To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Lance K. Greene entitled "The Archaeology and History of the Cherokee Out Towns". I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Anthropology.

Gerald F. Schroedl, Major Professor

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and recommend its acceptance:

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Accepted for the Council:

Associate Vice Chancellor
and Dean of the Graduate School

THE ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY OF THE CHEROKEE OUT TOWNS

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Arts

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Lance K. Greene

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ABSTRACT

During the 19th century, several Cherokee towns were located in the Appalachian Summit of western North Carolina, in the Tuckasegee and Oconaluftee river valleys. They were termed the Out Towns by the English, due to their isolation in the mountainous region. The Out Towns remained largely isolated from the English, and later the Americans, due to this geographic isolation. As a result, very little historical documentation exists for the Out Towns.

Very few large-scale archaeological excavations have been performed in the area. Little has been written about the archaeology of the area since the work of Egloff (1967), Dickens (1976, 1978), and Keel (1976). These three authors originally defined the archaeological manifestation of the historic Cherokee occupation in the area, termed the historic Qualla phase. Recently derived archaeological data are available from a survey performed on the Qualla Boundary around Cherokee, North Carolina, and are a significant contribution to historic Qualla phase studies.

The focus of this study is syntheses of the historical documentation of and archaeological work in the Out Town area. Combination of these two sources reveal new interpretations about the occupation of the Out Towns during the Qualla phase, including the utilization of a wider variety of landforms during the early Qualla phase and the abandonment of the Out Towns in 1761 after their destruction by English military forces. In the study, the Qualla phase is also divided into three chronological sections, derived from the archaeological and historical data.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

During the 18th century, nine Cherokee towns were located in the Tuckasegee and Oconaluftee river valleys, within the Appalachian Summit of western North Carolina. The British termed these the Out Towns, to describe their isolation in the mountainous region, on the northern periphery of the Cherokee Nation (Figures 1 and 2). The nine towns were Nununyi, Kituwha, Stecoe, Tuckasegee, Cunnulrasha (Birdtown), Tuckaleche, Conuntory, Connawisca, and Evanga.

The term Appalachian Summit was first used by A.L. Kroeber in his discussion of cultural and natural areas of native North America (1963). It is defined as a cultural and geographical area, encompassing "the southern and highest part of the Appalachian system, where this ends rather abruptly and falls into the piedmont and plain of the gulf slope" (Kroeber 1963:95). As used by Kroeber the term was largely synonymous with the area occupied by the historic Cherokees (Figure 3), and also largely coincides with the Blue Ridge Physiographic Province used by Fenneman (1938). In this study, the term Appalachian Summit is used when referring to the cultural habitation of the area, and Blue Ridge Physiographic Province is used in reference to the geography or topography of the region. The term Cherokee Nation is used to describe the entire area controlled or utilized by the Cherokees during the 18th and early 19th centuries, although the Cherokee Nation as a formal entity was not established until the 1820s (Finger 1984).

Geographical isolation made the Out Towns a discrete sociopolitical and cultural

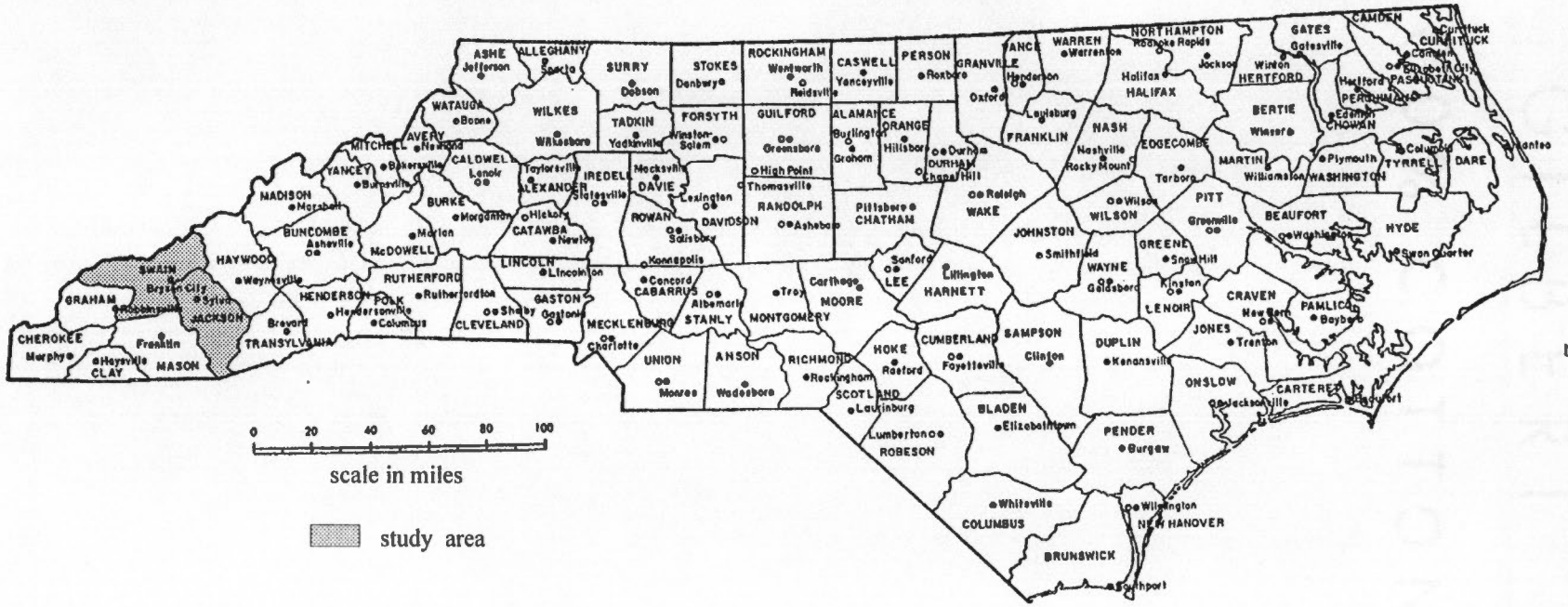


Figure 1. Location of study area.

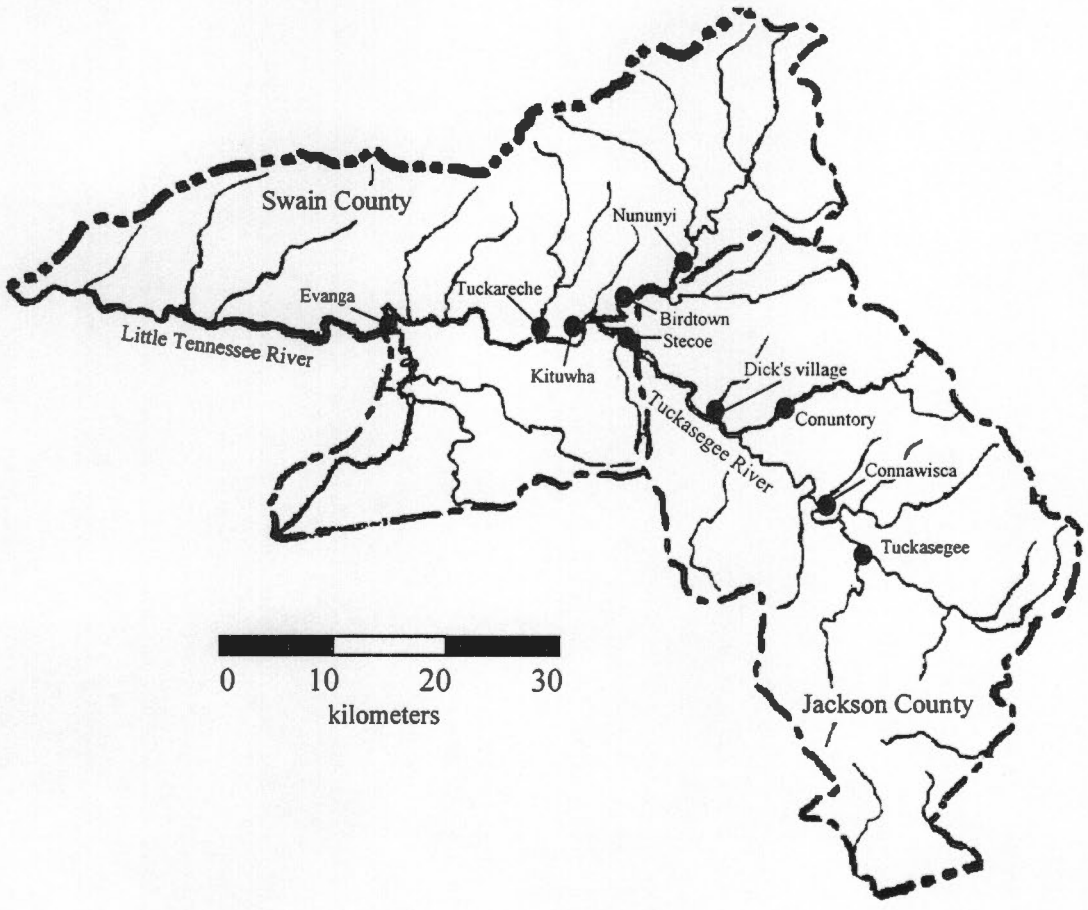


Figure 2. Location of historic Cherokee Out Towns.

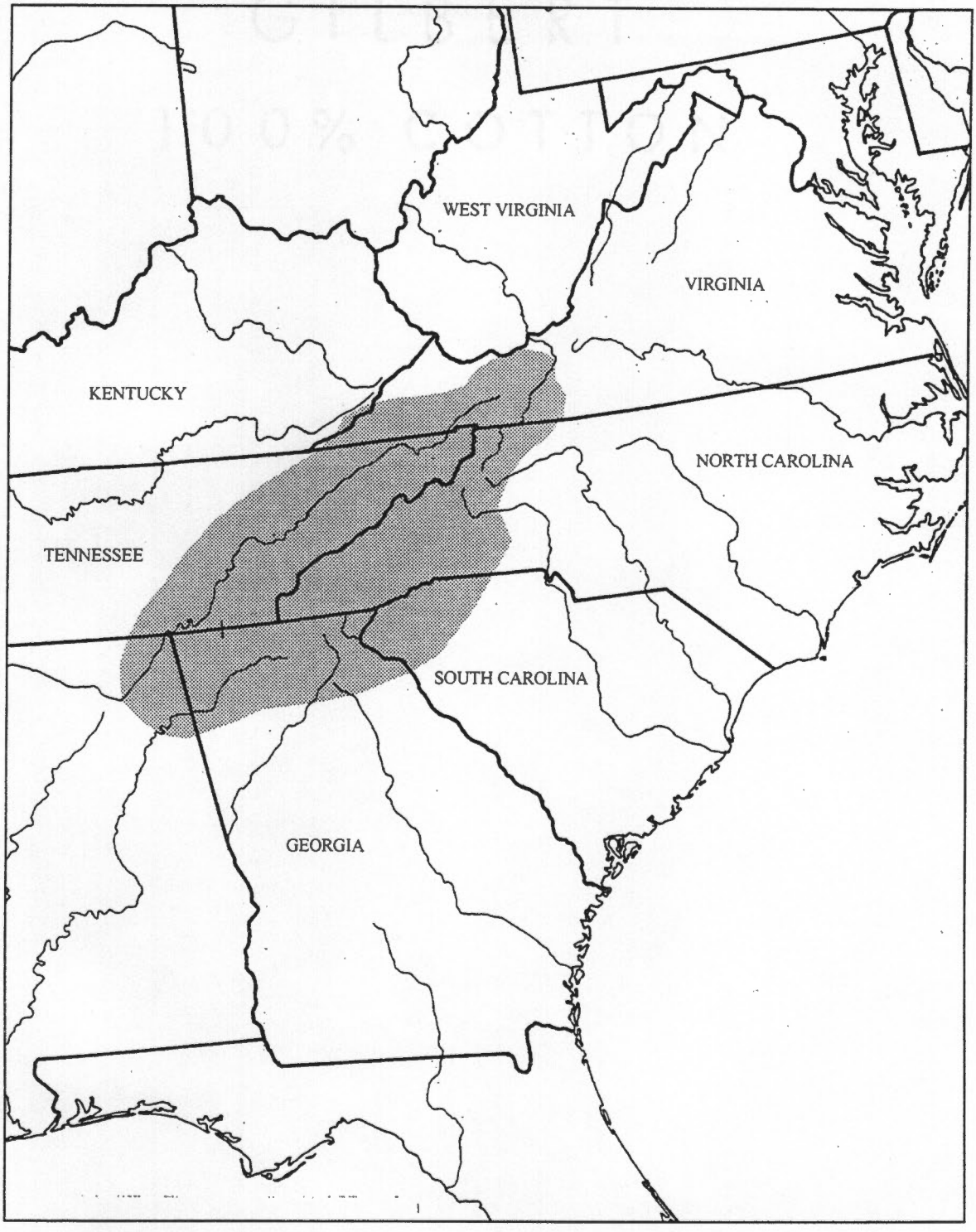


Figure 3. Location of the Appalachian Summit.

entity distinct from other Cherokee towns. The Out Towns were seldom visited by Anglo-Americans, because access to the area was limited by the mountainous terrain and the distance to major historic trail systems. Furthermore, the lack of large arable tracts of land made the area less appealing to Anglo-Americans than other regions within the Cherokee Nation.

Because the Out Towns were so isolated, there is little historical documentation which pertains specifically to the area. Consequently, histories dealing with the Cherokees often overlook the Out Towns, except for their destruction by the British in 1761 (McDowell, ed. 1958) and the Americans in 1776 and 1781 (Mooney 1900; Saunders 1890). The unique situation of the historic Cherokees who occupied the Out Towns warrants a synthesis of the historic literature regarding this area.

Relatively little archaeological work has been done in the Out Towns. One reason is that large-scale excavations of historic Cherokee sites have occurred in conjunction with Tennessee Valley Authority reservoir projects, such as in the Tellico Reservoir in east Tennessee and the Hartwell Reservoir in northern Georgia. These project areas encompassed the historic Overhill and Lower towns, respectively. A few sites containing historic Cherokee contexts have been professionally excavated on a large scale in the Out Town area, including Ela (Wetmore 1990), Cullowhee Valley school (Moore n.d.) and Tuckasegee (Keel 1976). Most of the archaeological work in the area, however, has been small survey or testing projects (Baker 1979; Horvath 1991; Rogers 1989). Some of this work has identified historic Cherokee occupations.

During the summer of 1994, an archaeological survey of the Qualla Boundary was

conducted, in and around Cherokee, North Carolina, in the Oconaluftee River Valley (Figure 4). Although the survey was only a preliminary investigation, test excavations were made at Nununyi (31SW3) and Birdtown (31SW6), and several smaller historic Cherokee sites were identified.

The Qualla Boundary is the largest of several land reservations occupied by the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians in the post-Removal era. The entire holdings of the Eastern Band encompass 56,572 acres in Swain, Jackson, Graham, Haywood, and Cherokee counties (Egloff 1967). The Qualla Boundary is bordered on the north by the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, and is situated in some of the highest and steepest topography of the Appalachian Summit. The Qualla Boundary is coincident with a large portion of the historic Out Towns, including most of the Oconaluftee River Valley.

The archaeological manifestation of the historic Cherokee period in the Appalachian Summit, lasting approximately 400 years (A.D. 1450-1838), was termed the Qualla phase by Dickens (1976) and Keel (1976). There was a tremendous amount of variation in the social, political, religious and material life of the historic Cherokees during the Qualla phase. Temporal variation in the material culture during the Qualla phase is currently poorly understood.

The goals of this thesis are therefore to 1) present syntheses of the history and archaeology of the Cherokee Out Towns; 2) present previously published and new archaeological data pertaining to the Out Towns; 3) compare the historic and archaeological data, focusing on three issues: the period of occupation of historically documented towns, temporal variations of historic Qualla series ceramics, and land use and settlement pattern

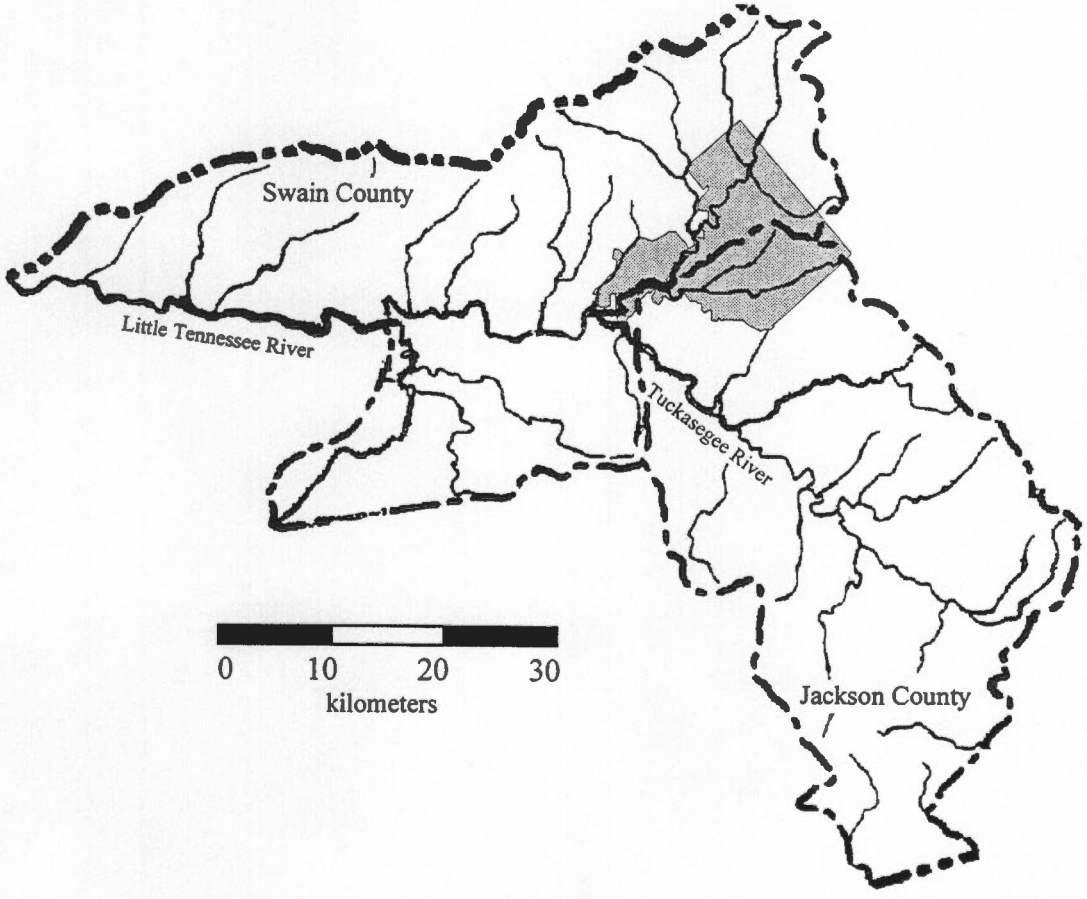


Figure 4. Location of the Qualla Boundary.

changes during the historic Cherokee period.

A study of the historic Out Towns is long overdue. Their importance is based not only on their unique position and separation from the rest of the Cherokee Nation, but as a symbolic location for the Cherokees themselves (Finger 1984). Cherokee tradition states that Kituwha, being one of the seven mother towns of the Cherokees, is also the place of origin for the first Cherokees (Mooney 1900). Mooney (1900:15) comments on this origin:

> On ceremonial occasions they frequently speak of themselves as Ani'-Kitu'hwagi, or "people of Kitu'wha", an ancient settlement on Tuckasegee river and apparently the original nucleus of the tribe.

This study uses a terminal date of 1819. This year is significant in many ways in the history of the Cherokees, particularly in the Appalachian Summit. In 1819 the United States government was ceded the land on which the traditional Out Towns were located, along with other sections of the Cherokee Nation, and in return donated a large section of land in Oklahoma which the Cherokees would supposedly volunteer to occupy. At this time the majority of the Cherokees living in the Out Towns moved to the south and west, into the ever-shrinking Cherokee Nation. A few families remained in the area, mostly as recipients of land grants offered by the United States, and subsequently formed the nucleus of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. The year 1819 symbolized a turning point for the Cherokees in the Southeast. It was the earnest beginning of the Removal, and the beginning of the division between the eastern and western groups of the Cherokees.

All inhabitants of the Cherokee Nation, as with other native tribes, from the first

period of European contact, must be viewed as active participants in the events which affected them. Although the native inhabitants quickly became outnumbered, and in many ways had difficulty coping with European culture and technology, they were not helpless victims of European contact. The Cherokees in all parts of the Nation found ways to cope with and overcome many of the problems they faced, and to bring the Europeans to deal with them on their own terms. The Cherokees maintained complex social, political and military systems, which were used efficiently to survive and succeed in the ever-encroaching world of the Europeans. The social structure of the Cherokees allowed the Out Towns, and other town groups, to decide on their own course regarding the English and later the Americans, and they often chose to ignore or become hostile to those forces. This strength was one of the major problems the English faced in attempting to control the Cherokee Nation. Their sophisticated traditional culture, which provided both strength and flexibility, aided the Cherokees in their dealings with, and survival in spite of, the Europeans.

CHAPTER 2

ENVIRONMENTAL BACKGROUND

Topography

The Qualla Boundary is located in the southern section of the Blue Ridge Physiographic Province, as defined by Fenneman (1938). This province includes the entire Appalachian Summit, and is bordered on the west by the Ridge and Valley Province, on the south and east by the Piedmont Province, and on the north by the continuation of the Blue Ridge Province (northern section). Fenneman describes the mountains in the southern section of the Blue Ridge as "subdued", which he defines as being "at a stage in the cycle when height and steepness are so far lost that a mantle of decayed rock is general (Fenneman 1938:174)." Thus crags, cliffs and talus slopes are relatively rare, and summits are usually somewhat rounded.

Vegetation

The southern portion of the Blue Ridge Province is termed the Southern Appalachians by Braun (1950). She defines it as entailing the Blue Ridge Province south of Roanoke Gap, and including the Unaka Range (including the Great Smoky Mountains), Grandfather Mountain, the Nantahala Mountains, and the Black Mountains. Elevations of the Southern Appalachians range from approximately 1300 feet AMSL where they meet the Piedmont on the east and the Ridge and Valley on the west, to 6711 ft AMSL on Mount

Mitchell in North Carolina and 6680 ft AMSL on Clingman's Dome in the Great Smoky Mountains of Tennessee. The great range in elevation and variation in topography make the Southern Appalachians a region of extreme bio-diversity. An unusually high number of species of flora and fauna exist within its borders.

During the 1920s a blight swept through the eastern United States, completely destroying the American chestnut, which until then had dominated much of the landscape alone or in association with various species of oak. American chestnut forests no longer exist in the region, and the gap left by their disappearance has been filled with various species, usually varieties of oak. The forest types which existed during the historic Qualla phase included the dominant American chestnut. Forest types were relatively stable during the period, and were not changed greatly until the introduction of clear-cutting in the late 19th century, followed shortly by the chestnut blight.

The Southern Appalachians fall within the Oak-Chestnut Forest Region (Braun 1950). This region covered all of the Blue Ridge Province, the majority of the Ridge and Valley Province, and a large portion of the northern Piedmont and Coastal Plain. The most common forest type in this region was the chestnut/oak-chestnut forest communities, which generally existed in the intermediate elevations. Found in intermediate and lower elevations were mixed mesophytic (cove hardwoods) and oak/oak-pine communities. Higher elevations included the northern hardwood and spruce-fir communities, and open areas unique to the region referred to as balds.

