:									
Opposum	8	4					1		
Skunk		1							
Musrat		27							
Woodchuck		1							
Raccoon	1	10							
Misc. mammal bone	8201	24343					176	8651	
Aves,									
Chicken	210	913		1			1	14	
Turkey	97	171						5	
Duck	4	7							
Goose	9								
Passenger pigeon	1								
Mourning dove	1								
Crow	1								
Misc. bird bone	421	1646					9	25	
Chicken egg shell	18								
Egg shell							17	240	
Reptiles and Amphibians									
E. box turtle	37						1	17	
Misc. turtle	19	109					1	10	
Misc. snake								2	
Misc. frog								27	
Misc. toad	1							173	
Frog or toad								269	
Salamander								2	
Unidentified		19							
Fishes,									
Redhorse	2							7	
Sucker	1							4	
Catfish	17							1	

TABLE 31 (Cont'd)

Artifact Group Class, Type	Fort Southwest Point 40RE119	Tellico Block House 40MR50	Harrison Branch (Schroedl, 1975) 40MR21	Harrison Branch (Chapman, 1977) 40MR21	McGhee Cabin 40MR30	Hodge 40MR46	Chota 40MR2	Citico 40MR7	Starnes 40MR32
Subsistance Refuse Group cont'd									
Sunfish/bass	12							7	
Shad	1								
Drum	4								
Gar	1								
Unidentified	37	1578					8	310	
Unidentified scales								161*	
Mullusca, Bivalves								44	
Gastropods								1	
TOTAL	27115	93997	350	233	920	73	1422	32156	37
TOTAL, minus specimens determined intrusive into cultural assemblage	24439	79785	350	233	920	73	1415	31113	36

*Counts excluded from site collection totals utilized in formulating artifact patterns for the Federal Government, Frontier Settler, and Cherokee subcultures.

? = Specimen identification is questionable.

x = Indicates presence of artifact type yet no count made. Specimens were not included in the total artifact counts.

APPENDIX C

HISTORIC DOCUMENTATION OF THE FUNCTION OF ARTIFACTS WITHIN THE NATIVE CULTURAL SYSTEM

HISTORIC DOCUMENTATION OF THE FUNCTION OF ARTIFACTS WITHIN THE NATIVE CULTURAL SYSTEM

Classification schemes similar to that formulated by South (363), such as utilized in this study, require the ordering of artifacts within functional categories. By virtue of a shared cultural tradition, the American archaeologist of today is capable of ordering artifacts from Euroamerican sites into functional groupings. The same is not true, however, for the functional grouping of artifacts from a Cherokee cultural context, or any other foreign cultural context. The American archaeologist, as a possessor of an Anglo-American mindset or frame of reference, will introduce considerable bias and error into the data if functional identification of culturally foreign artifacts is achieved intuitively. Functional identification of Native American and Euroamerican manufactured artifacts utilized by the Cherokee was thus based on historic sources with first person observations of material culture utilization within Native American contexts.

The compilation of quotes presented below is organized by artifact groups, classes, and types, according to the artifact under discussion and mirroring the artifact classification scheme presented in Appendix B. This documentation of artifact functions is less than ideal for it does not encompass all the artifact classes and types encountered archaeologically. In addition, many of the observations do not specifically pertain to the Federal Period Cherokee who resided in the Hiwassee Tract.

Kitchen Group

Native Pottery Class

> . . . the women had prepared a supper for us. In a large earthen vessel, made by themselves, a cold soup . . . and in anouther sour corn broth were served. The whole company used a large wooden spoon, which was passed down the row. (376:479)

> In a large, deep, Indian earthen vessel he sat before us something he called pumpkin soup. (376:492)

> They sat before us boiled sweet potatoes in a vessel on the floor. (376:492)

> Their domestic utensils consist of earthen pots, pans, jugs, mugs, jars & c of various antiquated sorts. . . . Their wooden dishes, and spoons made of wood and buffalo horn, shew something of a newer invention and date. (277:452)

> The thin cakes maxt with bear's oil were formerly baked on thin broad stones, placed over a fire, or on broad earthen bottoms fit for such a use; but now they use kettles. (277:437)

> The bear fat they fry into clear well-tasted oil, mixing plenty of sassafras and wild cinnamon with it over the fire, which keeps sweet from one winter to another, in large earthen jars, covered in the ground. (277:446)

Kitchenware Class

Lithic Mano

> At the fall of the leaf, they gather a number of hictory-nuts which they pound with a round stone, upon a stone, thick and hollowed for the purpose. (277:439)

Architecture Group

Daub Class

> . . . they turn out early in the spring, to strip clap-boards and cypress bark, for the covering of their houses. . . . In one day, they build, daub with their tough mortar mixed with dry grass, and thoroughly finished, a good commodious house. (277:448-449)

Arms Group

> The men are expert in the use of firearms,—in shooting the bow, —and throwing the feathered dart, and tomahawk, into the flying enemy. (277:6)

Projectile Point Class

> They make perhaps the finist bows, and the smoothest barbed arrows, of all mankind. On the point of them is fixed either a scooped point of buck-horn, or turkey-cock spurs, pieces of brass, or flint stone. (272:456-457)

Clothing Group

Class

> [Kulsathee] . . . showed us his cotton carding-combs, spinning-wheel, and, also, yarn that his daughter had spun. (376:485)

Spindle Whorl Class

> . . . the old women spin it (Fibre) off the distaffs, with wooden machines, having some clay on the middle of them, to hasten the motion. (277:453)

Bead Class

> . . . adorning themselves with beads of various sizes and colours; sometimes wrought in garters, sashes, necklaces, and in strings round their wrists. (277:178)

Needle and Thread Classes

> The needles and thread they used formerly (and now at times) were fishbones, or the horn and bones of deer, rubbed sharp, and deer's sinew, and a sort of hemp. (277:8)

Personal Group

Turtle-Shell Rattle Class

> . . . the women are decked in their finest, and anointed with bear's-grease, having small tortoise shells, and white pebbles, fastened to a piece of white-drest deer-skin which is tied to each of their legs. (277:101)

Wire Hair Plucker Class

> . . . both sexes pluck all the hair off their bodies, with a kind of tweezers, made formerly of clam-shells, now of middle-sized wire, in the shape of a gun-worm; which being twisted round a small stick, and the end fastened therein, after being properly tempered, keeps its form: holding this Indian razor between their fore-finger and thumb, they deplume themselves. (277:7)

Finger Ring, Earring, Tinkler Classes

> The men and women in old times used such coarse diamonds as their own hilly country produced, when each had a bit of stone fastened with a deer's sinew to the tying of the hair, their nose, ears, and maccaseenes; but from the time we supplied them with our European ornaments, they have used brass and silver ear-rings, and finger-rings; the young warriors now frequently fasten bell-buttons or pieces of tinkling brass to their maccaseenes, and to the outside of their boots, instead of the old turkey-cock-spurs which they formerly used. (277:179)

> The outer rim of the ear is always lightly detached by an incision. They wrap it in a layer of tin and from it hang very long very large earrings. Often too they hang a little triangle or other ornament through the nasal septum. These embellishments are reserved to the men. (331:96)

Tobacco Pipe Group

> They use two kinds of pipe. One is at the end of a hatchet, and the handle serves as stem. . . . The other is made of a soft stone that they work themselves, the stem being the stalk of a shrub found only in this region. Some are sculpted with scenes of every imaginable depravity. They brought me one with a bear and wolf on it. (331:89-90)

Activities Group

Axe and Celt Classes

> The Indians formerly had stone axes, which in form . . . resembles a smith's chisel. . . . They are made of a flinty kind of stone; I have seen several, which chanced to escape being buried with their owners, and were carefully preserved by the old people, as respectable remains of antiquity. (277:434)

Iron Axe and Hoe Classes and Types

> . . . no trade or Buisnesses would be of any use here, except a smith, who could mend their axes and Hoes. (376:259)

Lithic Knife Class and Type

> . . . they cut off the skin of their heads with their flint-stone knives. (277:154)

VITA

Thomas Blake Ford was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on February 5, 1954. He attended Pennsbury High School, graduating in June 1972, while living in Yardley, Pennsylvania. The following September he entered Brown University, receiving a Bachelor of Arts in Anthropology in June 1976. He entered the Graduate School of The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, in September 1977. After completing classroom requirements for the Master of Arts degree in the Fall of 1978, he became Principal Investigator of the Mill Creek Historic Archaeological Project for the Mackinac Island State Park Commission, Michigan. He received the Master of Arts degree with a major in Anthropology in March 1982.

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