Forest types and communities varied in density and proportions of species because of elevation, topography, moisture, and surrounding forest communities. Borders between

communities were often indistinct and poorly defined.

Chestnut/Oak-Chestnut Communities

These communities covered most slopes and rolling hills between 1300-4500 ft AMSL (Braun 1950). The dominant species within these communities were chestnut, red oak, white oak, chestnut oak and tuliptree (yellow poplar). Yellow birch, red maple, and spruce were present in the transitional zone to the higher elevation forest types (Braun 1950).

Mixed Mesophytic Communities (Cove Hardwoods)

These communities were generally restricted to coves and lower north slopes (Braun 1950). Proportionately they occupied a much smaller area than the chestnut/oak-chestnut communities, and varied in proportions of species depending on elevation, topography, and moisture. Species types were more abundant than in the oak-chestnut communities. The most common species included sweet buckeye, basswood, sugar maple, red maple, red oak, silverbell, tuliptree, beech, yellow birch, hemlock, chestnut, wild cherry, white ash, and bitternut hickory (Braun 1950).

Oak/Oak-Pine Communities

These communities were most commonly located on intermontane low plateaus, such as in the Asheville basin. They were often located on the lower elevations nearing the Piedmont to the south and east and the Ridge and Valley to the west, and consisted of varying proportions of red oak, post oak, blackjack oak, table mountain pine, pitch pine,

shortleaf pine, and white pine (Braun 1950).

Northern Hardwood Communities

These communities were located in the higher elevations. The dominant species included sugar maple, yellow birch, beech, and buckeye. Other species included white ash, wild black cherry, silverbell, cucumber, chestnut, and basswood (Braun 1950). Proportions of species varied greatly within these communities.

Spruce-Fir Communities

These communities were also located at higher elevations. The dominant species included the red spruce and the Fraser fir (southern balsam). The red spruce was present at a lower elevation than the Fraser fir. At higher elevations, however, either may have been dominant, or codominance may have occurred (Braun 1950).

Balds

Balds, treeless mountain tops, were a common occurrence in the higher elevations of the Southern Appalachians. Braun (1950) defined two types; grassy balds and heath balds. Grassy balds were covered mostly in grass, with occasional ferns and shrubs also present. Heath balds contained usually thick growths of various shrubs and ground heaths such as rhododendron and azaleas, which may have been divided by areas of grass.

Soils

Soils of the Out Town area vary in thickness, drainage, texture, and color. These variations are affected mainly by elevation, steepness, and proximity to permanent water sources. The majority of soils are well drained to excessively drained and are underlain by gneiss bedrock. Discussion of soils is presented by elevation, beginning in the uplands and proceeding into the lower elevations, toe slopes and foothills, and floodplains. Soil descriptions are from the United States Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service soil surveys of Swain (1974) and Jackson (1974) counties, North Carolina. Descriptions provided in these surveys are by soil associations. A soil association:

> consists of one or more major soils and at least one minor soil. The soils may be similar or they may differ greatly. Although closely associated geographically, the soils in a general soil area may differ in their suitability for agricultural and non-farm use (Swain county soil survey, 1974).

Upper Elevations (above 3,000 ft.AMSL)

The soils of the steep upper elevations in Swain and Jackson counties constitute the Porter-Edneyville-Tusquitee association. This association is present from the ridgetops down the steep slopes to approximately 3,000 ft. AMSL. These soils are found on moderately steep to very steep slopes generally with a grade of 25-60%. Soils are well drained and generally high in organic matter. Upper soil layers consist of dark brown loams and the subsoils are yellowish brown clay loams.

Steep Slopes on Lower Elevations (below 3,000 ft AMSL)

Steep slopes in the lower elevations are occupied by the Chester-Saluda-Hayesville association in Swain and Jackson counties and also the Muskingum-Talladega-Saluda association in Swain County. The association is located directly downslope from the Porter-Edneyville-Tusquitee association, and occupies large portions of the major drainages in both counties. Slopes containing this association generally have a grade of 25-60%. Most of the associated land is in forest and is well drained. The upper soil layers consist of dark brown loams and the subsoils are red clay loams.

Most of the Muskingum-Talladega-Saluda association is located north of the Little Tennessee River (Fontana Lake) and in the Nantahala Gorge. The association occurs on narrow ridges and steep or very steep slopes, with a grade of 25-70%. Most of the land is forested and is well drained or excessively drained. Upper soil layers consist of dark brown loams and the subsoils are yellowish red clay loams.

Foothills and Toe Slopes

The foothills and toe slopes above the main waterways consist of the Hayesville-Chester-Tate association in Swain and Jackson counties and also the Braddock-Hayesville-Tate association in Jackson County. The Hayesville-Chester-Tate association occurs in small scattered areas along the Oconaluftee and Little Tennessee rivers. The association occurs at the base of steep mountains (below 3,000 ft. AMSL) on landforms characterized by foothills and moderately steep side slopes and toe slopes, with a grade of 10-25%. In both counties, approximately 40% of the area where these soils occur has been cleared and is used for

pasture or hayland. The rest is mostly wooded. Upper soil layers consist of dark brown loams and subsoils are red clays and yellowish brown clay loams.

The Braddock-Hayesville-Tate association occurs on foothills and toe slopes along the Tuckasegee River and Scott's and Soco creeks. It occurs mainly on broad smooth benches, ridges and toe slopes, with a grade of 2-10%. Most is used for pasture or hay. Other uses are residential construction or row crops. The upper soil layers consist of reddish brown loams and subsoils are red clays and yellowish brown clay loams.

Floodplains

Different floodplain soil associations exist in each county. Swain County floodplain soils consist of the Tate-Braddock-Codorus association, and Jackson County floodplain soils consist of the Codorus-Comus-Hatboro association.

The Tate-Braddock-Codorus association occurs along the Oconaluftee and Little Tennessee rivers, and along Alarka Creek. These areas are usually slightly sloping valley floors with relatively narrow floodplains, with a grade of 0-10%. Approximately 75% of this land is cleared and used for agricultural or residential purposes. The upper soil layers consist of brown loams and subsoils are red clays and yellowish brown clay loams.

The Codorus-Comus-Hatboro association exists in narrow strips, generally bordered by the Hayesville-Chester-Tate association, along the Tuckasegee River and Savannah, Scott's and Soco creeks. The association usually occurs on nearly level floodplains. Approximately 90% of the area is cleared and used for agricultural purposes. The upper soil layers consist of dark brown and dark gray loams and subsoils are grayish brown to

yellowish brown loams.

Fauna

The Appalachian Summit supports a varied animal population, and did even more so before the era of white settlement. Prior to the 19th century, common large mammals included white-tailed deer, black bear, wolf, and cougar (Stupka 1960). Other common fauna included bobcat, gray fox, raccoon, beaver, otter, muskrat, mink, opossum, skunk, gray squirrel, and fox squirrel (Holden 1966; Shelford 1963). Avian fauna included wild turkey, owl, hawk, grouse, quail, and eagle. Ducks and geese were present during the winter months (Holden 1966; Shelford 1963). Common fish included catfish, sunfish, largemouth and small mouth bass, trout, pike, perch, and gar (Holden 1966).

CHAPTER 3

OVERVIEW OF THE ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY OF THE APPALACHIAN SUMMIT

Introduction

Large scale exploration and excavation of prehistoric archaeological remains in the Appalachian Summit began during the 1880s by the Valentine family. The Valentines operated a museum in Richmond, Virginia, and over the course of several years removed thousands of prehistoric and historic Native American artifacts from the Appalachian Summit (Dickens 1979). The Valentines focused their excavations on large mounds in the area, including those at Nununyi, Birdtown and Kituwha. Recovered artifacts included whole ceramic vessels from burial contexts, spearpoints and arrowheads, and early Anglo-American artifacts. Although the primary purpose of these excavations was recovery of museum pieces, the Valentines and their coworkers made some basic statements about the relationship between the historic and prehistoric ceramics. They observed that the prehistoric sherds being removed from the mounds were very similar to the pottery being made locally on the Qualla Boundary. Based on these similarities, they concluded that the prehistoric groups which lived in the area were ancestral to the present day Cherokees (Valentine 1898).

During this period exploration was also being conducted by the Bureau of American Ethnology's (BAE) Division of Mound Exploration, directed by Cyrus Thomas. Most of the BAE excavations occurred in the Tennessee Valley, where

prehistoric mounds were more abundant than in the Appalachian Summit (Thomas 1887, 1890, 1891, 1894). The purpose of these excavations was to solve the question of who built the mounds. A common belief at the time was that an extinct race of "moundbuilders" had constructed the huge earthworks. The belief was based on the ethnocentric idea that the Indians were not capable of such massive undertakings. These ideas were largely laid to rest as the excavators under the direction of Cyrus Thomas observed that the material being recovered from the mounds was very similar to that produced by Native Americans. Thomas not only ended the theory of ancient "moundbuilders", but also suggested these prehistoric cultures were possibly ancestral to the Cherokees, therefore suggesting a relatively long period of cultural continuity in the area.

No further large scale excavations occurred in the Appalachian Summit until 1915, when George Heye began work in Haywood County, North Carolina, for the Museum of the American Indian-Heye Foundation. Work in Haywood County included excavations at the Garden Creek Mound No. 3 (Heye 1919). Subsequent excavations included those at the Nacoochee Mound in northern Georgia (Heye, Hodge and Pepper 1918) and along the upper Tennessee River in Tennessee (Harrington 1922). Many of the Heye Foundation archaeologists believed the Cherokees had occupied the Appalachian Summit for a long period, while Harrington (1922) considered the possibility that other ethnic groups were responsible for the prehistoric remains.

Excavations conducted in 1933-34 at the Peachtree mound and village site on the Hiwassee River in Cherokee County, North Carolina, were sponsored by the Smithsonian

Institute and directed by Jesse Jennings. In the report (Setzler and Jennings 1941), Jennings concluded that the site was occupied by a culture which resulted from the "blending" of certain Woodland and Mississippian Period traits. Jennings did not recognize the diachronic nature of the site occupation, or that he was observing mixed cultural deposits.

Depression-era excavations outside North Carolina had a major impact on the theories of Cherokee origins. Excavations began in the Norris Basin in upper East Tennessee by William Webb for the Tennessee Valley Authority in 1933. In the Norris Basin report, Webb (1938) followed the ideas of Harrington (1922) and argued that the Cherokees were recent arrivals to the Appalachian Summit and the Tennessee Valley. He associated most of the prehistoric sites and materials of the Norris Basin with occupations by Creek and Yuchi populations.

TVA reservoir excavations continued on a very large scale by T.M.N. Lewis through the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Lewis and his associate Madeline Kneberg wrote several reports relating to excavations in different reservoirs in East Tennessee (1941, 1946). From these excavations they argued for the recent arrival of the Cherokees in the eastern Tennessee-western North Carolina area, as had Webb and Harrington.

Joffre Coe began excavations in the Appalachian Summit in 1935 with the Connestee, or Puette site (31TR1), in Transylvania County, North Carolina (Keel 1976). Archaeological surveys and further excavations planned during the late 1930s were postponed due to the outbreak of World War II. Large scale surveys resumed in the late

1950s under the direction of Joffre Coe, and archaeological surveys and excavations were undertaken during the 1960s under what was termed the Cherokee Project. One of the main purposes was to determine the origins of the Cherokees (Keel 1976). A coinciding goal was the identification of the prehistoric chronology of the Appalachian Summit. Excavations during this period included the Tuckasegee site (31JK12) in Jackson County (Keel 1976), the Townson site (31CE15) in Cherokee County (Keel 1972), the Garden Creek site (31HW2) in Haywood County (Keel 1976), the Coweeta Creek site (31MA34) in Macon County, and the Warren Wilson site (31BN29) in Buncombe County (Keel 1976). Additional work which addressed the issues of chronology and Cherokee origins includes Dickens (1976), Egloff (1967), Ferguson (1971), Holden (1966), Keel (1972), and Moore (1981).

Although large scale excavations did not generally continue into the 1980s, numerous smaller excavations and surveys, related to compliance with Federal laws, were performed. These small projects in the Appalachian Summit have generally been associated with highway or bridge relocations (Baker 1985; Collins and Eblen 1978; Jurgelski and Robinson 1993), pipeline construction or replacement (Baker 1982; Horvath 1991; Rogers 1985; Wetmore 1988; Wild 1994), or other public works (Baker 1979; Brown 1994; Brown and Rogers 1993; Dyson and Snedeker 1992).

A century of archaeological excavations in the Appalachian Summit has focused largely on the origins of the Cherokees. Various interpretations of the archaeological data have suggested both their recent arrival in the area, and conversely, a long-term habitation. During the 1920s-1940s archaeologists attempted to define the prehistoric

antecedents of modern tribes in the southeastern United States (Harrington 1922; Lewis and Kneberg 1941; Webb 1938). This pursuit continued with the initiation of the Cherokee Project in the 1960s, and presently remains a focus of archaeological study.

Archaeological Sequence

Paleo-Indian

Archaeological evidence of the earliest cultural occupation in the Appalachian Summit consists of Clovis or Clovis-like lanceolate projectile points. Few of these points have been recovered, and the majority are surface finds (Purrington 1983). These points represent Paleo-Indian period occupation, dating approximately 10,000-8500 B.C. in the Appalachian Summit area. It is unknown whether the small amount of Paleo-Indian material found represents infrequent occupation of the region or destruction and/or sedimentary burial of occupation sites. Little is known about the settlement or subsistence practices of the local inhabitants during this period. Generally, they have been characterized as "band-level societies consisting of small, nomadic groups who emphasized hunting, possibly of big game, as a subsistence pursuit and had a highly sophisticated lithic technology" (Purrington 1983:107). Most Paleo-Indian artifacts were produced from local raw materials, suggesting to some researchers that groups used the area throughout the year rather than only seasonally (Purrington 1983).

About 8500 B.C., Clovis projectile points are replaced by the Dalton and Hardaway types (8500-7500 B.C.). These points are generally considered transitional between Paleo-Indian and Archaic point types (Cambron and Hulse 1969). The amount of

Dalton/Hardaway material recovered from the Appalachian Summit only slightly outnumbers Paleo-Indian artifacts, suggesting that population density remained quite low, possibly representing seasonal hunting parties (Purrington 1983).

Archaic

The Early Archaic Kirk phase (7500-6900 B.C.) is represented by point types including Kirk corner-notched and stemmed and Palmer corner-notched (Cambron and Hulse 1969). Definition of Kirk phase artifacts is based primarily on excavations by Coe at the Hardaway site in the North Carolina Piedmont (1964), Chapman's excavations of several sites in the Little Tennessee River Valley (1975, 1977), and Broyles' excavations in West Virginia at the St. Albans site (1971). Although Kirk phase artifacts are not abundant in the Appalachian Summit, they are more common than materials of the preceding period.

Bass (1977) and Purrington (1980) both found that the raw material used in the production of Kirk phase tools in the Appalachian Summit was chert from east Tennessee, and suggest short-term occupation by groups from outside the area. Alternatively, studies in other areas of the Appalachian Summit have observed the utilization of local resources. Surveys in Transylvania County by Holden (1966) and Purrington (1981) reveal the use of local raw materials in the production of Kirk phase tools. Purrington (1983) suggests the Kirk phase in the Appalachian Summit may have been a time of gradual establishment of permanent occupations in the area, with some locations occupied more heavily and longer than others.

Kirk phase occupations have been recorded at both upland and main valley sites. Although various studies suggest concentrations in one or the other landform (Bass 1977; Chapman 1975, 1977; Robertson and Robertson 1978), it is apparent that Kirk phase occupants commonly utilized both landforms. A broad adaptive strategy for the Kirk phase population has therefore been suggested (Purrington 1983).

The Early Archaic LeCroy phase (6900-6000 B.C.) is represented by bifurcated projectile points including MacCorkle, St. Albans, LeCroy, and Kanawha (Cambron and Hulse 1969). Those recovered by Bass (1977) were made of Ridge and Valley chert, while a portion of those found in the Watauga Valley were of local vein quartz (Purrington 1983). Purrington (1983) suggests this pattern, as with the Kirk phase, may reflect the differences between non-local and resident groups. In the Great Smoky Mountains, Bass (1977) found that LeCroy phase sites generally followed earlier Kirk phase settlement patterns, while in the Watauga Valley there was a shift towards valley margins and bottomlands (Purrington 1983).

The Middle Archaic Stanly phase (6000-5500 B.C.) is represented by a small number of Stanly points. These points are found more commonly in both the Piedmont and Ridge and Valley provinces. It is not known if the scarcity of this type is due to a depopulation of the Appalachian Summit area, or to destruction, burial, or misidentification of Stanly phase sites (Purrington 1983).

The Middle Archaic Morrow Mountain phase (5500-4000 B.C.) is represented by Morrow Mountain points and the almost total use of local raw materials for the production of stone tools. Morrow Mountain phase artifacts are not only found in much

greater occurrence than in earlier phases, but are found in every physiographic province. While Bass (1977) suggests that the Morrow Mountain phase populations may have utilized these different physiographic provinces in a similar manner, data from the Watauga Valley suggest site specialization probably occurred in some cases (Purrington 1983).

The Middle Archaic Guilford phase (4000-3000 B.C.) is represented by Guilford projectile points, and in the Appalachian Summit by the dominant use of quartz and quartzite, both local and non-local. While Guilford points are common in the Appalachian Summit, Bass (1977) reports that they are virtually non-existent in the Ridge and Valley province in eastern Tennessee. The Guilford phase settlement pattern in the Watauga Valley seems to be a continuation of Morrow Mountain phase adaptation, with the utilization of several different landforms within the region (Purrington 1983).

The Late Archaic Savannah River phase (3000-1000 B.C.) is represented by Savannah River or Appalachian stemmed points, generally made of quartzite (Cambron and Hulse 1969). This point type is very abundant in the Appalachian Summit, possibly reflecting increased population density. Variation in settlement pattern has been recorded for the Savannah River phase within different areas of the Appalachian Summit. Bass (1977) reported these sites occurred mainly in the larger river valleys, with points being made exclusively of quartzite. He suggests the larger populations remained on the floodplains, with seasonal dispersions to the upland areas and sites with specialized uses, such as hunting camps. This differs from the settlement pattern in the Watauga Valley, where the use of a wider range of habitats is suggested during the Savannah River phase

(Purrington 1983).

The Terminal Archaic Otarre phase (1000-700 B.C.) is represented by the Otarre stemmed point. Variations in subsistence and settlement patterns have been observed in the Otarre phase between the Ridge and Valley and Blue Ridge provinces. At the Higgs site in the Ridge and Valley of eastern Tennessee, Otarre-like points were found associated with a structure and domesticated sunflower seeds (McCollough and Faulkner 1973; McCullough 1973). However, in the Watauga Valley, it is suggested that settlement patterns generally continued as they had during the Late Archaic, and were affected very little by the use of cultigens (Purrington 1983).

Woodland

The Early Woodland Swannanoa phase (700-300 B.C.) probably represents the earliest use of ceramics in the Appalachian Summit. Ceramics from this phase are crushed-quartz tempered and are most commonly cordmarked and fabric impressed bowls and conoidal jars. Simple-stamping, check-stamping and plain surfaces occur but may be somewhat later. Point types include Swannanoa stemmed, Plott stemmed, and Transylvania triangular. Other artifacts include bar gorgets, bone awls, "net sinkers", tubular pipes, and soapstone vessels (Purrington 1983).

Subsistence and settlement patterns at this time seem to be a continuation from the Archaic period (Purrington 1983). Bass (1977), Keel (1976), and Purrington (1983) suggest the utilization of several different landforms, and a minor reliance on horticulture.

The Middle Woodland Pigeon phase (300 B.C.-A.D. 200) is represented by crushed-quartz tempered ceramic vessels, including conical jars, hemispherical bowls, and tetrapodal and shouldered jars with flaring rims. Surface treatment is generally check stamped or smoothed, with minority surfaces including simple stamped, brushed, and complicated stamped. Point types include the Garden Creek triangular, Copena triangular, and the Pigeon point (Cambron and Hulse 1969; Keel 1976; Purrington 1983).

While several different biogeographic zones were still utilized during the Pigeon phase, there was increased concentration of habitation on the floodplains. Purrington (1983) reports an increase of Pigeon phase sites on floodplain locales and a decrease of ceramic-bearing Pigeon phase sites in the upland zones. Purrington suggests this may reflect an increased or initial reliance on horticulture or intensive harvesting.

The Middle Woodland Connestee phase (A.D. 200-A.D. 600) is represented by sand tempered ceramics with simple-stamped, brushed, or plain surfaces. Vessel forms are conoidal or hemispherical, often with constricted necks and flaring rims. Tetrapodal vessels are common. Point types include the Garden Creek, Connestee, and Haywood triangular forms (Purrington 1983).

Influences from outside the Appalachian Summit during this phase include those from the Hopewellian cultures from the Ohio Valley. During excavation of Garden Creek Mound 2, Keel (1976) recovered blades produced from Flint Ridge, Ohio, chalcedony, Hopewellian cross-hatched rimsherds, Chillicothe rocker-stamped ceramics, and Hopewellian style anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines. Inhabitants of the Appalachian Summit during this phase undoubtedly participated in what has been termed

the "Hopewellian Interaction Sphere" (Caldwell 1964). Exports from the area probably included mica, quartz crystals, copper, steatite, and chlorite schist (Purrington 1983).

Bass (1977) and Purrington (1983) suggest greater sedentism during the Middle Woodland Connestee phase, based on their findings of increased percentages of Connestee ceramic-bearing sites in the floodplains and nonceramic-bearing sites in the valley margins and uplands. This change possibly reflects the increased dependence on horticulture during this phase.

The Late Woodland (unnamed) phase (A.D. 600-1000) is poorly understood in the Appalachian Summit. Keel (1976) considers it likely that this phase is largely a continuance of the Middle Woodland Connestee phase, based on several features radiocarbon dated to this era and containing Connestee phase ceramics. Keel suggests this phase is characterized by a higher frequency of plain and brushed ceramics than in the Connestee phase.

Mississippian

The Early Mississippian Pisgah phase (A.D. 1000-1450) is characterized by shouldered vessels with collared rims. Surface treatments include rectilinear and curvilinear complicated stamped, cordmarked, fabric impressed, and smoothed (Dickens 1976). Temper is most commonly coarse sand, but also includes crushed quartz, amphibolite, and steatite (Purrington 1983). Lithic artifacts include the Pisgah triangular point, flake and blade tools, celts, pipes, and discoidals (Purrington 1983).

Horticulture probably increased in importance during the Pisgah phase, and

included the growing of corn, beans, squash, and sumpweed (Yarnell 1976). Changing settlement patterns also suggest this trend, with a larger number of sites located on floodplains and adjacent benches and terraces (Bass 1977; Dickens 1978; Purrington 1982). However, nonceramic Pisgah phase sites are located in all major environmental zones. These small sites probably represent short-term, limited activity occupations. Dickens suggests that Pisgah phase subsistence depended roughly on equal portions of hunting, gathering, and horticulture (1976). Dickens also suggests the emergence of a hierarchy of communities at this time. This included a small number of larger sites with platform mounds, surrounded by smaller sites without mounds, described as villages, hamlets and farmsteads (Dickens 1976).

Historic

The final archaeological phase of the Appalachian Summit is the Qualla phase (A.D. 1450-1838). The term Qualla phase was first used by Egloff (1967) in his attempt to separate historic Cherokee ceramics, termed Qualla series, in the Appalachian Summit from the Lamar ceramics of northern Georgia to which they were being compared (Egloff 1967). Egloff found the traditional placement of these ceramics into a "Lamaroid" classification unacceptable, due to the many differences in ceramic paste, temper, and interior and exterior surface treatments. Many similarities exist between the two series, including folded finger-impressed rim fillets, large and sloppy complicated stamping, and incising (Egloff 1967). Differences in the two series, however, are many:

The complicated stamped motifs illustrating Lamar Complicated Stamped

> exhibit a greater degree of regularity and symmetrical design than is found on Qualla Complicated Stamped...(Egloff 1967:34)
>
> Incising accompanied by reed punctations, which is common upon Lamar Bold Incised vessels, was absent in the material analyzed. These differences are very striking and have led to the definition of the Qualla Series as a distinctive ceramic complex (Egloff 1967:34).

Egloff also stated:

> the distinctive qualities of the Qualla paste aided considerably in the classification of this series. The moderate to abundant quantities of grit coupled with a partial burnishing of the vessel's interior make Qualla sherds distinctive even when the exterior surface finish is obliterated (1967:35).

Six exterior surface treatments are defined by Egloff: complicated stamped, plain, burnished, check stamped, cordmarked and corncob impressed. Smoothed-over and roughened were also defined as versions of complicated stamped. The majority of Qualla series sherds recovered by Egloff were complicated stamped.

Egloff assessed ceramics according to historically recognized spatial divisions in the Cherokee Nation: the Cherokee Lower Towns, Overhill Towns, and Middle, Valley and Out towns. He argued that the ceramics in each area were influenced from outside the region. The Lower Town ceramic tradition was influenced by the Piedmont complicated stamped tradition, the Overhills by the Mississippian shell-tempered tradition in the Tennessee Valley, and the Middle, Valley and Out towns by the central Georgia complicated stamped tradition.

Egloff hypothesized that Qualla Complicated Stamped, the most common type in the series, developed out of a blending of Swift Creek curvilinear stamped motifs and

Woodstock angular motifs, with a Lamar elaboration of folded or applied rim fillets. He also identified Qualla series ceramics as a variety of the Lamar style horizon.

Description of the Qualla phase as more than a ceramic tradition occurred during the late 1960s and 1970s by Keel and Dickens, under the direction of Joffre Coe. Keel excavated, among other sites, Tuckasegee (31JK12), which was used as the key site in the "capstone" of the Appalachian Summit archaeological sequence (Keel 1976). Dickens focused his fieldwork and subsequent study on the late prehistoric Pisgah phase of the Appalachian Summit (at the Warren Wilson site, 31BN29), and discussed the relationship of the Pisgah and Qualla phases (Dickens 1976, 1978). These and other works (Egloff 1967; Holden 1966) provided details on aspects of historic Cherokee culture such as settlement patterning, subsistence, and structure and burial patterning.

Discussion of lifeways during the Qualla phase is complicated by changes in Cherokee culture resulting from contact with Anglo-Americans. Contact also affected the subsistence, economy, settlement, material culture, and intra- and inter-tribal relationships of the Cherokee Nation. Many of these changes are poorly understood, especially in the Out Towns where few historical records were made and little archaeological work has been done. Discussion of the changes during this period therefore depends partly on archaeological and historical texts from other areas.

The Qualla phase is generally described as beginning at the end of the Pisgah phase (ca. A.D. 1450-1500), and continuing either to the Cherokee Removal or the beginning of the 20th century (A.D. 1838 or 1900) (Dickens 1979; Keel 1976). Dickens (1979) makes a distinction between the Early Qualla and Late Qualla phases. The Early

Qualla phase consists of the prehistoric and protohistoric period (A.D. 1450-1650), while the Late Qualla phase deals with the historic period up to the time of Removal (A.D. 1650-1838). Keel (1976), alternatively, discusses the Qualla phase as a single time span, A.D. 1500-1900.

A study of the Qualla phase must deal with the transition from its prehistoric predecessor, the Pisgah phase. Dickens argues the phase ended around A.D. 1450-1500. The period from the Late Pisgah to the Early Qualla phase (A.D. 1350-1550), however, is difficult to define since it includes very few sites with radiocarbon-dated contexts.

Dickens defined the transition from the Pisgah to Qualla phase as a "cultural continuum", based on similarities in artifact styles, architecture, mound construction, and burial practices (1978). Dickens also noted that a major shift in settlement seemed to occur sometime during this transition. The majority of Qualla phase sites appears to the south and west of the bulk of Pisgah phase sites. Dickens (1978) suggests this may have occurred in response to European contact, or because of changes in land use.

Dickens also observed that Pisgah sites were often large nucleated villages situated around a mound. While this pattern continued briefly in the Early Qualla phase, it was soon transformed into a more scattered or dispersed settlement pattern, characterized by long, linear sites situated along waterways. Dickens (1978) suggests this change was related to the effects of Anglo-American contact.

As with other cultural materials and traits, ceramics are poorly understood in the Late Pisgah/Early Qualla phases. Although Pisgah and Qualla phase ceramics are regarded as different entities (Dickens 1976; Egloff 1967; Keel 1976) separation of the

two can be difficult. Each phase has its own ceramic "key markers": Pisgah; collared rims, hachured punctations, ladder-based rectilinear complicated stamping, Qualla; large sloppy curvilinear complicated stamping, folded finger-impressed rimstrips. However, these traits are often absent in small ceramic assemblages. When samples consist of small sherds with grit tempering and eroded or indeterminate stamped surfaces, it is often impossible to discern between the Late Pisgah and Early Qualla phases.

Many characteristics of the Early Qualla phase (A.D. 1450-1650) were largely a continuation of the prehistoric Pisgah phase. Maize agriculture was of major importance, with dependence also on beans and squash, supplemented by hunting and fishing. Subsistence continued to focus on floodplains as populations grew. Communities became increasingly focused around large town sites with earth mounds used as ceremonial and political centers. For example, five domestic structures were observed at the Ela site. Wetmore (1990) states these structures were similar to Pisgah phase structures (square with rounded corners), but slightly larger. Only a portion of Early Qualla phase structures contained wall trench entryways, similar to Pisgah phase structures (Wetmore 1990). Flexed burials were interred in simple pits or chambered graves within house floors or in mounds (Dickens 1976).

Material culture of the period included small triangular chert projectile points, rectangular celts, chlorite schist and clay elbow pipes, and bone awls (Dickens 1976).

The Qualla series ceramics during the Early Qualla phase consist of a majority of curvilinear complicated stamped sherds (Egloff 1967; Greene 1995). The stamping on this majority form was often smoothed over before firing of the vessel. This is not a

universal pattern in the Out Towns, for Wetmore (1990) found a slightly higher percentage of plain Qualla series sherds than complicated stamped. Other surface treatments occurring at this time include check stamped, corncob impressed, roughened and cordmarked (Egloff 1967). Vessel forms include globular jars, cazuela bowls, large jars with constricted mouths, and simple bowls (Egloff 1967; Keel 1976).

The Late Qualla phase represents a period of intense and often traumatic change for the Cherokee Nation. The first half of the 18th century consisted of a pattern of increasing Cherokee dependency on English manufactured goods. These included brass kettles, knives, axes, blankets, hoes, beads, and pigments, but most importantly, firearms (Keel 1976). The main products the Cherokees could provide which the English demanded were deerskins and furs, resulting in the creation of a huge deerskin trade (Corkran 1962). In addition to the depopulation of the deer in the Southeast, the focus on the deerskin trade also affected Cherokee economic and subsistence patterns. Cherokee men were gone for longer periods each year, spending much more time hunting and going further distances into Cherokee hunting territory. Towns were left undefended, and attacks from the Creeks and northern tribes subsequently became more frequent and more costly.

A change in settlement pattern began occurring around 1760. Heavily populated towns began to disperse and inhabitants settled into widely scattered single family farmsteads. It is possible that the dispersal is a result of the repeated attacks by military forces: nucleated towns were easily located and destroyed, so geographical isolation became the substitute settlement pattern (Riggs, personal communication 1996). This is a

likely scenario, for attacks by English and American forces occurred repeatedly over a 34-year period (1760-1794), during which the dispersed settlement pattern seems to have become almost universal. The dispersal of towns within the Cherokee Nation had a larger impact than merely the changes in location of residential structures. The corporate structuring of the communities was altered. People became more isolated from one another and more independent, as they grew crops only for their own families on small plots near the house. Although the dispersal of the towns was performed in a desire to reduce the hazards of attacks by Anglo-Americans, an unexpected result was the creation of a new, less communal, mindset within the Cherokee community (Riggs, personal communication 1996).

Residential structure forms also changed during this period. By the end of the American Revolution, the circular or rectangular wattle-and-daub structures and the segmented rectangular structures were largely replaced by rectangular cabins sided with horizontal log rails and a wooden shingle roof (Schroedl 1986). Around the turn of the century, residential structures changed to log cabin construction, similar to the white farming counterparts of the Cherokees.

Qualla series ceramics changed in many ways during the Late Qualla phase. Vessel forms remained similar, except for the disappearance of the cazuela bowls, which were most likely replaced by the widespread availability of brass kettles (Riggs, personal communication 1996). Surface treatments, however, did change. Kelly and Neitzel (1961) and Sears (1961) state that check stamping on Qualla series sherds indicates a late historic Cherokee occupation. The lack of check stamped Qualla series sherds examined by

Egloff led him to believe check stamped motifs provided no chronological data. More recent studies, however, suggest that Kelly and Neitzel and Sears are correct (Greene 1995; Riggs 1988). Check stamping does not seem to occur commonly on Qualla series ceramics until the second half of the 18th century. During the Late Qualla phase, check stamped, rectilinear complicated stamped, and plain surfaces seem to be the major forms, and curvilinear complicated stamped is less common (Greene 1995; Riggs 1988).

In summary, most probably the great majority of Qualla phase ceramic collections from the Out Town and other areas of the Appalachan Summit is associated with the Early Qualla phase, during which large nucleated towns were still occupied. Settlements during the Late Qualla phase became increasingly more dispersed, especially after 1760, with individual farmsteads becoming more common. Archaeologically, these farmsteads are much more obscure, and therefore less often located or collected. This explains in large part the difficulty Egloff and others have in defining temporal changes in the Qualla series ceramics.

The changes in Qualla series ceramics reflect both functional and social adaptations by the Cherokees. Vessel forms changed in reaction to the availability of Anglo-American goods. The cazuela bowl, a very prominent vessel form until the mid-18th century, virtually disappears about this time. This change is most probably associated with the widespread availability of brass kettles, which replace the traditional cazuela bowl that served similar purposes (Riggs, personal communication 1995). More complex changes include the shift of surface treatments. Check stamping replaces curvilinear complicated stamping as the major form. The second half of the 18th century

was, for the Cherokees, a period of nearly continuous warfare with the English, Americans, Creeks, and various northern tribes, resulting in changes in almost all aspects of Cherokee culture. Towns, which were the most important level of Cherokee community (Gearing 1962), were dispersed and replaced with single family farmsteads. Communities of scattered households were more difficult to attack and destroy. By the beginning of the 19th century the single family farmstead became the norm within the Cherokee Nation. Log cabins, similar to those built by white farmers of the area, were the most common residential structure type, and the Cherokees began participating in the growing market economy of the region. This growth continued until the forced Cherokee Removal in 1838. Although the Cherokee Removal included most members of the Cherokee Nation, a small number remained in and around the old Out Town area, and eventually formed the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORY OF THE CHEROKEE OUT TOWNS

The term Out Towns was originally used by the English in the first half of the 18th century to describe the Cherokee towns in the Tuckasegee and Oconaluftee river valleys. Town clusters within the Cherokee Nation were described mainly by drainage systems. These included: the Lower Towns along the upper Savannah River and its tributaries, the Valley Towns along the upper Hiwassee, Valley and Nantahala rivers, the Overhill Towns along the upper Tennessee and lower Little Tennessee rivers, the Middle Towns along the upper Little Tennessee River, and the Out Towns along the Tuckasegee and Oconaluftee rivers and their tributary creeks (Figure 5). In primary documents the Out Towns are sometimes grouped with the Middle Towns, clustered at the headwaters of the Little Tennessee River (Saunders 1890). By 1750, however, the Out Towns are commonly discussed as a separate entity.

Location of the Out Towns is easily defined, based on topography and drainage. The Middle Towns, although only 18 km to the south, are separated from the Out Towns by the steep Cowee Mountains. To the north and west the Out Towns are geographically isolated by the Balsam Mountains and the Great Smoky Mountains. The ridgebacks of these mountain ranges were used for delineation of Swain and Jackson counties, and therefore encompass virtually the same area as the historic Out Towns.

Variation in the spelling of town names appears regularly in primary documents, as with Kituwah (Kittoa, Kittewa, Kittewano) and Nununyi (Noonnie, Newni). Regarding the



Figure 5. Location of town groups in Cherokee Nation. (Source: adapted from Egloff 1967)

Out Towns, this provides little difficulty due to similarities in most spellings, and to repeated appearances of most towns on historic maps.

Because of their mountainous location, the Out Towns were more isolated than the Overhill, Middle, Valley and Lower towns. Although contact and trade with the English was well established by the 1690s, no mention is made of the Out Towns until 1721, and very little is recorded about them until 1750. From 1750-1761, the Out Town Cherokees appear often in the colonial records of North and South Carolina, usually in relation to the increasing hostilities with the English. Primary historic documents suggest that the Out Towns were largely deserted after 1761, and were not densely reoccupied until after 1819 (Table 1).

In 1721, Francis Varnod traveled throughout the Cherokee Nation collecting census data for the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (Wood 1989). He recorded populations for four Out Towns: Tookareegha (Tuckareechee) was listed as having 77 men, 114 women, and 36 children; Kittowah (Kituwha) with 143 men, 93 women, and 47 children; Stickoee (Stecoe) with 97 men, 90 women, and 95 children; and Noonnie (Nununyi) with 50 men, 56 women, and 60 children.

The appearance of the Out Towns (and other town groups) on maps produced by the English and Americans was done almost without exception for military purposes. Early in their relations with the Cherokees, English leaders knew the potential for any tribes' alliance to shift, and therefore needed surveillance of all the tribal lands possible. There was also a continued paranoia during the 18th century by English political and military leaders that the Cherokees and other tribes might be persuaded by other European countries or other English colonies to shift alliances.

Table 1. Occupation of historic Cherokee Out Towns.

Document	Year	Kituwha	Stecoe	Nununyi	Tuckasegee	Tuckareche	Connawisca	Conuntory	Cunnulrasha	Oconelufty	Evanga	Dick's Village	Reference
Varnod census	1721	X	X	X		X							Wood 1989
Barnwell map	1722	X				X							Hatley 1993
Herbert map*	1725	X	X	X		X							
Hunter map*	1730	X	X	X	X	X	X	X					
NC, SC colonial records	1750-52	X	X		X			X					Saunders 1890, McDowell 1958
Mitchell map*	1755	X	X		X								
Kitchin map*	1760	X		X	X	X	X		X		X		
NC colonial records	1761		X										Saunders 1890
DeBrahm map	1766	X	X										Alden 1966
Stuart-Purcell map	1775	X	X			X							Swanton 1922
Romans map	1776		X	X	X	X							Cumming 1962
VA state records	1781				X								Mooney 1900
1809 census	1809					X				X		X	McLouglin 1984
1819 treaty	1819											X	Riggs 1988

*Copies on file at the McClung Museum, the University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

The first cartographic appearance of the Out Towns is on the Barnwell map of 1722, which shows Kittewa and Toquareche (Tuckareche). The next appearance is on the Herbert map of 1725 (Figure 6). This map shows the same towns as recorded by Varnod four years earlier: Tuckarechee, Kittowah, Stickoee, and Newni. The Hunter map of 1730 (Figure 7) lists the same four towns as the Herbert map, and additionally records Tuckasegee, Connawisca, and Connutory. The Hunter map is the first historical reference to Tuckasegee.

The Out Towns had, for some time, been more hostile toward the English than other Cherokee towns. This is apparent in the comment made during a session of the Commons House of Assembly on June 12, 1751:

> ....and the Towns of Stichoe, Canootry, and Kettowah have lately, and for several Years passed, behaved in a manner contrary to their Talks and Agreements with this Government, and prejudicial to the Peace and Safety of His Majesty's Subjects therein (Olsberg 1974:501).

Two factors contributed to this hostility. First, the Out Towns, situated on the northern periphery of the Cherokee Nation, were more exposed to northern and French-affiliated Indians than other towns, except possibly the Overhills. Although many of these intrusions were hostile in nature, many of them were friendly visits by members of other tribes who were hunting or on their way to fight another tribe, such as the Creeks. These visitors often preached hatred for the English to the Cherokees, and encouraged them to attack backcountry settlements, and disrupt the English in other ways (Corkran 1962). The second reason the Out Towns were often hostile was the neglect they suffered by the English traders. Because the Out Towns were so difficult to reach, often traders would bypass them and go to the Overhills or Middle Towns. Although the Out Towns were in some ways traditional because

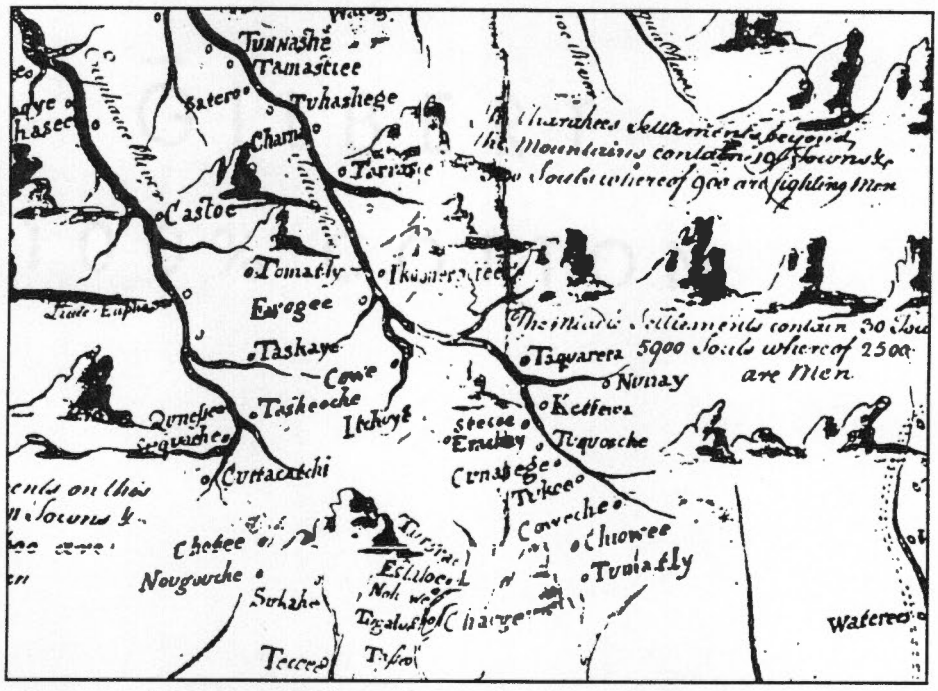


Figure 6. Herbert map (1725) illustrating locations of the Out Towns. Scale: 1 cm approximately 15 km. (Source: copy on file at the McClung Museum, the University of Tennessee, Knoxville)

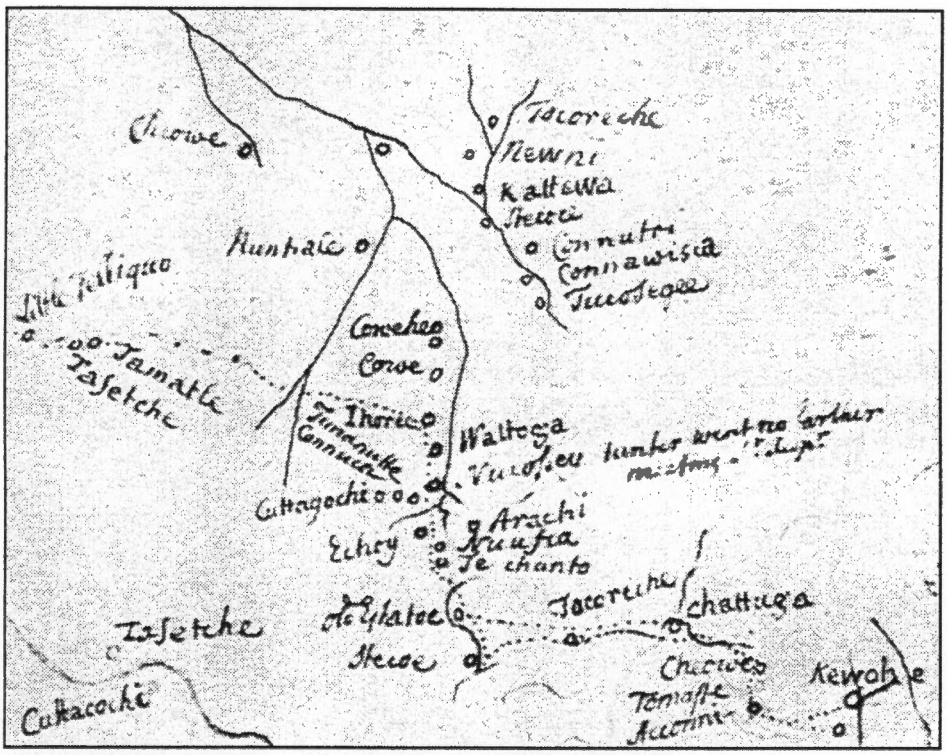


Figure 7. Hunter map (1730) indicating locations of the Out Towns. Scale: 1 cm approximately 10 km. (Source: copy on file at the McClung Museum, University of Tennessee, Knoxville)

of their isolation, they desired, and needed, trade goods. This was especially true for firearms and ammunition, because the Out Towns were under constant attack from many hostile northern tribes (Corkran 1962). Therefore, visits from members of almost any other tribe, whether friendly or hostile, made the Out Town Cherokees more hostile to the English.

During the spring of 1751 rumors of the murder of white traders in the Out Towns caused Governor Glen to threaten a trade embargo on the entire Nation. This was one of the first in a series of several small incidents which continually escalated and ended in the Cherokee-English War (1759-1761). The most detailed discussion of the event is in a letter sent from the Raven of Hiwassee (a Valley Town) to Governor Glen in Charlestown:

> MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, By Orders of the Emperor to the Raven of Hiwassee, together with his Head Men and Warriours of his Towns to have a Meeting, the Raven as Spokesman for them all gives his Talk as follows. He says that he is partly sorrow that the People of his Nation should have any bad Thoughts in their Hearts, but the Warriours that was at the Southward at Warr that killed the white People reported that Wm. Carr should tell them, the People of Keowee and Esternorie, that your Excellency should say that you would send up an army of Men to kill the Norwards wherever they were to be found, in any of our Towns. So when they got this in their Heads, they could not believe it was the Norwards you intended to kill, but they themselves. So upon the same the People of Keowee and Echoe had a Meeting, at this Echoe, being a Mother Town by themselves they not acquainting no other Town of the same. So when their Meeting was over, they sent Messuages to Kittawa being another Mother Town, to acquaint them of what Carr should say, and they believed it. So upon the same Sticoe, Keneeteroy (Conutory) and Kittawa joined in Arms, and took the white Man's Goods.
>
> The Raven being gon to Timotly meets a Messenger with a Letter from Mr. Maxwell to Mr. Doharty, but for the Raven at the same Time, to acquaint him that Bernard Hughs and his Men was killed. But when the Letter came to be read it was Daniel Murphey, which his Heart was sorrow to hear of the white Man being killed. But afterwards found to his great Satisfaction, that it was a false Report.
>
> Mr. Bunyont (Robert Bunning) sent by the Town of Tucherechee at the same Time to acquaint the Raven that the white Man's Goods was stole,

so directly the Raven sent of a Messenger to the seven Towns over the Hills to be at Timothly in 5 nights to have a Meeting. That if it had been that the white Men was killed, they would seek for Revenge for the white Men and Goods. So directly the Raven sent his Son, Skienah, and 5 Warriours and Mr. Bunyon to those Towns to search and get what they could belonging to the white People, but when they heard these People was coming from the Raven, those that was Rogues, took the Goods with their Women and Children and was afraid to see them. The Raven's Son seeing the Collours a'flying took them down, and said they did not belong to any rogueish Town, and delivered them to Mr. Bunyon to carry to your Excellency to order them where you please.

Soe in their Return when they staid at Joree for an Answer from those rogue Towns. And they sent a Messenger to tell the Warriours that was sent by the Raven, to tell them their Doggs, and their Hoggs, and themselves, run mad, and it was all by a lying Talk from Keowee, that they did what they did do, but they was sorrow for it, and they would return the Goods, and if any should be wanting, they would pay for them. The Slave Ketcher of Kenntory (Conutory), who was the Man was supposed to a'killed Murphy, was obstinate and would not return the Goods that he had stole from Bernard Hughs, so to favour him Danl. Murphy paid the said Hughs for this Rogue 20 Lb. Leather. So the Raven heard it, and was vexed at Murphy for doing so, does not think him a proper Man to trade in their Nation for sideing with the Rogue, and he thinks they are both Rogues alike.

And the Raven desires that those Towns who done this Mischief should have no traders amongst them, that is, Kenotory, Sticoe and Kittawa, nor yet no Indian nor Half-breed should be Factor from any white Man among them, till they acknowledge their Faults, and see the want of a white Man, and that they themselves, and their Women and Children should have weary Leggs to walk to Traders in other Towns to buy what they want.

The Raven sais that he and his head Men and Warriours has not forgot all the good Talks that they have heard from Time to Time, nor never shall be forgot, as long as Grass grows and Water runs, and we will hand it down to our young People comeing up, and graft it in their Hearts, as your Excellency has done in theirs, for they do not want to know any other People but the English, and they hope your Excellency will not let them suffer for those that has been the Rogues, as he and his Parts has put a stop to it all, but that you will let their Traders come up as usual, for the Good of both, for we are in great Want of Ammunition, and as we are outside Towns, the French are daily upon us, and for the Want of Ammunition, we don't know how soon we may be cutt off.

The Raven and the Emperor is both in one Heart for the English, and they hope your Excellency is the same for them, and that the bad Talks that has been, that Mr. Maxwell has heard and carried down to you is forgot, for

> we have rectified among ourselves and hopes that you and your beloved Men will beleive the same, and that there is no white Man killed, and the Goods that is stole shall be returned or paid for (McDowell, ed. 1958:74-75).

The Ravens' talk reveals much about the relationship of the English and Cherokees, and about the situation of the Out Towns and Overhills in relation to other tribes. The Raven promised that no white man had been killed, and that all of the goods would be returned. He quickly and completely separated the Out Town inhabitants as "rogues" from the rest of the Cherokee Nation, and recommended they be punished by ceasing all trade with them, so that they might have to walk a great distance to get goods, and realize their mistake. He also asked that trade continue in the Overhills, and especially the delivery of guns and ammunition, for they were being attacked daily by northern tribes.

Because of the rumor that white traders had been killed, a panic swept through the Cherokee Nation and traders from all parts fled. The response from Charlestown was swift. Governor Glen would accept no such actions by the Cherokees, who he, and most other English, thought were being treated more than fairly by the English colonial government and traders. He responded by stopping all trade with the entire Cherokee Nation until the "wrongs" were righted. This included turning over two men from each of the "bad" towns (Kituwha, Stecoe, Conuntory), the Cherokee responsible for the accidental shooting of a white man on the Oconee River, and Little Carpenter, whom the Governor suspected of collaborating with the French and their allies (Corkran 1962).

Governor Glen sent letters to the "offending" towns (Kituwha, Stecoe and Conuntory), stating that they had let the "Chain of Friendship as of late Contract Rust (McDowell, ed. 1958:76)". Glen further stated:

> We therefore send you this Letter, which is to desire that you deliver up two Persons of your Town of those who broke open the Stores and divided the Goods, were the most Guilty and active against the English, and we do hereby declare that if they are not delivered up to us within two Months from the Date hereof, we will come up to your Town and take them by Force (McDowell, ed. 1958:76).

Glen also sent a message to the President and Council of Georgia, requesting that they not allow trade anywhere within the Cherokee Nation until the terms had been met by the Cherokee headmen (McDowell, ed. 1958:170-171).

The cutting off of trade was feared in any part of the Nation. Statements made by the Cherokees reveal how bad it was considered:

> ...and we all heartily begg you'll not stop the Trade from us, on Account of what has happened. And we do promise and assure you, there shall never be any such ill Usage again, as has been, though we acknowledge there has been bad Talks among us, for some Years past, and had now like to been brought to a Head, but we now see our Folly, and says the chief Reason of these bad Notions was by lying People that carry lies backward and forward (Letter from the Head Men and Warriors of the Lower Cherokees to Governor Glen, May 10, 1751, in McDowell, ed. 1958:62).

> The Warriour [of Tuckasigia] says he expects his Father will send his Children Goods for they mourn for Goods, and hopes he will not stop Goods from them....He hopes his Father will not stop the Traders from comeing with Amunition sonn for they are very much in Debt to the white People, and Enemies very many upon them from the Southward and Northward when they go off (The Warrior of Tuckesigia to Governor Glen, May 6, 1751, in McDowell, ed. 1958:172).

> The Governor never heard any bad Talks from my Town of Tuckosigia and where I belong. The Towns around us are affrayed of the Norwards, but we have no Amunition. I hope your Excellency will consider our Town, that Traders may come up amongst us (Sachetche of Tuckosigia to Governor Glen, November 14, 1751, in McDowell, ed. 1958:177).

Obviously much of the fear caused by the threat of a trade embargo was due to the

necessity for firearms and ammunition, especially for the Overhill and Out towns. These communities were constantly being raided by the Shawano, Notowegas, and other tribes from the north and the Creeks from the south.

Trade was halted until November, 1751, when a meeting was held in Charlestown between Governor Glen and a large number of Cherokee headmen. During this meeting grievances from both sides were vocalized. The result was a treaty which was signed by most present and copies given to many of the Cherokee headmen. Eighteen points were outlined in the treaty by the Governor. These included turning over the forementioned men, refusal by the Cherokees to allow entry into their Nation by French-allied Indians, allowing the English to hold court over all disagreements (including murders by whites or Cherokees), and the refusal to shelter any persons, white, black or Cherokee, if the English requested his detainment. Individual requests by Cherokee leaders were heard by the Governor after the 18 points were agreed upon. Chucichie, Warrior of Tuckasegee, requested that a fort be built in the Out Towns, although he realized this was very improbable:

> If your Excellency does not think proper to settle a Fort at our Town as we have land very hilly, I beg your Excellency would assist us with Ammunition to enable us to defend ourselves against the Enemies that come to molest us (McDowell, ed. 1958:194).

The treaty was viewed as a success, the members of the "good" towns were given gifts, and the Cherokees departed.

From 1751-1752, English documents relating to the Cherokees focus mainly on the hostilities at Stecoe and the murder of a white man on the Oconee River by Cherokee warriors (McDowell, ed. 1958). Late in 1752, these matters disappeared from the records,

and were quickly replaced by the growing fear that the Overhill Towns, and possibly the rest of the Cherokee Nation, were falling under French or Virginian influence. Therefore, early in 1753 the English shifted their focus toward affairs relating to the Overhills, located in a strategic position near the French. A shift in Cherokee alliance to the French would be disastrous for the English control of the Eastern seaboard, and a Cherokee trade network with the Virginians would mean a loss of the South Carolina trade monopoly. Attacks from northern tribes were common at this time, especially in the Overhill and Out Towns. Help was sometimes given to the Overhills in the form of guns and ammunition because of their importance in English control of the region. The Out Towns, however, despite being exposed to the same plight, were generally ignored by the South Carolinian provincial government and its traders, due to their minor role in the competition between the French and English. Anger and resentment once again built in the Out Towns. A letter sent to the Governor of South Carolina by the towns of Tuckasegee and Slocke illustrate this:

> With submission to our Brother the Governour and the Beloved Men of Carolina, we return you Thanks for the Powder and Bulletts you sent us to defend ourselves against our Enemies. We received but two Bags of Powder and four of Bulletts which is but a small Quantity for seven Towns, we haveing the Enemy as bad against us as the People over the Hills, and the Cheif of the Ammunition that was sent up was carried over the Hills, and we beg that the Governor and the beloved Men will be so good as to send us up seven Bags of Powder and fourteen Bags of Bulletts, that is one Bag of Powder and two of Bulletts for each Town to defend ourselves and the White People that live amongst us for the Enemy is so hot upon us that we can hardly go from Town to Town. And if you please and think proper to send us Pistols, Cutlashes, and small Hatchets, Flints to defend ourselves we shall be very glad for we have News of a great many Enemies comeing upon us, and we beg that this Letter may not be forgot as our last was as we have sent our Token as you told us to send it when we were in Want and we desire an Answer to our Letter as we remain in brotherly Freindship. (McDowell, ed. 1970:13-14).

The particular affairs of the Out Towns became subsidiary to larger issues affecting the Cherokee Nation as a whole. The competition between France and England for colonization of the New World was heightened during this period, and escalated to the French and Indian War, beginning in 1754. Both countries realized the importance of making allies of the larger Indian tribes, including the Cherokees. During the 1750s, the two countries focused most of their attention on the Cherokees in the Overhill Towns, which were in a strategic position on the frontier. The historic literature reveals visits to the Overhills by the French, and English of South Carolina and Virginia (Corkran 1962; McDowell, ed. 1958; Schroedl and Russ 1986).

English-produced maps of the Southeast and especially of the Cherokee Nation became more accurate and widespread about this time (Guthorn 1972). The Mitchell map of 1755 was produced by John Mitchell and engraved by Thomas Kitchin. It records Kittowah, Stickoee, Nununyi, and Tuckasegee (Figure 8). The Kitchin map of 1760 followed shortly, and was used for decades. The Kitchin map shows Kittewano (Kituwha), Tuckareche, Newni, Tuckasegee, Cunnulrasha, Evanga and Connawiskee (Figure 9).

In June, 1756, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent Major Andrew Lewis with 60 men to build a fort in the Overhill settlements in an attempt to stop their associations with the French. The fort was built directly across from the town of Chota. It was never garrisoned, however, and was either destroyed by the Cherokees or left to decay (Schroedl and Russ 1986). Despite the war, the colonies' jealousy of each other's trade privileges continued. In September, 1756, Governor Lyttleton of South Carolina sent John William-



Figure 8. Section of Mitchell map (1755) illustrating locations of the Out Towns. Scale: 1 cm approximately 10 km. (Source: copy on file in McClung Museum, University of Tennessee, Knoxville)

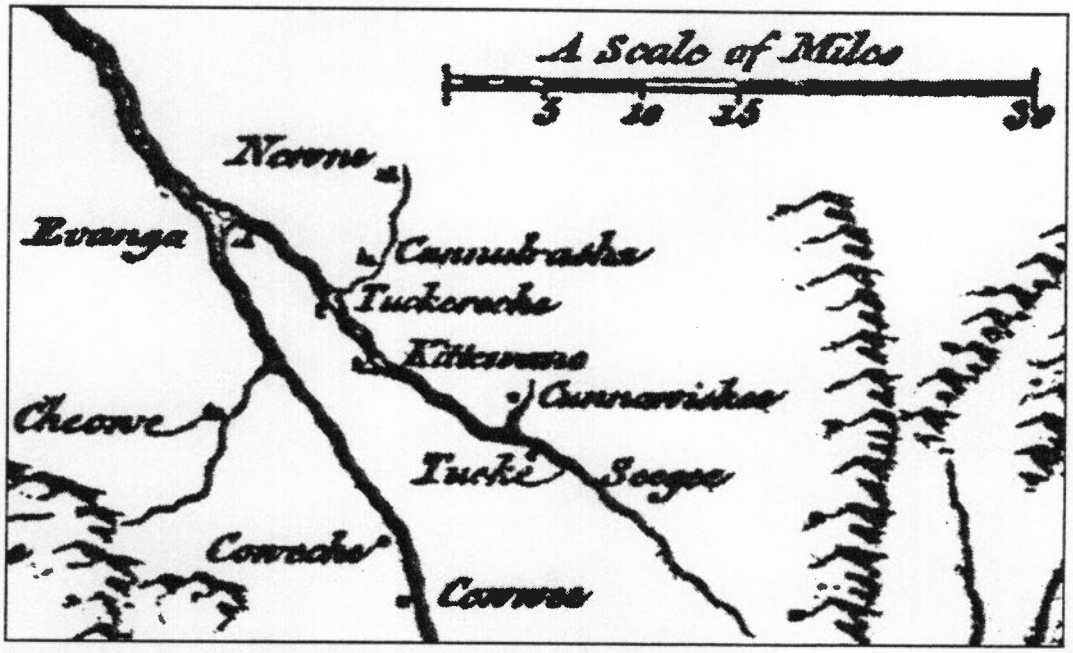


Figure 9. Section of Kitchin map (1760) illustrating locations of the Out Towns. (Source: copy on file at McClung Museum, University of Tennessee, Knoxville)

Gerard DeBrahm and Captain Raymond Demere to oversee the construction of a fort in the Overhills. Fort Loudoun, located approximately 5 miles downstream from Chota, was completed about March, 1757. An English military presence had finally been established in the Overhill country, and the Cherokees subsequently volunteered men to fight in the French and Indian War (Schroedl and Russ 1986).

The French and Indian War was a period of turmoil for the native tribes forced to participate in the fighting between European nations. The problems were worsened by the loss of Glen as the Governor of South Carolina, and his replacement by Henry Lyttleton, who had ambitions to build a reputation as a forceful figure. For this reason the first Cherokee War is often referred to as Lyttleton's War.

During the late 1750s, the Cherokees were frustrated by the steady population increase in English frontier settlements and with the lack of assistance promised by Governor Glen at the Saluda Conference held in June and July of 1755. Small-scale attacks were suffered by both the Cherokees and English settlers. The increased hostilities and tension between the Cherokees and English finally erupted in war. In 1759, a group of Cherokee chiefs, including Oconostota, traveled to Charlestown to pursue a peace treaty. The entire group was taken hostage and sent to Fort Prince George, under orders from Governor Lyttleton. Atakullakulla was able to achieve the release of Oconostota and two other chiefs, but the rest were held in the fort. Early in 1760, Lieutenant Coytmore, then in charge of the fort, was shot to death by Oconostota's men. The English response was the murder of the Cherokee hostages within the fort (Corkran 1962).

Oconostota immediately took his men and began attacking the frontier settlements

in the Carolinas. At the same time another group of Cherokees laid siege to Fort Loudoun. In June, 1760, in response, a group of more than 1600 English soldiers, led by Colonel Montgomery, began destroying Cherokee towns and villages. He systematically destroyed all of the Lower Towns, then proceeded to the Middle Towns. He advanced as far as Echoee, a few miles north of present day Franklin, North Carolina. There he was repulsed by a large Cherokee force, and retreated to Fort Prince George. Montgomery's failure meant the downfall of Fort Loudoun. In August, 1760, Captain Demere surrendered to Oconostota. Demere was promised safe passage for himself and his men in return for all of the arms and ammunition in the fort. After the soldiers had left the fort, munitions were found buried within the fort in an effort to hide them from the Cherokees. The retreating soldiers were attacked, and approximately 30 were killed, including Captain Demere. The rest, including John Stuart, were taken hostage and later released (Corkran 1962).

In response, the English planned another attack on the Cherokee settlements. In June, 1761, Colonel Grant, with approximately 2600 men, set out from Fort Prince George. The force consisted of a variety of provincial and English troops. On June 9, the force marched over Oconee Mountain and down War Woman Creek, then camped at Estatoe Old Fields (King 1976). The next day the force was ambushed by Cherokees led by Seroweh, a refugee from the Lower Towns (King 1976). The army continued to march under fire, and finally crossed the Little Tennessee River. The army reached Echoe the same evening, having suffered 10 killed and 53 wounded. Echoe, which had been spared by Montgomery the previous year, was destroyed. Grant sent English troops to destroy the nearby town of Tassie. The English troops then met the provincials and wounded at Nequassee the following day.

The force remained at Nequassee for three days, during which the townhouse was used as a hospital. Everything at Nequassee was destroyed by the army, while Grant's Indian scouts hunted the area for scalps. Approximately 500 men were sent to nearby Joree in an attempt to surprise the inhabitants, but the town was deserted. It was left intact in the hopes of a future surprise attack (King 1976).

Grant then marched the army to Watauga on June 14, 1761. The town was burned and all crops were destroyed. The force moved on to Ayoree, spent the night and then set it on fire the following morning. Next came Cowee, which was used as a base camp during the destruction of the towns on the Tuckasegee and Oconaluftee rivers. There the crops were destroyed, but the houses left temporarily intact. The soldiers camped in the town of Ussinah, directly across the river. From here forces were dispersed and destroyed the towns of Cowitche and Burning Town (King 1976).

Grant prepared for a major attack on the Out Towns. He left 1,000 provincials guarding the wounded and the pack train at Cowee. On June 25, Grant, with the Indian Corps and 1,500 regular troops, began the march. The force first had to cross the steep and treacherous Cowee range to reach the Out Towns. This seems to have been the most difficult part of the entire attack (French n.d.; Grant 1761; in King 1976). For the next four days, towns along the Tuckasegee and Oconaluftee rivers were destroyed, beginning with Stecoe, then Conutory, Kituwha, Tuckarechee, and Tessantee (King 1976). The South Carolina Gazette (September 19, 1761) stated that the men of the towns had fled to the Overhill towns, while the women and children took refuge in the mountains. Seven Cherokees were captured during the destruction, and at least one was brutally murdered by Mohawks in Grant's army

(French n.d.; in King 1976). From Tessantee the army marched back to Cowee by way of the Cowee Mountains and Cowitche. The regulars rested at Cowee for three days, while the provincials roamed the countryside burning isolated houses or villages (King 1976).

On July 2, 1761, Grant's forces burned the structures at Cowee and marched to Joree. The army was fatigued, with a growing number of sick and wounded. On July 4 Grant marched the army past Echoe to Estatoe Old Field, where they camped. The force reached Fort Prince George on July 9, 1761. Cherokee losses during the Grant's attack were estimated at fifteen towns burned and 1,500 acres of crops destroyed (King 1976).

After these attacks, the English accepted a peace with the Cherokees. It is significant that the English now accepted the same terms the Cherokees had suggested before Grant's massive destruction of their towns.

The Out Towns never fully recovered. Historical evidence suggests the Cherokee occupation of the Out Towns ended in 1761. The absence of traders in the area supports this conclusion. During the Colonial period, the English military often used the traders in the Indian nations as scouts and informants. Before 1761, even the remote Out Towns had English traders living in the area, the best known example being Barnard Hughes, who lived at Stecoe. However, after the Cherokee/English war (1759-1761), no traders are listed as residing in the Out Towns (McDowell, ed. 1958; Saunders 1890). Traders were present in other areas of the Cherokee Nation, and if trade was a possibility (i.e. a large number of Cherokees were present), they would most likely have been in the Out Towns also.

A lack of habitation in the Out Towns is also suggested by changes in the way the English refer to areas within the Nation. Before 1761, the Out Towns are commonly referred

to as a single entity, separate from the nearby Middle Towns. After 1761, there are no known references to the Out Towns. Between 1761 and about 1780 references to the Cherokee Nation refer only to four major Town divisions: Lower, Middle, Valley, and Overhill towns (Saunders 1890). After this period descriptions of the Cherokee Nation generally refer to the Lower Towns (the Chickamauga Towns) and the Upper Towns (in East Tennessee and western North Carolina (Davis 1808).

The only Out Towns which are in existence after 1761 seem to be Stecoe and Tuckasegee. After 1761, they are most likely categorized by the English, Americans, and Cherokees themselves as Middle Towns, because of their proximity to these towns and because most other Out Towns no longer existed. The exception was small groups of Cherokees, living in tiny villages or "camps" isolated and hidden in narrow creek valleys or on the Oconaluftee River.

The example of abandonment and resettlement of Keowee, a Lower Town, documented by Hatley (1993), is applicable to the Out Towns. His work outlines the major changes which occurred at Keowee, including rapid changes in village economics, settlement patterns, and demography. These resulted from a combination of continued warfare (including the scorched earth policy of English and American military forces) and repetitive epidemic diseases. The worst period was the Cherokee-English war from 1759-1761. This period included some of the most widespread destruction and worst smallpox epidemics of the 18th century, also resulting in a breakdown of the many social networks the Cherokees relied upon. Hatley (1993) argues that due to continued attacks from other tribes, Cherokee towns had to maintain a minimum population for defense, or disperse to other areas. He also

argues that another reaction to the repeated destruction of several towns was the appearance of single family farmsteads, often in higher elevations, on smaller plots of ground. Hatley suggests this provided more security, through population dispersal and concealment, than large towns.

Reduced populations in certain parts of the Cherokee Nation are also evidenced by increased populations in other towns, and the creation of new towns, largely started to house the "refugees" from areas devastated by warfare. Some of these towns, such as Mialoquo on the Little Tennessee River, were not occupied until the last half of the 18th century (Russ and Chapman 1984). Other towns, such as Tomotley, approximately 6.5 km upstream from Mialoquo, witnessed increased numbers of inhabitants during the same time (Baden 1983). The majority of refugees likely moved to the Overhills or to Cowee in the Middle Towns, although others may have lived in the more mountainous regions of the Appalachian Summit, or in other "refugee" towns such as Seneca, near Keowee, in the Lower Towns (Corkran 1962; South Carolina Gazette September 19, 1761).

Continued military interest in the Cherokee Nation by the English during this period is illustrated by the continued production of new maps. In 1766, a new map of the Indian nations in the Southeast was produced by William Gerard DeBrahm, under the direction of John Stuart (Figure 10). The map was compiled from earlier works by several people, including DeBrahm. Out Towns listed on the map include only Kittoa and Stecoe.

Another response to the Cherokee-English war was the exposure of many Anglo-Americans for the first time to the large amounts of excellent agricultural property which existed within the Cherokee Nation. Immediately after the war, encroachments by whites

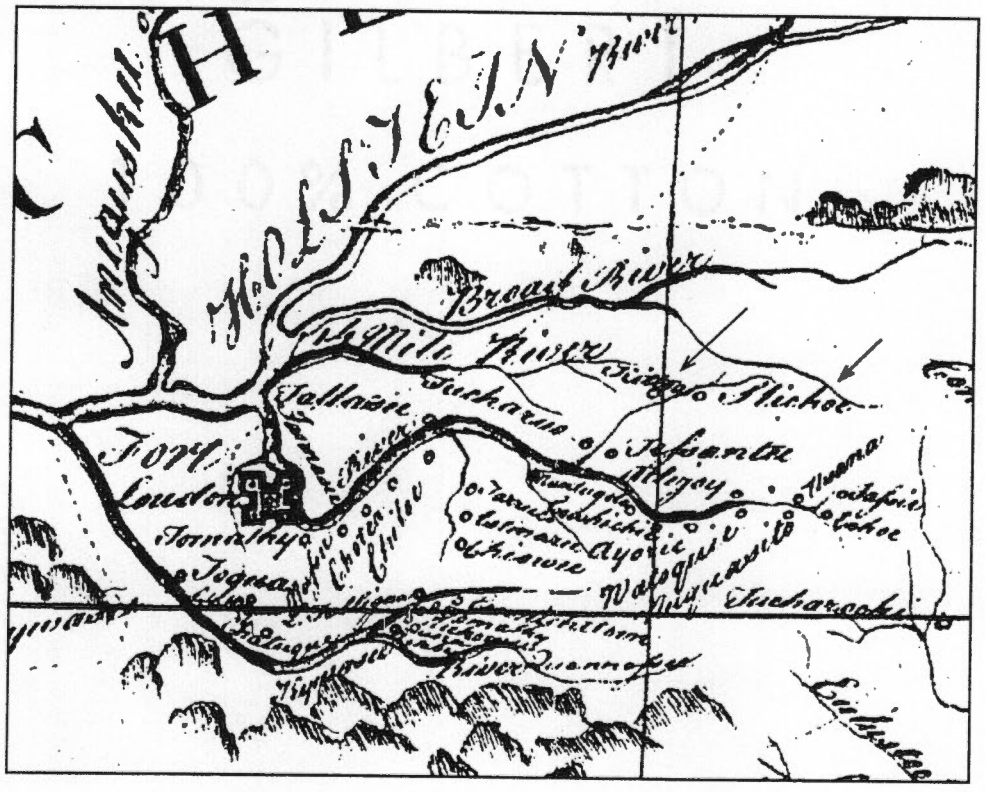


Figure 10. Section of Debrahm map (1766) illustrating locations of the Out Towns. (Source: Alden 1966)

increased dramatically. The period from 1762-1776 witnessed the loss of much of the Cherokee Nation in a series of land cessions made in an attempt to set a permanent boundary between the Cherokees and the English settlers.

The start of the American Revolution forced the Cherokees once again to choose sides in a white mans' war. Continued alliance with the English by certain factions in the Cherokee Nation, the continuous encroachment by settlers in the Carolina "backcountry", the ability of the English to deliver trade goods, and the belief that the American rebels would quickly be defeated, caused the Cherokees to ally with the English during the American Revolution.

Colonel Andrew Williamson's army from South Carolina had destroyed the Lower Towns during the first two weeks of August, 1776. Leaving two weeks later, the North Carolina militia, under the command of General Griffith Rutherford, was sent to destroy the Middle and Valley towns. The action was in response to hostilities in the backcountry settlements by the Cherokees, whom had attacked the settlements due to the illegal nature of their presence in the Cherokee Nation (Dickens 1967). Rutherford's force included approximately 2500 men and provisions for 40 days in the field (Dickens 1967). On route to the Middle Towns, the army crossed the Tuckasegee River near Scott's Creek. Although a small town was observed on the Tuckasegee River, it was ignored, due to the haste in which the army traveled, to reach the Middle Towns quickly (Dickens 1967). Rutherford's forces spent four weeks in the field, destroying houses and crops in the Middle and Valley towns. From Nequassee, they returned along the same path by which they had come; along Savannah Creek to the Tuckasegee River, crossing the Tuckasegee and following Scott's

Creek northward (Dickens 1967).

Destruction of houses and crops on the Tuckasegee and Oconaluftee rivers during the American Revolution occurred after American forces had already destroyed the Lower, Middle, Valley and Overhill towns. Wilburn (1950) suggests that General Rutherford, having destroyed the Middle and Valley towns, realized he had "overlooked" the towns on the Tuckasegee and Oconaluftee rivers, and sent a smaller force, led by Colonel William Moore, to destroy them. However, the primary documents suggest that Rutherford had no knowledge of additional towns in the area, or that another river even existed. His reason for sending Moore back to the Tuckasegee River seems to have been to destroy Stecoe, and to search for and destroy any other small camps or villages they might encounter. Colonel William Moore's force consisted of 97 men, as opposed to the 2500 led by Rutherford only a month earlier. This also suggests that Rutherford expected Moore to encounter only small groups of Cherokees and little resistance.

Moore's march began on October 29, 1776. The events are recorded in some detail in Colonel Moore's report sent to General Rutherford, dated November 17, 1776. This letter also appears in Wilburn (1950), accompanied by Wilburn's interpretation of the specific routes taken and towns destroyed during the march.

Moore's march followed the same path that Rutherford took earlier, to the point where they crossed the Tuckasegee River. The portion of Moore's letter here begins with the occupation of Stecoe by his troops:

> The town consisted of 25 houses, Some of them New Erections, and one Curious Town house framed and Ready for Covering. We took what Corn we stood in need of, and what Triffling Plunder was to be got, and then set fire

To the Town. Then we concluded to follow the Track of the Indians, which Crossed the river, & led us a Direct North Course. We Continued our march about a Mile, and then we perceived a Great pillar of Smoke rise out of the mountain, which we found arose from the Woods Being Set on fire with a View as we supposed to Blind their Track, that we Could not pursue them; Upon which Capt Mcfadden & Myself took a small party of men in Order to make further Discoverys, and left the main Body Behind upon a piece of advantageous Ground until our Return. We marched over a Large Mountain & Came upon a Very Beautiful River which we had no Knowledge of [Oconaluftee]. We crossed the river & Immediately Came to Indian Camps which they had newly left; we went over a Second mountain into a large Cove upon south fork of Sd river where we found a great deal of sign, Several Camping places & the fires Burning Very Briskly. Night Coming on we were Obliged to Return to our main Body A While Before day. When day appeared we made Ready and marched our men Until the place we had Been the Night before. Our advance Guard Being forward Perceived two Squaws and a lad, who Came down the Creek as far as we had Been the Night Before, and when they Perceived our Tracks they were Retreating to the Camp from whence they Came, which was within 3 Quarters of a mile. The Signal was Given, then we pursued and took them all three Prisoners. Unfortunately our men shouted in the Chase and fired a Gun which alarm'd them at the Camp & they Made their Escape into the Mountains. The Prisoners led us to the Camp where we found abundance of plunder, of Horses and other Goods, to the amount of Seven Hundred Pounds. We took some horses Belonging to the poor Inhabitants of the frontiers which we Brought in, & Delivered to the owners. Our provisions falling short, we were Obliged to steer homeward. That night we lay upon a prodigious Mountain, where we had a Severe Shock of an Earthquake, which surprised our men very much. Then we steered our course about East & So. East two days thro' Prodigious Mountains which were almost Impassable, and struck the road in Richland Creek Mountain. From thence we marched to Pidgeon river, Where we Vandued off all Our Plunder. Then there arose a dispute Between me & the whole Body, Officers & all, Concerning Selling off the Prisoners for Slaves. I allowed that it was our Duty to Guard Them to prison, or some place of safe Custody till we got the approbation of the Congress Whether they should be sold Slaves or not, and the Greater part Swore Bloodily that if they were not sold for Slaves upon the spot, they would Kill & Scalp them Immediately. Upon which I was obliged to give way. Then the 3 prisoners was sold for 242. The Whole plunder we got including the Prisoners Amounted Above 1,100. Our men was Very spirited & Eager for Action, and is Very Desirous that your Honnour would order them upon a second Expedition. But our Number was too Small to do as much Execution as we would Desire. From Pidgeon river we marched home and Every Man arrived in health and safety to their Respective

Habitation. (Saunders 1890:896-897).

Wilburn (1950) defines the first camp Moore came to on the Oconaluftee River as Birdtown. This placement is probably correct. He also states that Birdtown is probably the town referred to as Cunnulrasha on the Kitchin map of 1760. From this location the force "went over a second mountain into a large cove upon south fork of said river" (Saunders 1890:896). Wilburn defines this camp as the location of the present Cherokee government agencies, on the north side of the Oconaluftee River just upstream from its confluence with Soco Creek. He defines it as the town referred to in Mooney (1900) as Nugatsa'ni. This seems unlikely, because Moore describes the camp as being located on the south fork of the Oconaluftee River, while Wilburn's location is on the north side. The fork which Moore described is most likely at the mouth of Soco Creek. The cove around the mouth of Soco Creek has been recorded as archaeological site 31SW15, originally containing abundant prehistoric and historic Cherokee material. Unfortunately the majority of the site was destroyed or buried in the 1980s during road construction.

From this point, Moore followed "two squaws and a lad" (Saunders 1890:897) who had come down the creek (Soco). Moore's men followed the three people up the creek approximately three quarters of a mile, where more goods were located. Having the entire force with him, Moore then decided to march home, following the Soco Creek Valley up to Soco Gap, and, passing through "Prodigious Mountains" (Saunders 1890:897), where he finally came to Richland Creek Mountain. This is the path defined by James Wilson (in Wilburn 1950), and seems to be more accurate than the one defined by Wilburn (1950). This being the case, Moore's troops could not have burned Nununyi, or even seen it. They turned

off the Oconaluftee River, onto Soco Creek, approximately 3.5 km south of Nununyi. Being such a small force, and wanting to move quickly, it would not be surprising that they neglected to go that far up the Oconaluftee River.

Rutherford and Moore both thought that the only town missed by Rutherford on his original march was Stecoe, and possibly a few other small villages on the Tuckasegee River (Saunders 1890). Stecoe itself, as Moore found it, was a relatively small village, consisting of only 25 houses. Moore stated that many of the houses were newly constructed, and that the townhouse was new and had not yet been covered (Saunders 1890). It is unlikely that the town was burnt by Rutherford. He made no mention of destroying a town on the Tuckasegee River, and it is unlikely that 25 houses could have been constructed in a period of weeks between the two campaigns. It is possible that Stecoe was rebuilt for refugees from Lower Towns which had been destroyed by Colonel Williamson in October, 1776.

Although William Bartram never actually went to the Out Towns (he went as far as Cowee), a reference made during his travels in 1776 (1940) has been used to suggest that Nununyi was in existence during the American Revolution. Bartram provided a list of Cherokee towns in the entire Nation. Wilburn (1950) suggests Bartram's Nuanha was the town of Nununyi. If Wilburn is correct, Bartram's list is the only primary document which suggests Nununyi existed after 1761. Several points suggest that Bartram was not referring to Nununyi. First is the disparity between the names Nuanha and Nununyi. While early recordings of Cherokee town names were often quite different, Nuanha is as likely to be a reference to Neowee (a Valley Town). The geographical description of Nuanha by Bartram also supports this location. Bartram described Nuanha as being west of the Cowee

Mountains, which are in the direction of the Overhills, not the Out Towns. This also makes sense, because Bartram was planning a trip to the Overhills once he departed from Cowee. On his way to the Overhills he changed his mind, due to the tensions building rapidly between the Cherokees and whites, and returned to Charlestown via Keowee.

Although Bartram gives the geographical location of every town in reference to Cowee (where he stayed for a considerable period), he never describes any town to the north or east of this location. This is where the Out Towns are located. There is also no mention of Stecoe, which was closer than Nununyi to Cowee, and which existed until shortly after Bartram's departure. It seems likely that either Bartram was unaware of any towns on the Tuckasegee River, or that he failed to mention them because of their small size.

Joseph Purcell was employed by the Surveyor General during the 1760s. Under John Stuart and later Thomas Brown, Superintendents of Indian Affairs, Southern District, he compiled two maps of the southern district. As with many maps of the period, both were compilations based on earlier maps. The Stuart-Purcell map of 1775 (Figure 11) lists Kittoa, Sticoy, and Tuckanitli. Tuckanitli is probably Tuckareche, located at the mouth of Deep Creek at present day Bryson City. The Brown-Purcell map of 1781 shows Tuckarechee, Stickoee, Kittowah and Tessantee. It is not reproduced here because it is largely a direct copy of the Stuart-Purcell map.

Publication of the Romans map (1776) occurred about this time. Bernard Romans was selected as Deputy Surveyor of Georgia by William DeBrahm in 1766 (Guthorn 1972). The two men later had a falling out, and Romans moved to New York in 1773. During the American Revolution he supported the colonial cause (Guthorn 1972). The Romans map of

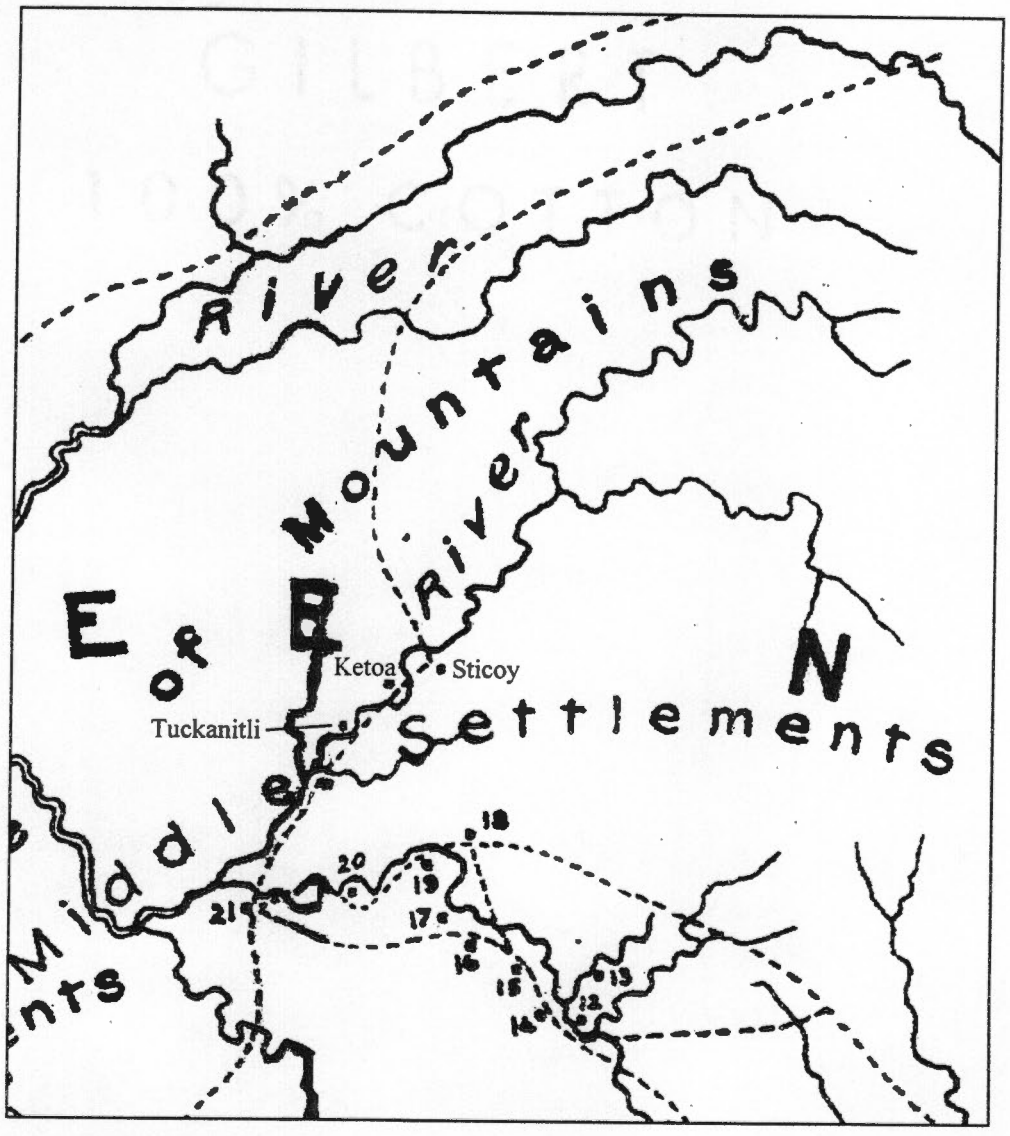


Figure 11. Section of Stuart-Purcell map (1775) illustrating locations of the Out Towns. Scale: 1 cm approximately 10 km. (Source: Swanton 1922)

1776 of the southern English colonies was largely a compilation of earlier maps by DeBrahm, Mouzon, and others (Guthorn 1972). Guthorn states that the map was published in 1776 and used by the English. This suggests that the map was actually produced before Romans moved north (before 1773), and that the colonials did not have access to it. Although the map shows Stickoee, Newni and Tuckaligee, it is likely that at least Newni was copied from earlier maps. The Kitchin map (Figure 9) shows Newni, and the spelling is identical.

Except for attacks by Colonel John Sevier in 1781, no mention of the Out Towns is made during the last two decades of the 19th century. It is likely that the area remained sparsely occupied, especially on the Oconaluftee River. Any towns which were present on the Tuckasegee River at this time, such as Tuckasegee, seemed to be much smaller in size than before the Cherokee-English war, and had probably come to be known as part of the Middle Towns. Living in the Cherokee Nation during the late 18th century required inhabitants to be associated with a group that maintained a certain minimum population. This was necessary to maintain a labor force sufficient to produce and harvest crops, defend the group from attacks from northern and Creek tribes, and provide a sufficient social network to deal with these and other problems commonly faced during the period, such as disease (Hatley 1993).

Constant encroachment by white settlers kept the Cherokees fighting in the backcountry settlements. Late in 1780 a force of approximately 700 men, led by Colonel Arthur Campbell of Virginia and Colonel John Sevier of Tennessee began attacking the Overhill settlements. The two forces divided near Chota on the Little Tennessee River.

Campbell's forces marched along the Hiwassee River and destroyed the towns of Hiwassee and Chestuee. Most towns west of the mountains were destroyed (Mooney 1900). Sevier then planned an attack on the towns of the Appalachian Summit. With a small force of approximately 150 men on horseback, he maneuvered through mountainous terrain in what is now the Great Smoky Mountains. His force descended on the town of Tuckasegee, on the Tuckasegee River, surprised the inhabitants, and burned the town. Sevier then destroyed two other towns and three smaller villages, and returned rapidly with his men to Tennessee (Mooney 1900). Sevier probably never took his force to the Oconaluftee River, but concentrated on the Tuckasegee. The two unnamed villages which were destroyed could have been sparse re-occupations of Kituwha or Stecoe, or possibly newly occupied towns which remain undocumented.

The first two decades of the 19th century witnessed attempts by the Americans to "civilize" the Cherokees. The civilization process had a twofold effect. It first attempted to make the Cherokees practice white capitalist farming lifestyles. The second effect, bound inextricably to the first, was to unburden the Cherokees of all the land they would no longer need, since they had given up their "savage" ways, such as hunting. To a certain extent, these efforts had the desired effect on the Cherokees in the eyes of the whites, and brought about a certain amount of prosperity for the Cherokees who had been left destitute by war and disease a few decades earlier. However, the Cherokees in North Carolina generally did not participate fully in this renewal. The Cherokees of North Carolina remained more traditional than most of the Cherokee Nation, based largely on their geographical isolation. The region contained a larger proportion of fullbloods, less wealth, and less exposure to Christianity

than most of the Cherokee Nation (Finger 1984).

In 1808, George Barber Davis was hired by Colonel R.J. Meigs, the U.S. agent to the Cherokees, to record a census of the Cherokee Nation. The census was completed the same year. Davis, speaking of the Valley Towns of North Carolina, stated:

> I had not an Idea of seeing such Indians as there is over the hills and in the Valies; they are at least twenty years behind the lower towns Indians (Davis, 1808, in McLoughlin 1984:225).

Davis identified three settlements which can be placed definitively in the Out Towns. The first is Tuckaleche village, probably at the mouth of Deep Creek. Davis recorded a population of 92 individuals at Tuckaleche; 41 men and 51 women. The next location was Oconelufty village. This was probably situated at Birdtown on the Oconaluftee River, although the exact location is unknown. Davis recorded a population of 45 individuals; 22 men and 23 women. The third settlement was Dick's village. This is probably the same location as Richard Walker's reserve of 1819, located at the mouth of Scott's Creek at present day Dillsboro. Davis recorded the 1809 population of Dick's village as 43 individuals; 22 men and 21 women (Davis, 1808, in McLoughlin 1984).

Excepting the 1809 census, no further records exist of the Out Town area in the 19th century until 1819. Habitation of the area must have been very sparse during this period, and included perhaps only small groups or families who had refused to leave, or who finally returned to their homes after years in other parts of the Nation.

In 1819 the United States Congress ratified a treaty, supplementing a treaty of two years earlier, which ceded a large portion of the Cherokee Nation, including the majority of

land in North Carolina, to the Federal Government (Figure 12). The region around the Out Towns and Middle Towns was included in the cession, which was taken by the United States Congress in return for the appropriation of lands west of the Mississippi River, for the eventual removal of the Cherokees. Although the majority of Cherokees moved from this area temporarily into Georgia, Tennessee or Alabama, several dozen families remained behind, applying for 640-acre reservations (one square mile) and United States citizenship (Finger 1984). These tracts were offered as part of the treaty, although it was considered unlikely that many Cherokees would accept them.

The number and locations of the 640 acre reserves may illuminate the sparse, but structured, resettlement of the Out Towns. It is probable that, during events of dispersal or abandonment, members of a community remained as a cohesive unit as they resituated (Riggs, personal communication 1996). The town was the most fundamental unit of organization for the Cherokees (Gearing 1962), and they sought to re-establish their towns in their traditional locations. The requests by many Cherokee heads-of-household for contiguous 640 acre reserve plots support this intention.

Riggs' study (1988) illustrates this pattern of community restructuring. A map of the reserve plots in the Out and Middle Towns reveals that the densest occupation occurred at Cowee: a total of twenty 640 acre adjoining plots was reserved. The next highest density occurred on the Tuckasegee River and Deep Creek (and including the old town of Kituwha), with nine adjoining plots reserved. Four adjoining plots were located on the Cullasaja and Little Tennessee rivers at Franklin. Individual or paired reserves also occurred at the forks of the Tuckasegee River (at the site of Tuckasegee Old Town), and on Alarka Creek and

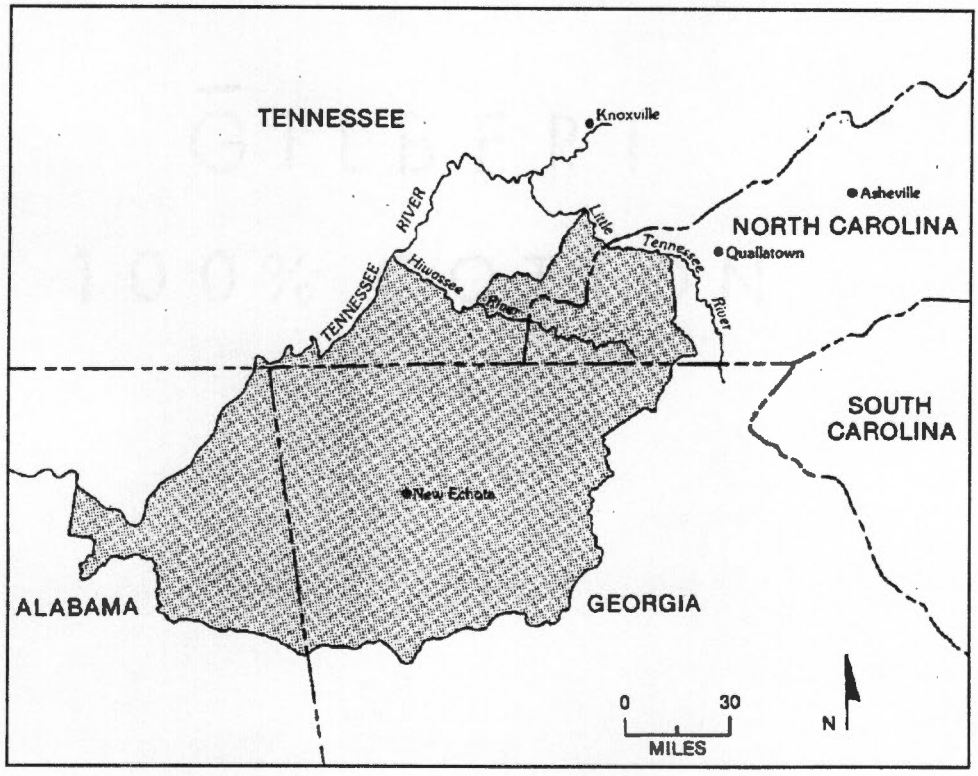


Figure 12. Cherokee Nation in 1819. (Source: Finger 1984)

Savannah Creek. A single reserve appeared on the Oconaluftee River, at the mouth of Soco Creek.

The families who remained in the area led a difficult existence, including ongoing disagreements with local, state and federal officials over their citizenship. They did, however, largely avoid the forced Removal of 1838, and formed the nucleus of what became the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians.

CHAPTER 5

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES USED IN THIS STUDY

Introduction

Qualla phase sites have been located on all major rivers and tributaries in Swain and Jackson counties, and on most smaller creeks. Various landforms were occupied, including floodplains, terraces, benches, narrow creek valleys, and uplands. Figures 13 and 14 illustrate the locations of 71 sites containing Qualla phase diagnostic material from the Out Town area (Table 2). Six sites, containing excavated feature contexts and/or large ceramic assemblages, were selected for study. These include Nununyi (31SW3), Birdtown (31SW6), Kituwha (31SW1), Ela (31SW5), Tuckasegee (31JK12), and Cullowhee Valley School (31JK32). Most of the remaining 65 sites were identified through surface finds. These sites provide limited data on site size, use, or date. However, they reveal significant information on landform use and spatial distribution, and are used accordingly. Test excavations were performed on a small number of sites which are excluded from this study for a number of reasons, including mixed artifact assemblages and poor documentation.

Two sites (Nununyi and Birdtown) were tested during the Qualla Boundary survey (Greene 1995). Ela was excavated in 1988 by Western Carolina University under the direction of Ruth Wetmore (1990), in association with construction of the East Elementary school. Kituwha was surface collected by Egloff (1967) in the 1960s. The Tuckasegee site was excavated in 1967 by the Research Laboratories of Anthropology under the direction of Bennie Keel (1976). The Cullowhee Valley school site was excavated in 1992 by the North

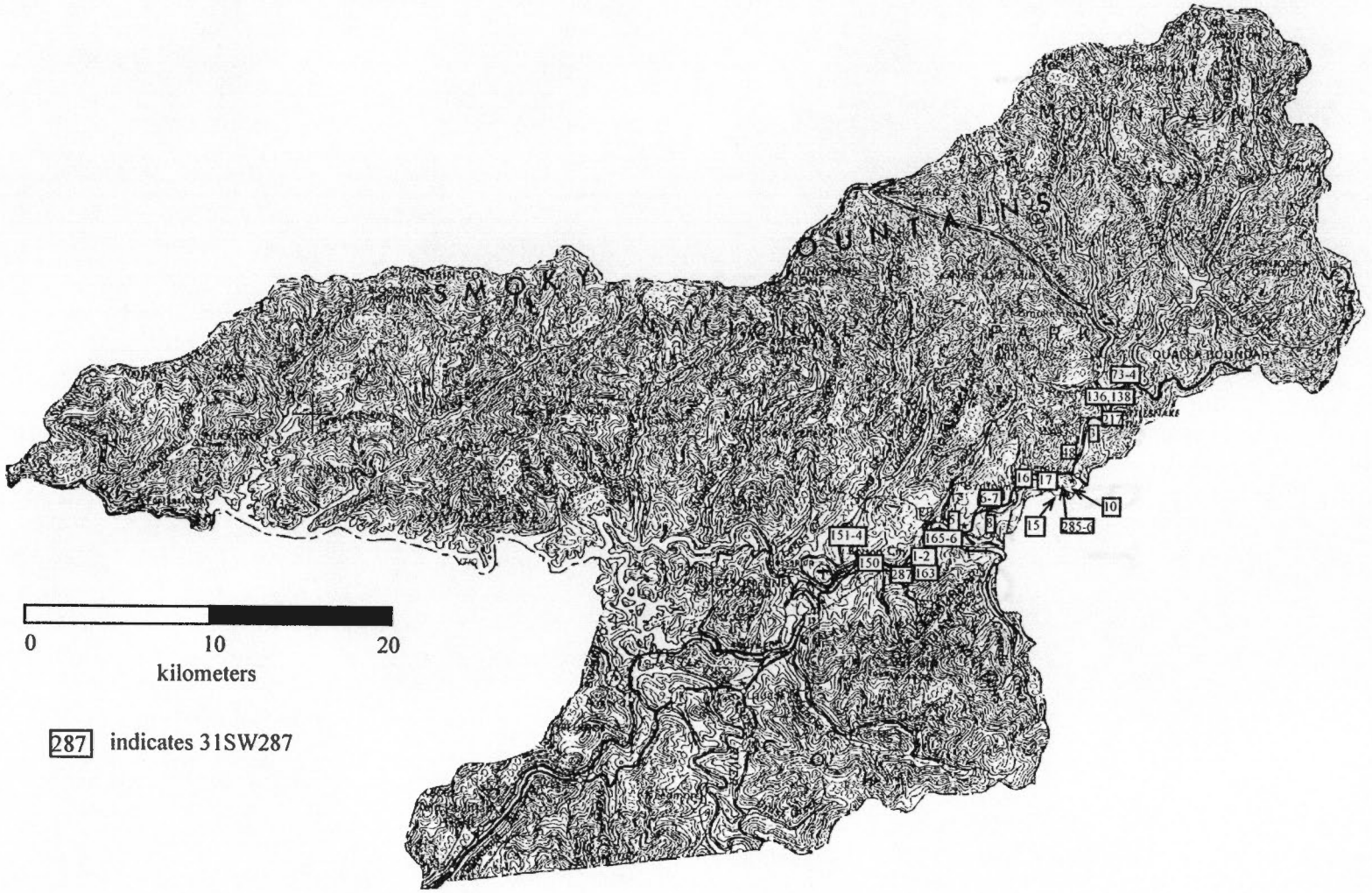


Figure 13. Locations of Qualla phase sites in Out Town area (Swain County).

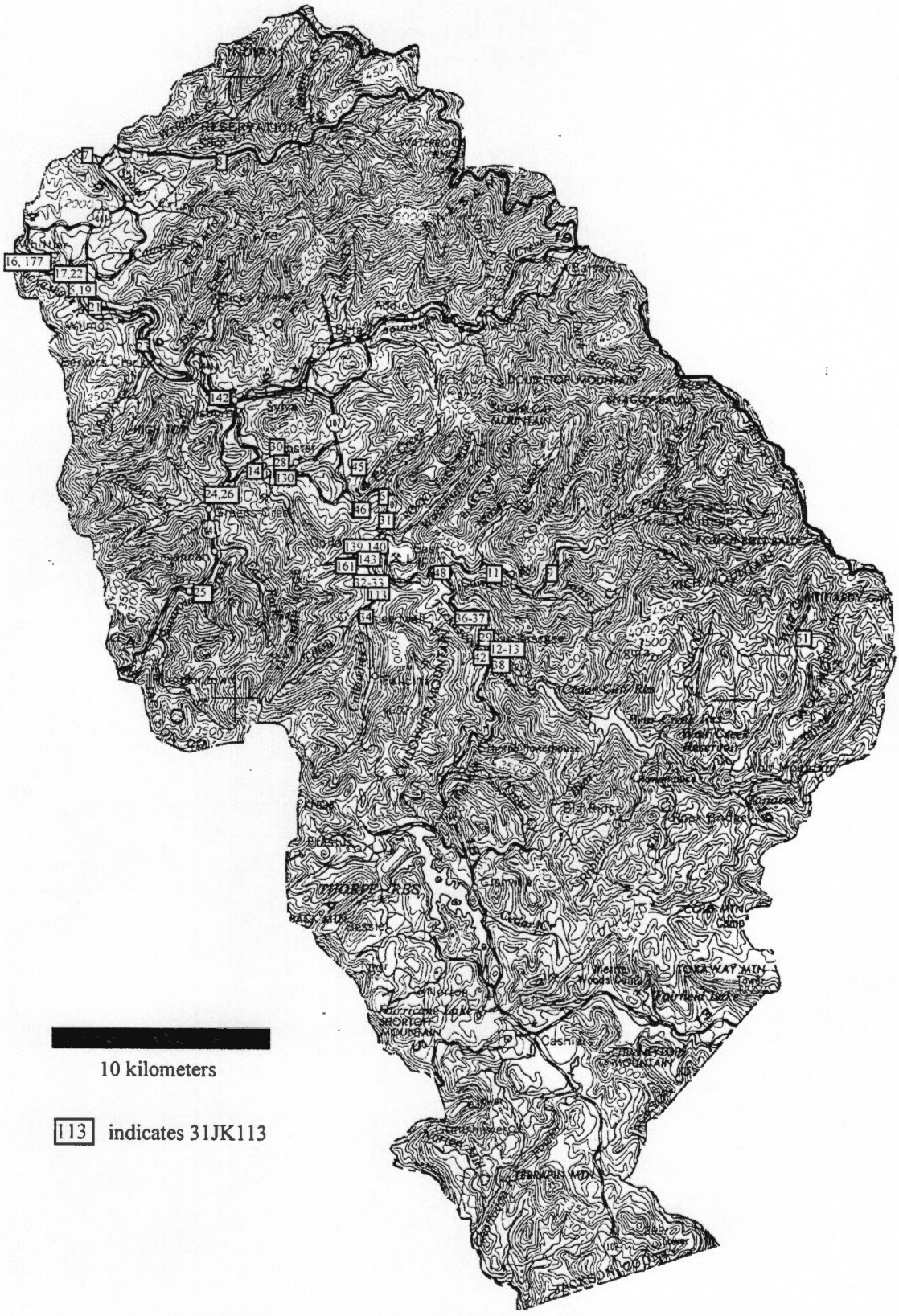


Figure 14. Locations of Qualla phase sites in Out Town area (Jackson County)

Table 2. Qualla phase sites in Swain and Jackson counties, North Carolina.						
site #	Quad map	size (m2)	Landform	nearest water	work performed	recorded by/published in
31SW1	Bryson City	~930	floodplain	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	Egloff 1967
31SW2	Bryson City	~350000	floodplain	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	Egloff 1967
31SW3	Whittier	200000	floodplain	Tuckasegee River	test excavations	Egloff 1967, Greene 1995
31SW5	Bryson City	28000	2nd terrace	Tuckasegee River	phase III excavation	Wetmore 1990
31SW6	Whittier	930	floodplain	Oconaluftee River	test excavations	Greene 1995
31SW7	Whittier	110000	floodplain	Oconaluftee River	surface collection	Greene 1995
31SW8	Whittier	33500	floodplain	Oconaluftee River	surface collection	Greene 1995
31SW10	Whittier	7400	2nd terrace	Oconaluftee River	surface collection	Coe 1974
31SW15	Whittier	11100	floodplain	Oconaluftee River	test excavations	Coe 1974, Greene 1995
31SW16	Whittier	7400	2nd terrace	Oconaluftee River	surface collection	Coe 1974
31SW17	Whittier	44500	floodplain	Oconaluftee River	test excavations	Greene 1995
31SW48	Whittier	3700	terrace	Oconaluftee River	test excavations	Ward and Wilson 1976
31SW73	Smokemont	~14800	2nd terrace	Raven Fork	test excavations	Bass 1975, Horvath 1991
31SW74	Smokemont	~14800	2nd terrace	Raven Fork	test excavations	Bass 1975, Horvath 1991
31SW136	Smokemont	46500	floodplain	Oconaluftee River	test excavations	Bass, Murphy 1976, Horvath 1991
31SW138	Smokemont	~7400	floodplain	Oconaluftee River	test excavations	Bass, Murphy 1976, Horvath 1991
31SW150	Bryson City	465	floodplain	Deep Creek	surface collection	Bass
31SW151	Bryson City	50100	floodplain	Deep Creek	surface collection	Bass
31SW152	Bryson City	465	floodplain	Deep Creek	surface collection	Bass
31SW153	Bryson City	11100	floodplain	Deep Creek	surface collection	Bass
31SW154	Bryson City	8370	floodplain	Deep Creek	surface collection	Bass
31SW163	Bryson City	700	floodplain	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	Bass
31SW165	Bryson City	1850	floodplain	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	Bass
31SW166	Bryson City	3700	floodplain	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	Bass
31SW217	Smokemont	~11100	terrace	Oconaluftee River	test excavations	Horvath 1991
31SW240	Smokemont	~180000	terrace	Oconaluftee River	test excavations	Horvath 1991
31SW241	Smokemont	~56000	terrace	Raven Fork	test excavations	Horvath 1991
31SW285	Whittier	360	bench	Oconaluftee River	surface collection	Greene 1995
31SW286	Whittier	1050	bench	Oconaluftee River	surface collection	Greene 1995
31SW287	Bryson City	~400	plateau	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	Greene 1995

Table 2. Qualla phase sites in Swain and Jackson counties, North Carolina.						
site #	Quad map	size (m2)	Landform	nearest water	work performed	recorded by/published in
31JK5	Whittier	~37000	floodplain	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	E.M. Dolan
31JK6	Sylva South	~6500	floodplain	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	E.M. Dolan
31JK7	Whittier	~20000	floodplain	Oconaluftee River	surface collection	Coe 1974
31JK8	Whittier	~20900	terrace	Soco Creek	surface collection	Coe 1974
31JK9	Tuckasegee	~8400	floodplain	Caney Fork	surface collection	E.M. Dolan
31JK11	Tuckasegee	~3700	floodplain	Caney Fork	surface collection	E.M. Dolan
31JK12	Tuckasegee	100	terrace	Tuckasegee River	test excavations	Keel 1976
31JK13	Tuckasegee	~11100	floodplain	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	E.M. Dolan
31JK14	Sylva South	~22300	floodplain	Savannah Creek	surface collection	E.M. Dolan
31JK16	Whittier	~11100	floodplain	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	E.M. Dolan
31JK17	Whittier	~37000	floodplain	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	E.M. Dolan
31JK19	Whittier	~82500	floodplain	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	E.M. Dolan
31JK21	Whittier	~29700	floodplain	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	E.M. Dolan
31JK22	Whittier	~63100	floodplain/terrace	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	E.M. Dolan
31JK23	Whittier	~92900	floodplain	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	E.M. Dolan
31JK24	Greens Creek	~37000	floodplain	Savannah Creek	surface collection	E.M. Dolan
31JK25	Greens Creek	~12000	floodplain	Savannah Creek	surface collection	E.M. Dolan
31JK26	Greens Creek	~9300	floodplain	Savannah Creek	surface collection	E.M. Dolan
31JK28	Sylva South	~9300	floodplain	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	E.M. Dolan
31JK29	Sylva South	~22300	floodplain	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	E.M. Dolan
31JK30	Sylva South	~5500	terrace	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	A. Feinstein
31JK31	Sylva South	~5500	floodplain	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	Egloff/Sensenig
31JK32	Sylva South	~3700	terrace	Cullowhee Creek	Phase III excavation	David Moore, n.d.
31JK33	Sylva South	~7000	floodplain	Cullowhee Creek	surface collection	Egloff/Sensenig
31JK34	Sylva South	~5500	floodplain	Cullowhee Creek	surface collection	Egloff/Sensenig
31JK36	Sylva South	~10200	floodplain	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	Egloff/Sensenig
31JK37	Sylva South	~18500	floodplain	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	Egloff/Sensenig
31JK38	Tuckasegee	~3700	floodplain	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	Egloff/Sensenig
31JK42	Sylva South	~3700	floodplain	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	Egloff/Sensenig
31JK45	Sylva South	~5500	floodplain	Locust Creek	surface collection	Egloff/Sensenig

Table 2. Qualla phase sites in Swain and Jackson counties, North Carolina.

site #	Quad map	size (m2)	Landform	nearest water	work performed	recorded by/published in
31JK46	Sylva South	~11100	terrace	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	Egloff/Sensenig
31JK48	Sylva South	~7000	terrace	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	Toms/Hollingsworth
31JK51	Sam Knob	~3700	upland spur	Cold Creek	surface collection	Beutell
31JK113	Sylva South	~35000	floodplain/terrace	Cullowhee Creek	test excavations	Collins and Eblen 1978
31JK130	Sylva South	~13000	colluvial fan	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	Ganis
31JK139	Sylva South	~3700	floodplain	Cullowhee Creek	surface collection	Hollingsworth
31JK140	Sylva South	~3700	floodplain	Cullowhee Creek	surface collection	Keel
31JK142	Whittier	~3700	terrace	Long Branch	surface collection	Egloff/Morrison/Yelton
31JK143	Cullowhee	~5000	floodplain	Cullowhee Creek	surface collection	Keel
31JK161	Sylva South	~1500	upland spur	Long Branch	surface collection	McMillan
31JK177	Whittier	~3700	floodplain	Tuckasegee River	surface collection	Bass/Kimball

Carolina Department of Archives and History under the direction of David Moore (Moore n.d.).

Qualla Boundary Archaeological Survey

An archaeological survey of the Qualla Boundary was conducted during the summer and fall of 1994. The objectives of the survey were to test five previously recorded sites for eligibility to the National Register, to record previously unknown sites, to initiate a systematic plan of archaeological preservation, and to create educational programs concerning history and prehistory of the Cherokees on the Qualla Boundary.

Five previously known archaeological sites were tested and a total of 143 acres was surveyed for archaeological remains. The five tested sites include Nununyi (31SW3), Birdtown (31SW6), Riverview Campground (31SW15), 31SW17, and Magic Waters (31JK291). Significant intact prehistoric and/or historic Native American deposits were found at Nununyi, Birdtown, 31SW17, and Magic Waters. Road construction had destroyed or buried almost all of the previously documented archaeological deposits at the Riverview Campground. Although site 31SW17 contained Qualla phase material, it is not included in this study because no discrete feature contexts were excavated. The Magic Waters site contained only Woodland and Mississippian period material.

Twelve properties were surveyed, and seven new sites were recorded. The small number of newly recorded sites is due partly to the fact that large sections of the floodplain areas within the Qualla Boundary have already been recorded as major sites, such as Nununyi and Birdtown. Most of the survey was conducted on floodplain areas for they are

the most likely landforms to be affected by future development.

Goals

The first goal of the survey was the testing of five sites within the Qualla Boundary to determine their eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places and potential for containing human skeletal remains. Eligibility was determined through surface and subsurface testing to document density and kinds of archaeological materials, and the presence of intact cultural deposits. Although no human skeletal remains were observed, the presence of intact deposits on four of the five sites suggests the likelihood that some or all contain burials.

The second goal was the survey of a minimum of 100 acres within the Qualla Boundary. Survey areas were selected on the likelihood of finding archaeological remains and of future development. Survey methods involved surface collection, shovel test pit excavation, and probing in an attempt to define not only the archaeological remains within the 100 acres, but also to begin determining broader prehistoric and historic land use patterns.

The third goal was the presentation of this information to the Cherokee Planning Board for use in future development planning. Although several small archaeological projects have been carried out on the Qualla Boundary in the recent past, no synthesis of archaeological materials or sites has been attempted. Therefore, broad-based information concerning land use patterns, density of sites and materials, and site conditions on the Qualla Boundary does not exist. However, the need for inventory of archaeological resources and

planning for the management of these resources is particularly critical, because the Qualla Boundary is experiencing accelerated commercial development in river and creek valley settings, where the largest number of significant archaeological sites is already documented (Bass 1977; Purrington 1983).

Therefore, the necessity for a systematic archaeological survey of the Qualla Boundary is apparent. Sites such as the Nununyi and Birdtown mounds and villages are prime examples, and other significant sites on the Qualla Boundary document occupations that span prehistory and the historic era. The threat of development to such resources is already obvious, through the disturbance of major portions of sites such as Nununyi and the total destruction of sites such as 31SW15. Countless smaller sites have been destroyed through business, road, and pipeline construction and relocation.

Although control over these sites on the Qualla Boundary is vested in the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians and administered by the Federal Government, there has not, heretofore, been significant action nor planning for the preservation or management of these resources. The preservation and management of these resources is especially important for the Cherokee people, because the archaeological resources of the Qualla Boundary encapsulate a significant record of their cultural heritage.

Methods

In order to properly address survey requirements, specific criteria for sample selection was first defined. Parameters of survey tract selection established within the scope of work for the Qualla Boundary survey were broadly defined, and stipulated only that tracts

be located within the Qualla Boundary, and that survey of tracts with a high probability of future development should be given priority. The following criteria were used to select tracts for survey:

1) Likelihood of the selected tract to include significant archaeological resources.

Such expectations are primarily based on landform. Because much of the Qualla Boundary is mountainous, human occupation in this area has been largely restricted to valley floors and gentle sideslopes (Bass 1977).

2) Likelihood of future development.

Location of tracts selected are within or adjacent to commercial corridors where development is proceeding rapidly. These areas are identified as all area adjoining the Oconaluftee River Valley along Acquoni Road, and along U.S. Highway 19 in the Soco Creek Valley.

3) Property surface conditions and accessibility.

Selection of localities for survey and testing was predicated upon the results of a prior archaeological survey by Coe (1974) and presented in the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, Planning Board report (1974). The report included the description of twelve sites surveyed on the Qualla Boundary. Discussion of each site included identification of archaeological components, extent of intact deposits, and consideration of each site's significance to the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians and to the interpretation of the prehistory and history of the region. Four sites recommended for additional testing included Nununyi (31SW3), Birdtown (31SW6), Rivervew Campground (31SW15), and 31SW17. These were all tested during the 1994 Qualla Boundary survey.

The fifth site was selected because of likely development in the immediate area. The property is a large floodplain along the north side of Soco Creek, upon which operated the Frontierland amusement park from the 1960s through the early 1980s. Due to early development, the property had never been surveyed for archaeological remains.

Twelve properties which contained no known archaeological remains were surveyed. Although a number of these properties contained small amounts of Qualla phase material, they were not selected for this study. Their locations are included in Figures 13 and 14, illustrating the locations of all sites in the Out Town area containing Qualla phase material (Table 2).

Fieldwork during the project included two kinds of procedures, test excavations and pedestrian survey. Only the test excavations of Nununyi (31SW3) and Birdtown (31SW6) are discussed. Subsurface test excavations included 1 m x 1 m units and pit features, in addition to probing and shovel test pit excavations.

Surface collecting involved pedestrian collection of all artifacts (except fire-cracked rock) within defined units, varying in diameter from 15-30 m.

Probing involved using a manual soil probe with a 3/4 in diameter tube to obtain samples at 5 m intervals across a site area. Each location was probed to subsoil or to the maximum probe length of 1 m. The soil profile was recorded for each location. Close interval probing was done to identify cultural deposits such as pit features, postholes, and small midden deposits missed by shovel test pits, and to produce a detailed soil profile map of each site.

Shovel test pits, approximately 30 cm in diameter, were then excavated across site

areas at 30 m intervals. Shovel test pits reveal which areas of the site contain the densest amount of artifacts, and can identify large subsurface midden deposits and smaller anomalies such as pit features. They also provide a general soil profile of the site, including numbers and types of soil horizons, and depth of subsoil. All shovel test pits were backfilled immediately after excavation.

Hand-excavated units (1 m x 1 m) were then dug in different areas of each site. Units were placed in areas of dense artifact concentrations, in middens which needed further testing, in areas where soil profiles were unclear, or in some cases directly above pit features which were identified through shovel test pits or probing. The units were excavated in 10 cm arbitrary levels within natural soil strata, until subsoil was reached. Soil from each level was dry-screened through 1/4 in mesh wire screen. One wall of the unit was then cleaned, mapped, and photographed. Units were then backfilled.

A sample of exposed pit features was excavated. Features were excavated to recover temporal information and to reveal the amount of impact occurring from erosion and/or plowing. When a pit feature was exposed within a 1 m x 1 m unit, the unit floor at that level was troweled and the feature surface was mapped and photographed. One half of the feature was removed and screened through 1/4 in mesh screen. The profile of the feature was then mapped and photographed. The second half of the feature was excavated in 10 cm levels within natural strata. Ten liters from each level were recovered for water flotation, and the remainder was dry-screened. The last field procedure was the recording of transit data for the production of site topographic maps.

Artifacts recovered during fieldwork were bagged, labeled and deposited at the

Museum of the Cherokee Indian's laboratory facility for washing and analysis. The bulk of material recovered was ceramic sherds. Recovered artifact types include ceramics, lithics, fauna, carbonized flora, Anglo-American goods, and daub.

After washing, ceramic sherds were size-graded. One centimeter size grades were used, beginning with <1 cm, and then continuing with 1-2 cm, 2-3 cm, and so on. Few sherds were larger than 5 cm. Analysis was performed at the attribute level, and included provenience, size grade, temper, lip and rim form, and lip, rim, neck, body, and base surface treatment.

Nununyi (31SW3)

The portion of Nununyi which was tested is currently owned by Richard Crowe and is adjacent to Acquoni Road near Cherokee High School (Figures 15 and 16). Nununyi mound is located in the northwestern corner of Mr. Crowe's property. The entire property (6.25 acres), excepting the mound, was tested. No surface collection or test excavation was conducted on the mound itself.

The large amount of Qualla series ceramics recovered from the site suggests that it was intensively occupied during the protohistoric/historic period. The earliest written record of the site is the census of Cherokee towns by Varnod in 1721, in which he reports a population of 61 men, 56 women, and 60 children (Wood 1989). It is also shown on the Hunter map of 1730, in which it is called Newni. It appears on the Kitchin map of 1760 under the same name. Historic documents suggest Nununyi was abandoned or sparsely occupied after 1761 (McDowell, ed. 1958; Saunders 1890).



Figure 15. Aerial view of Nununyi (31SW3), facing north. (Source:Greene 1995)

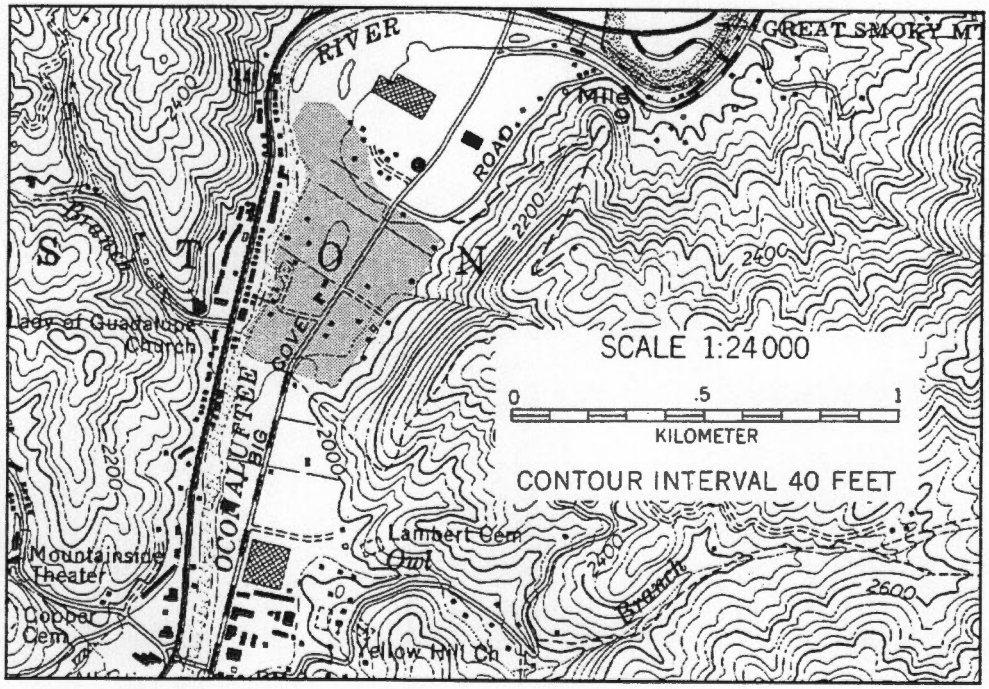


Figure 16. Location of Nununyi on USGS Whittier quad.

History of Archaeological Investigations

Excavations at the site began in the 1880s by the Valentine family to collect artifacts for their museum in Richmond, Virginia. Three trenches were excavated in the mound in 1882 by Edward Valentine. The burned floor of a structure was exposed under which lay 26 burials (Valentine n.d.). The Valentines generally did not excavate in the village portion of mound sites, and the village area of Nununyi was left intact.

The next major disturbance of the site occurred in the early 1960s when construction began on the "Cherokee Wonderland" amusement park. The largest section of the village area, east of the mound, was almost completely destroyed by construction. Large sections of the area were landscaped and a canal was dug for a water ride. These activities disturbed the soil well below the level of sterile subsoil.

In 1964 a drainage ditch was dug just east of the mound, and was profiled and collected by archaeologists from the Research Laboratories of Anthropology, Chapel Hill. These profiles are illustrated and discussed in Egloff (1967) and the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians Planning Board report (1974). A small garden plot just north of the mound was also collected at this time.

Further disturbance of the village area east of the mound occurred during the construction of Cherokee High School. This area contained the largest section of the village, corresponding to the widest section of floodplain in this part of the valley. Construction of the high school affected areas of the village which had not been disturbed by the amusement park construction.

The only other recorded archaeological work done at Nununyi was during the Smoky

Mountain survey by Bass (1977), during which a surface collection was obtained.

Topography and Vegetation

The site of Nununyi rests on a large floodplain on the south side of the Oconaluftee River, shortly below its confluence with Raven Fork. Although most of the site was destroyed in the 1960s, it seems that the densest occupation during the Qualla phase was on the low floodplain. The terrace above the floodplain, which is very pronounced in this section of the Oconaluftee River Valley, was probably more heavily occupied during the Woodland period, as revealed by recovery of Woodland period material during the survey.

Topography within the area tested (the Crowe property) includes a wide slough or former river channel which runs northeast-southwest across the central portion of the property, and divides the northwestern and southeastern portions of the site. These two portions are comparatively level. The southeastern portion is a terrace, approximately 1.0 m higher in elevation than the northwestern portion nearest the mound.

The northwestern portion is presently used for gardening or is in grass. The central and southeastern portions are in secondary growth. Trees are spaced relatively far apart, and consist mainly of locust. A large part of the central and southeastern sections also contained dense brush and tall weeds, which were difficult to manage during survey and sometimes limited movement, particularly along the eastern border of the property.

Soils

Soil profiles and depths varied greatly across the property. A detailed description of

the soils was made possible through the excavation of several 1 m x 1 m units and shovel test pits, and by close interval probing.

Soil profiles correspond to the northwestern, central, and southeastern portions of the site. The northwestern soil profile corresponds well with the drainage ditch profile recorded by workers from the Research Laboratories of Anthropology (Egloff 1967; Ward 1979). Several test units were excavated in these soils. The soil profile is from Test Unit 2:

> Plowzone: dark brown silt loam, 29-32 cm thick, containing large amounts of cultural material including Qualla series ceramics, chert and quartz debitage, fire-cracked rock, and faunal material.
>
> Upper Midden: medium brown sandy silt loam, compact, 3-4 cm thick, containing abundant cultural material including Qualla series ceramics, faunal material, and charcoal.
>
> Lower Midden: mottled light/dark brown and gray sand loam, very compact, 6-9 cm thick, containing abundant Qualla series ceramics, faunal material, and charcoal.
>
> Subsoil: yellow sand.

The central soil profile is located in the slough which runs northeast-southwest across the property. This profile is much deeper and very different from that found nearer the mound. The soil profile is from Test Unit 3:

> Plowzone: dark brown silt loam, 22 cm thick, containing a small amount of ceramics.
>
> Alluvium: dark reddish-brown silt loam, 23 cm thick, containing a small amount of ceramics.
>
> Cobble lense: dense concentration of large river cobbles, 25-30 cm thick, containing no cultural material.
>
> Subsoil: yellow sand mixed with small waterworn gravels.

The origin of the depression and the soils within it is unknown. It was probably a slough or old river channel, but possibly also served as a borrow area from which fill was taken during construction of the mound, and subsequently partially backfilled by flooding and erosion. No gravel or sand was associated with the large cobbles lense.

The southeastern soil profile corresponds to the terrace, and is represented in Test Unit 10: plowzone is a dark brown silt loam, 19 cm thick, and containing no cultural material, and subsoil is a compact orange clay loam.

Although cultural features were found in this area, it was less densely occupied than the area near the mound. Fewer artifacts were found in the plowzone, and there is no evidence of midden accumulation.

Test Excavations

Test excavations began with surface collections of cultural material in the northwestern section of the property (Figure 17). Two areas were collected. The first was a garden which measured 30 m x 20 m. This was collected as a single provenience, and contained abundant ceramic sherds, and a small amount of chert debitage and faunal material. The second area was 15 m x 15 m, directly north of the garden and very near the mound. It had been plowed within the past few years, and exhibited good surface visibility. It also contained abundant material.

The area to the west of the garden was probed in an effort to locate subsurface deposits such as middens or pit features. Five lines, spaced 30 to 60 m apart, were probed at 1 m intervals. Three pit features were located. Eight shovel test pits were then excavated at

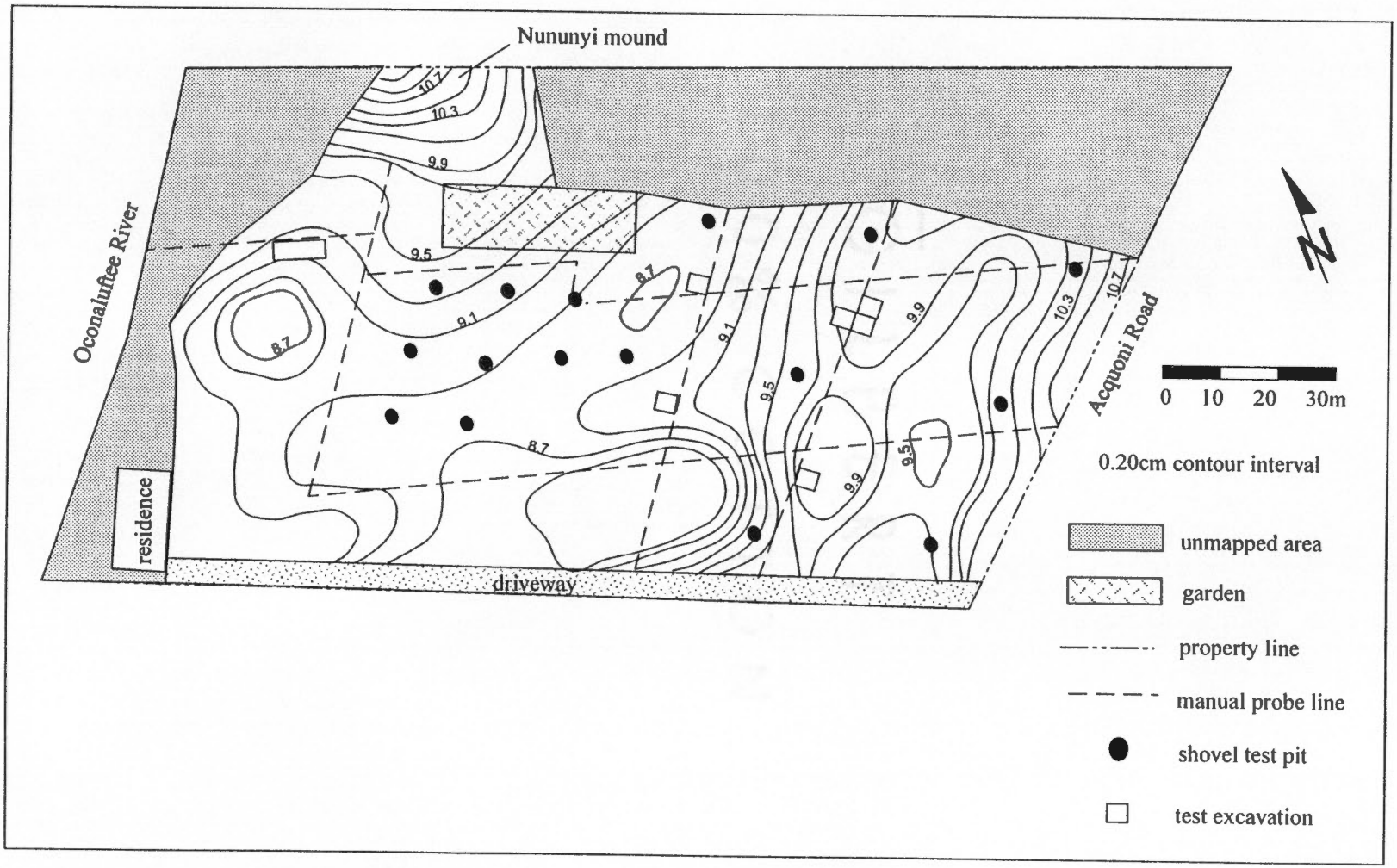


Figure 17. Plan map of Nununyi (31SW3). (Source: Greene 1995)

30 m intervals in a flat mowed area also southwest of the mound. These were dug to observe the soil profile and artifact density at a greater distance from the mound. Artifacts were recovered from six of these shovel test pits. Two shovel test pits were also dug just west of the mound along the river bank for the same purposes. Both contained Qualla series ceramics, charcoal, and faunal material.

Shovel test pits were then excavated in the southeastern and central sections of the property, which contained dense brush and high weeds. Eight shovel test pits were placed in these areas, at 30 m intervals. Artifacts were recovered from two of the these. Deposits recorded in the two shovel test pits nearest Acquoni Road were disturbed as a result of the road construction. A strip of land approximately 40 m wide running along the northeast side of the property was not tested, because the brush was too dense.

Due to the variations and complexity of the soils, close interval probing was carried out across the property. Two lines running northwest-southeast and three running northeast-southwest were probed at 5 m intervals across the entire property to better understand the soil stratigraphy. Several pit features were located during probing.

It was then decided to excavate one of the pit features located earlier by probing near the mound. Two 1 m x 1 m units were excavated over one of the feature locations. Sections of two features (Features 1 and 2) and a postmold were exposed in the floor of the two units. A third unit was dug to fully expose Feature 2. Sections of two more features were exposed in the floor of this unit. Two smaller units were also dug to fully expose Feature 1. Features 1 and 2 were mapped, photographed, and excavated. Features 3 and 4 were mapped and photographed in plan view.

A total of 7 more 1 m x 1 m units was excavated in other areas of the site, corresponding to the differences in landforms discussed earlier. These units revealed information pertaining to the stratigraphy and occupation of the site, but contained a very small amount of Qualla phase material, which was mixed with Woodland and Mississippian period material.

The last procedure carried out was recording transit data for the production of a topographic map. All units, shovel test pits, and probe lines were also recorded in this manner.

Excavation Units

Units 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6 were contiguous and associated with Features 1-4. Units 1, 2 and 4 were 1 m x 1 m, while Unit 5 was 1 m x 0.5 m and Unit 6 was 1.5 m x 0.5 m. Units 5 and 6 were excavated only to expose the remainder of Feature 1. The east profile wall of Unit 2 was mapped and photographed. The profile consists of four soil strata, including subsoil:

> Plowzone: dark brown silt loam, 29-32 cm thick, containing large amounts of cultural material including Qualla series ceramics, chert and quartz debitage, fire-cracked rock, and faunal material.
>
> Upper Midden: medium brown sandy silt loam, compact, 3-4 cm thick, containing abundant cultural material including Qualla series ceramics, faunal material, and charcoal.
>
> Lower Midden: mottled light/dark brown and gray sand loam, very compact, 6-9 cm thick, containing abundant Qualla series ceramics, faunal material, and charcoal.
>
> Subsoil: yellow sand.

Features

Five intact subsurface features were exposed within the 1 m x 1 m units during test excavations. One (Feature 5) was located south of the dense Qualla phase occupation. No cultural material was found associated with this feature, and it is therefore not discussed. The remaining four features were located at the base of five contiguous excavation units (1, 2, 4, 5, 6) near the mound. Features 1 and 2 were excavated. Features 3 and 4 were not excavated, but recorded in plan view.

Feature 1 was exposed at the interface of the lower midden and the yellow sand subsoil (Figures 18 and 19). Differentiation between the lower midden fill and feature fill was very distinctive based on soil color and texture, the pit apparently having originated before the deposition of the lower midden fill.

The feature was a large basin-shaped pit, measuring 137 cm x 122 cm in plan view and 23 cm in depth. The single layer of feature fill was a dark brown silt loam. The fill contained abundant Qualla series ceramics, chert debitage, charcoal, and faunal material. The recovered material and the lack of Anglo-American artifacts suggests a protohistoric date for this feature.

Feature 2 was exposed at the same level as Feature 1 between the lower midden/subsoil interface. It was a small shallow flat-bottomed feature with a single layer of brown silt loam fill. It measured 66 cm x 59 cm in plan view and 6 cm in depth. The fill contained a small amount of Qualla series ceramics and a complete deer vertebra. The feature likely originated at the same time as Feature 1, due to the similarities in pitfill and stratigraphic position below the lower midden. Features 3 and 4 also originated at the lower

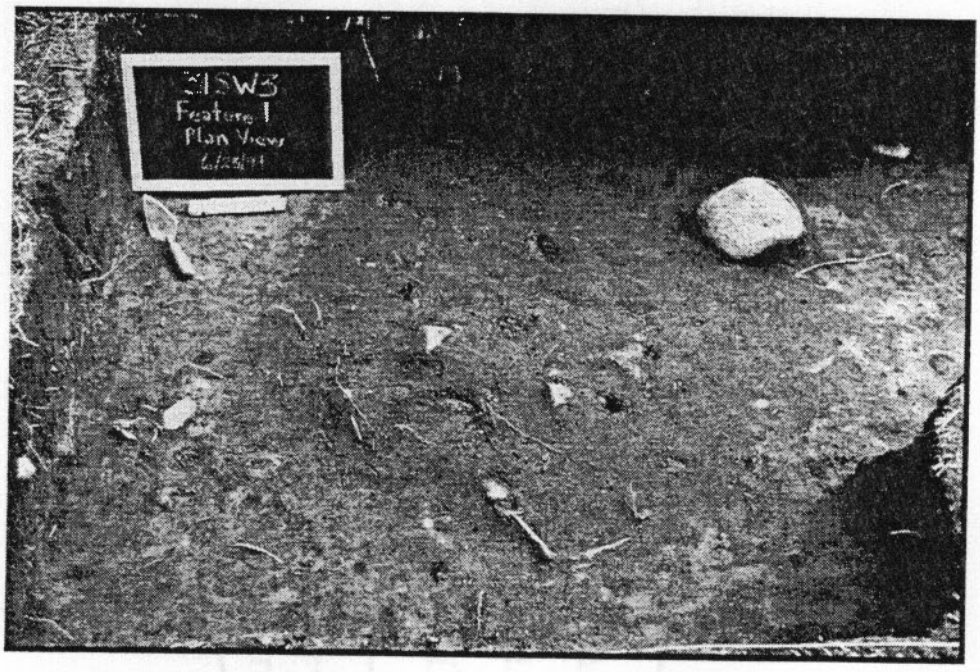


Figure 18. Feature 1 plan view photograph (Nununyi). (Source: Greene 1995)

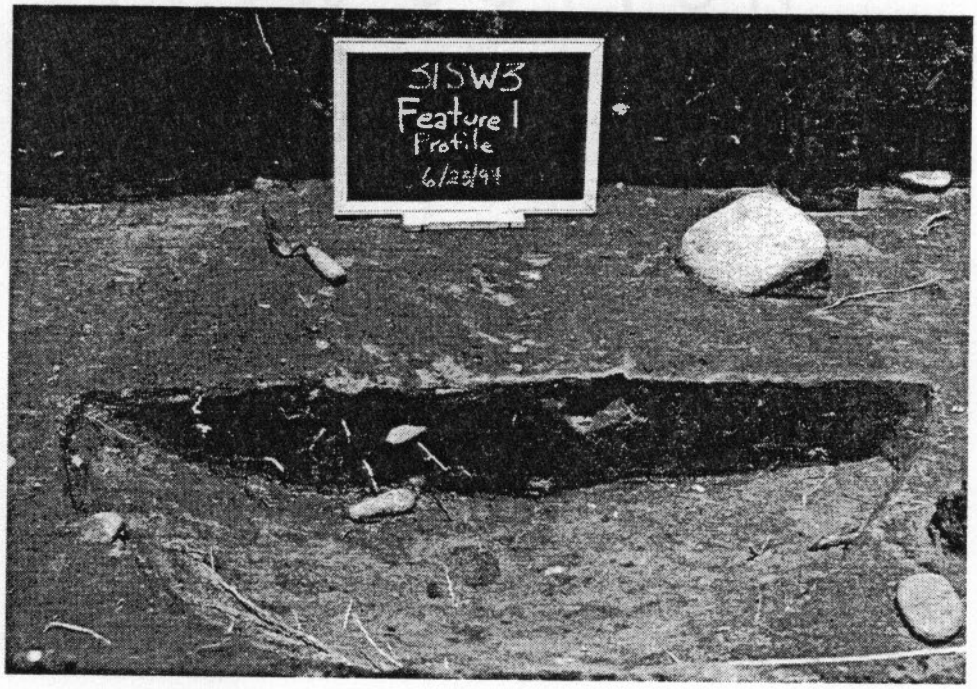


Figure 19. Feature 1 profile photograph (Nununyi). (Source: Greene 1995)

midden/subsoil interface. Probing of the two features revealed that both contained single layers of brown silt loam fill. No material was observed on the surface of either.

Qualla Series Ceramics

Ceramics recovered from 31SW3 during the Qualla Boundary survey include a majority of Qualla series sherds and a small amount of Woodland and Mississippian period sherds. Only the Qualla series sherds are discussed in the text (Table 3), although all ceramic data are presented in Appendix A. Qualla series sherds were recovered from a variety of contexts at 31SW3, but are discussed as a single assemblage. This is appropriate because the ceramics from different contexts are very similar in kind and percentages. All Qualla series sherds originate from when the site was most densely occupied.

Qualla series ceramics from 31SW3 represent an early Qualla phase occupation. Curvilinear complicated stamped constituted 74% of the assemblage (Figures 20 and 21). The stamping on these sherds is large, sloppy and often heavily overstamped, smoothed or obliterated. Egloff discusses this type in his study of historic Cherokee ceramics (1967), and it is has been referred to as being produced during the 16th or early 17th century (Riggs personal communication 1996; Wetmore 1990).

The recovery of only two Anglo-American artifacts (two glass beads) from the entire artifact assemblage is consistent with the Qualla series ceramics in suggesting a 16th or early 17th century occupation.

Table 3. Qualla Series ceramic data.*

Exterior Surface Treatment	31SW1		31SW3		31SW5		31SW6		31JK12		31JK32	
	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%
Complicated stamped**	493	77.5	457	74	109	6	536	71	4992	61.5	12	100
Smoothed	82	13	125	20	634	36	154	20	2419	30	0	0
Plain	17	2.5	14	2	821	46.5	15	2	128	1.5	0	0
Check stamped	12	2	7	1	12	<1	7	1	177	2	0	0
Simple stamped	0	0	2	<1	41	2.5	2	<1	51	<1	0	0
Cord marked	9	1.5	1	<1	82	4.5	5	<1	220	2.5	0	0
Brushed	0	0	1	<1	69	4	10	1	34	<1	0	0
Corncob impressed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	<1	0	0
Burnished	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	52	<1	0	0
Incised (cazuela bowls)	23	3.5	7	1	0	0	29	4	34	<1	0	0
TOTAL	636	100	614	100	1768	100	758	100	8112	100	12	100

*Qualla series sherds with unidentifiable surface treatments are excluded.

**Complicated stamped includes rectilinear and curvilinear stamped surfaces.

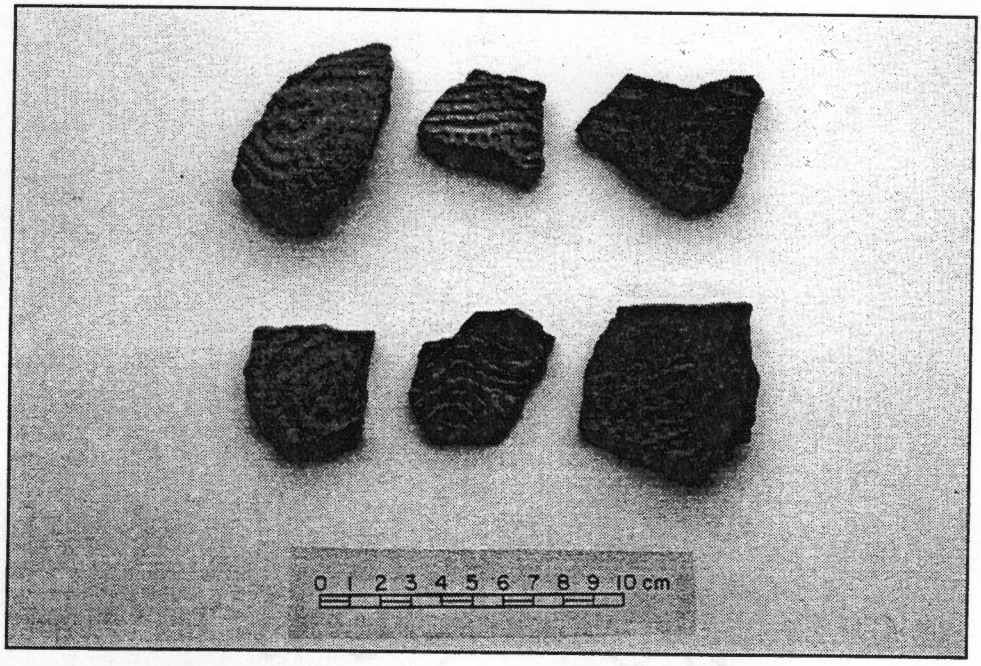


Figure 20. Qualla Series complicated stamped sherds from Nununyi/Birdtown. (Source: Greene 1995)



Figure 21. Qualla Series incised sherds from Nununyi/Birdtown. (Source: Greene 1995)

Summary

Testing of the Crowe property around Nununyi mound revealed information concerning the preservation of features and materials, variations in land use patterns, and soil deposition and stratigraphy.

The majority of archaeological deposits on the Crowe property seem to have been disturbed only by plowing, which has truncated an unknown portion of the features. No other disturbance was observed, excepting a narrow strip adjoining Acquoni Road which was impacted during road construction. Subsurface archaeological features are therefore relatively well preserved on the property.

Variations in the density of features and artifacts reveal the densest occupation of the site occurred nearest the mound, with more thinly scattered habitation in the southeastern section of the property.

The heaviest occupation occurred near the mound during the early Qualla phase (A.D. 1450-1650). Very little Qualla phase material was recovered from the central or southeastern sections of the property. Alternatively, the majority of Woodland period material was recovered from the southeastern section, on the terrace edge. Woodland period features may have been present in the northwestern section also, but were destroyed during the Qualla phase occupation.

Although Nununyi was most densely occupied during the early Qualla phase, historical records reveal its occupation during a portion of the 18th century. It appears on the Varnod census of 1721, the Herbert map of 1725, the Hunter map of 1730, and the Kitchin map of 1760. Beyond these four references, however, Nununyi is not specifically recorded.

It does not appear in documents during the 1750s in relation to the incident at Stecoe, or during Grant's attack of the Out Towns in 1761, Moore's attack in 1776, or Sevier's attack in 1781. Bartram, in his reference to Nuanha in 1776, is probably referring to Neowee, not Nununyi, as Wilburn (1950) suggested.

Birdtown (31SW6)

The Birdtown site consists of a mound (31SW6) and associated village (31SW7).The sites lie in a large floodplain, presently named Nick Bottom, on the north side of the Oconaluftee River (Figures 22 and 23). A large portion of the Birdtown village site (31SW7), directly northeast of the mound, is currently owned by Mrs. Lucille Beck, and was planted in tomatoes and tobacco. This section, consisting of 10.2 acres, was surface collected. Another piece of property also owned by Mrs. Beck lies at the west corner of U.S. Highway 19 and Bureau of Indian Affairs Road 45. This area, consisting of 2.25 acres, was in pasture and was also surveyed. The property which contains the largest portion of the mound remnant is owned by Mr. Ken Blankenship and consists of 1.15 acres. Subsurface test excavations were confined to Mr. Blankenship's property and Mrs. Beck's smaller plot.

Little is known about the prehistory of the site, due to a lack of controlled excavations. The densest occupation of the site was during the early Qualla phase, based on the large number of Qualla series sherds and associated artifacts which were recovered during surface collections and excavations.

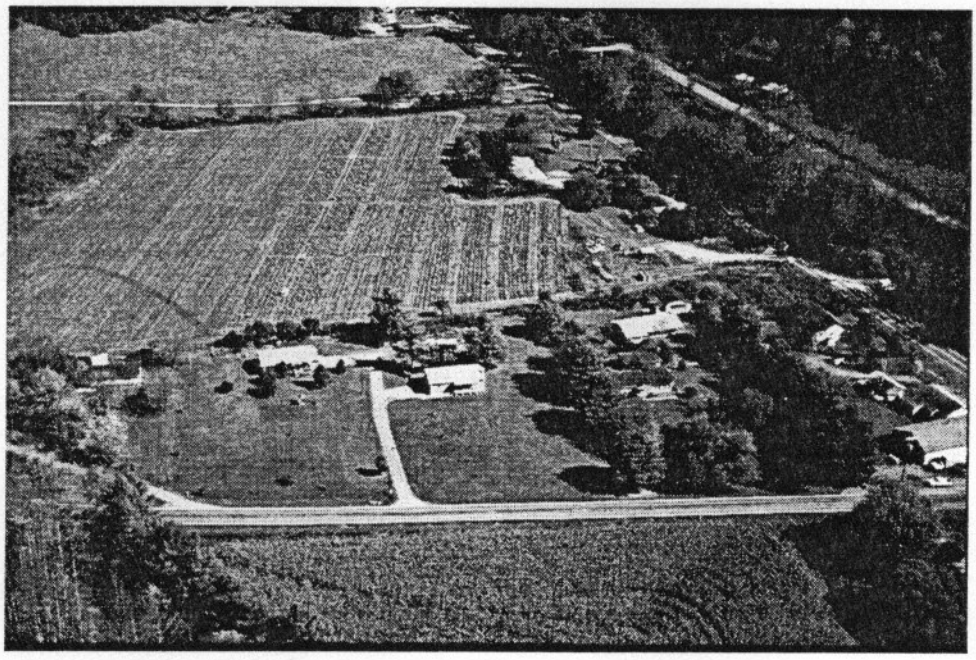


Figure 22. Aerial view of Birdtown (31SW6), facing east. (Source: Greene 1995)

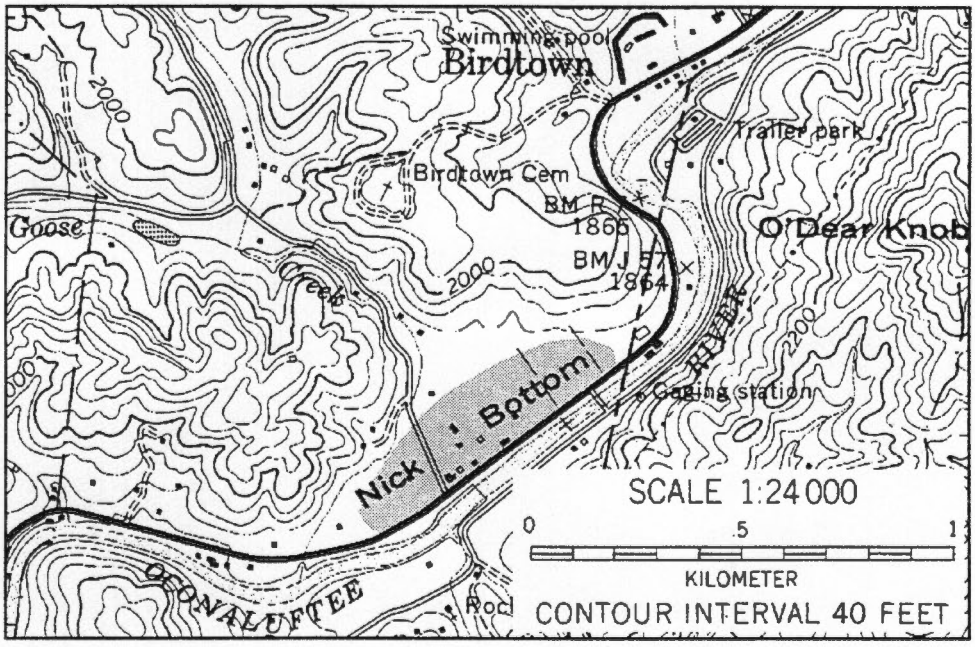


Figure 23. Location of Birdtown on USGS Whittier quad.

History of Archaeological Investigations

As with Nununyi, excavations at Birdtown began with the Valentine family during the 1880s. The Valentines record the mound as, before excavation, 8 ft high and 100 ft x 93 ft in diameter (Valentine n.d.). The mound was almost entirely razed during their excavations and only a low remnant of it is still visible. The Birdtown village area was not disturbed by the Valentine family. The only other disturbance to the mound or village since that time has been plowing for agricultural purposes.

Topography and Vegetation

The sites lie in a large floodplain, and topography is therefore relatively level, with low undulations across the entire area. The northern edge of the site rises slightly, and is the toe slope which leads to a narrow bench surrounding the majority of Nick Bottom. A controlled surface collection of the Beck property revealed that these slight variations in landform played a major role in the selection of habitation/activity areas during different periods of occupation.

Soils

Soils vary little across the site area, except for an intact midden deposit located near the mound. The general soil profile of the site is a plowzone-subsoil transition: the plowzone is a brown silt loam, 15-40 cm thick, and contains abundant Qualla phase material, while the subsoil is a compact orange clay. The midden deposit which was observed near the mound is situated between the plowzone and subsoil, and is a dark grayish-brown compact

silt loam containing Qualla series ceramics, chert debitage, burned clay, and charcoal.

Test Excavations

Test excavations on the sites consisted of two stages. The first involved the surface collection of the village area, while the second involved subsurface test excavations near the mound.

The first, and largest, section of the Beck property is northeast of the mound. The southeastern half of this field was planted in tomatoes, while the northwestern half was in tobacco. Both sections had recently been plowed and exhibited excellent visibility.

The surface collection of the southeastern half of the field involved working within the tractor-paths which had been left between the rows of tomatoes. The rows ran northeast-southwest, with approximately 1 m between each row. Spaced approximately every 10 m apart was a tractor-path used in spraying and harvesting. The paths were approximately 3 m wide. These were gridded in 15 m lengths and collected by row and unit number. Each unit was therefore 3 m x 15 m. Eight rows were collected, each containing from 6-14 units. The sample collected was about 23 percent of the whole area.

Surface collection of the northwestern half of the field (in tobacco) involved gridding the field into 30 m x 30 m units, which were collected individually. Twenty-one such units were collected in this area.

The second piece of property owned by Mrs. Beck was in pasture, and therefore survey began by close-interval probing. The entire plot (2.25 acres) was probed at 5 m intervals to identify stratigraphy and locate subsurface cultural deposits. Probing revealed

that the soil profile was similar to that of the village area northeast of the mound. Three cultural features were also identified during probing. One was examined by shovel test pit excavation and was a probable postmold. Several Qualla series ceramic sherds were collected within both the plowzone and postfill. The northwestern half of the field, which is slightly higher in elevation, contained the densest amount of cultural material and features. This area is probably associated with the occupation of the village site.

The Blankenship property which was tested currently contains two residences and a garage to the south and west of the mound remnant. The remaining property is in grass. Testing began by probing the entire area at 5 m intervals. A midden deposit was located on and around the mound. Located within the midden deposit were the remains of a burned structure with an intact hearth, approximately 25 m south of the mound center. Several other small cultural features were identified on the property, but were not tested.

The area around the burned structure was probed at 1 m intervals to better define the size and nature of the remains. Probing revealed a roughly square area, approximately 4 m on a side, containing a 2-13 cm thick deposit within the midden, consisting of large amounts of charcoal, burned daub, and ash. A 1 m x 1 m unit was excavated directly above the hearth identified during the 5 m interval probing. The unit was excavated to the surface of the burned area. Two other units were then excavated directly to the west of Unit 1 in an attempt to locate an edge of the burned structure. The edge was located along the southwestern wall of Unit 3. The surface of the hearth was then cleaned, photographed, and mapped, and all units were backfilled.

Excavation Units

Units 1-3 were contiguous and excavated in a line running northeast-southwest along the east side of the Blankenship property. The three units were excavated to the surface of the burned layer. The midden layer continued beneath the burned layer, but was not excavated. The remaining midden was probed to record thickness. The soil profile on the west wall profile of Unit 3 is as follows:

> Plowzone: brown silt loam, 20 cm thick, containing small amount of Qualla series ceramics and recent historic material (plastic, bottle caps).
>
> Midden Layer 1: compact grayish brown sand loam, 10 cm thick, containing abundant Qualla series ceramics, charcoal, and faunal material.
>
> Burned Layer: mottled soils containing orange, red, yellow and grayish brown silt loam, sand loam, and sand, 3 cm thick, containing small amount of Qualla series ceramics, charcoal, and faunal material.
>
> Midden Layer 2 (probed): compact grayish brown sand loam, 12 cm thick, amount of cultural material unknown.
>
> Subsoil: compact yellow clay.

The soil profile on the northeast wall of Unit 1 varied somewhat because of the depth of Feature 1, but all soil zones were present and in the same order. Midden layers 1 and 2 were indistinguishable in terms of soil color and texture. Midden Layer 1 is probably a continuation of Midden Layer 2, separated only during the time in which the surface of Midden Layer 2 was used as a structure floor.

Features

Two features were exposed during the testing and survey of the Birdtown mound and

village sites. Feature 1, a hearth located just south of the mound, was exposed in Unit 1 (Figure 24). Due to the intact nature of the hearth and its nearness to the mound, it was decided not to excavate the feature, but only expose its surface and record it. Feature 2, a posthole, was located on the Beck property southwest of the mound, and was exposed at the base of a shovel test pit. The upper half of the posthole was excavated to recover a sample of cultural material. The remaining postfill was probed to ascertain a depth.

Feature 1 lay underneath the thin burned layer in Unit 1. The burned layer was carefully troweled to expose the surface of the intact hearth ring. The hearth measured 81 cm in diameter, with the prepared clay ring generally about 15 cm in width. Information gathered during probing revealed the hearth consists of two layers; a prepared clay liner, covering the entire pit floor, ranging in thickness from approximately 10-15 cm, and within the liner a 19 cm thick layer of highly burned dense white ash containing abundant charcoal flecks and tiny bits of calcined bone.

Feature 2 was first identified during probing of the smaller Beck property. It was shovel-tested to gather information on age and contextual integrity. The posthole was approximately 20 cm in diameter, and 30 cm deep. Several Qualla series sherds were recovered from the plowzone above the postfill and within the postfill. The depth of the postfill suggests that large portions of the features present in the Beck field are still intact, having not yet been disturbed by plowing. This is also suggested by other features found during probing, which had subsurface depths ranging from 40-72 cm.

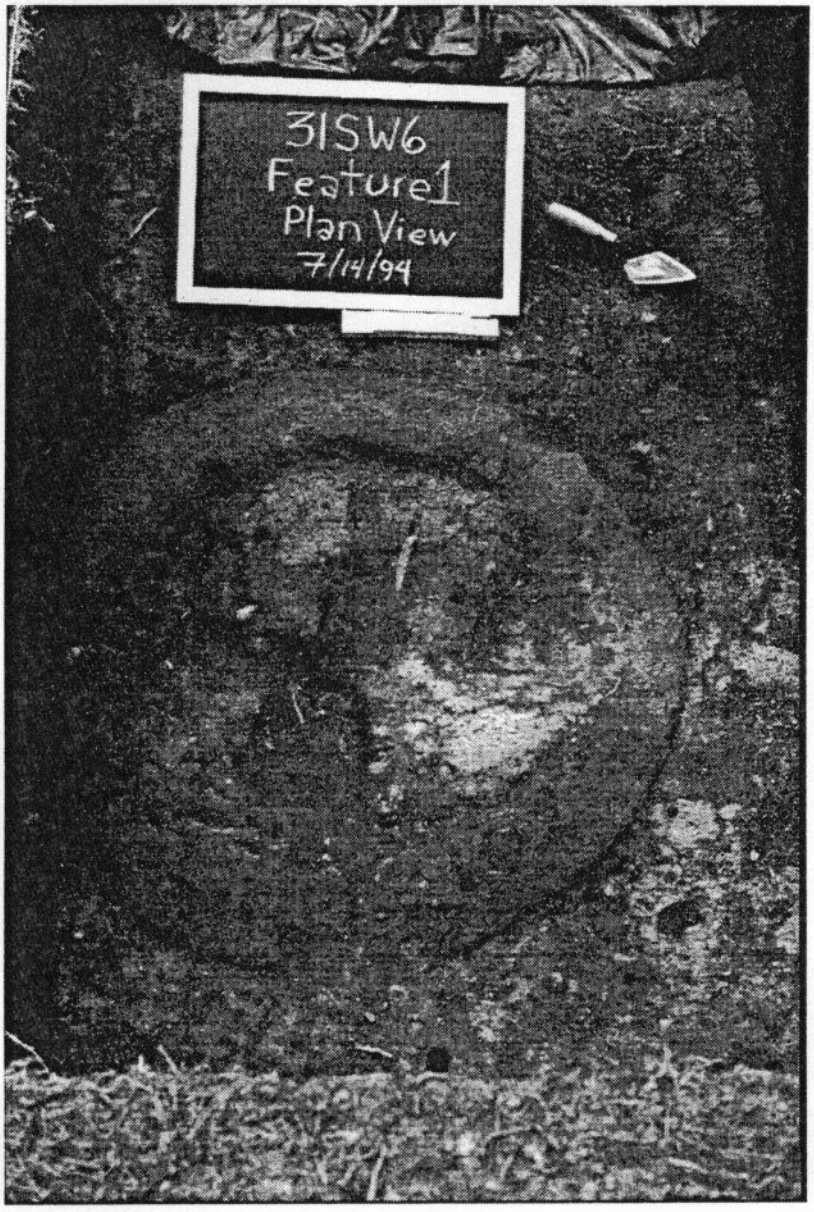


Figure 24. Feature 1 plan view photograph (31SW6). (Source: Greene 1995)

Qualla Series Ceramics

Most of the ceramics from 31SW6 were from the Qualla phase occupation and were recovered from the surface collection within the section of field planted in tomatoes. A smaller sample was also recovered from the smaller Beck field and the 1 m x 1 m units excavated on the Blankenship property. Curvilinear complicated stamped sherds constituted 71% of the Qualla series assemblage. All of the Qualla series ceramics from the site are discussed as a single assemblage (Table 3). Complete ceramic data from 31SW6 are presented in Appendix B. As with 31SW3, the ceramics represent a relatively short occupation, or at least consist of a very homogenous collection.

As with 31SW3, the Qualla series ceramics from this site represent an early Qualla phase occupation, probably 16th or early 17th century (Egloff 1967; Greene 1995; Wetmore 1990). The recovery of only two Anglo-American artifacts (a cut brass arrow head and an iron knife blade) supports an early date for the dense occupation of the site.

Summary

Most of the surface collection material was recovered just northeast of the mound, within the tomato field. The surface collection of this area recovered a very large amount of Qualla series ceramics, and faunal material, charcoal, burned daub, shell fragments, and a small amount of Anglo-American artifacts. Many of the Qualla phase sherds are larger than 2-3 cm in diameter, suggesting that subsurface features are still being disturbed during plowing. This is also suggested by the amount of well-preserved faunal material and large blocks of burned daub which was collected.

The northwestern half of the Beck property, alternatively, contained a relatively small amount of material. The majority of this section was at a slightly higher elevation. Almost all of the material collected from this area was either from the Archaic or Woodland periods. The material from different periods coincides well with the different landforms within the field northeast of the mound. These data agree with previous literature, which has generally defined the floodplains as not being densely occupied until the Mississippian period (Bass 1977; Keel 1976; Purrington 1983). Earlier occupations were often on benches and terraces above floodplains.

The densest occupation of Birdtown occurred during the early Qualla phase. However, it was also occupied later, as revealed by its appearance in the historical record under various names: Cunnulrasha and Oconelufty. Cunnulrasha was the name provided on Kitchin's map of 1760 (Figure 9). Wilburn (1950) correctly associates Birdtown with Cunnulrasha, and also that it was the first "camp" burned by Moore's troops on the Oconaluftee River in 1776 (Saunders 1890). Birdtown was later termed Oconelufty in the 1809 census by Davis (Riggs 1988).

It is probable that Birdtown never contained a large population during the late Qualla phase, although it appears occasionally in the historical record. As with the entire Out Town area, it was probably largely depopulated or abandoned after 1761. The 1809 census by Davis lists Birdtown (Oconelufty) as consisting of 45 people (Riggs 1988). This suggests that people had begun slowly returning to the area around the turn of the century.

Kituwha (31SW1)

Kituwha is located on a large floodplain on the north side of the Tuckasegee River between Bryson City and Cherokee, North Carolina (Figures 25 and 26). The mound (31SW1) and village (31SW2) portions of the site have long been recognized as containing dense Native American occupations, as illustrated by being the first two site designations in the county. The mound was reportedly plowed down in the 1930s by the landowner (Riggs, personal communication 1995). Only a remnant of the mound, approximately 1 m in height, exists at the present.

The mound and village were surface collected in the 1960s by Egloff (1967). The ceramic data, consisting of over 1000 sherds, are included in his study of historic Cherokee ceramics. Although Kituwha is among the best known and most visible sites in the county, Egloff's surface collection is the only controlled artifact recovery of the site.

Qualla Series Ceramics

Ceramics recovered by Egloff include Woodland and Mississippian period sherds. The bulk, however, represents the early Qualla series (Table 3). Egloff divided his surface collection according to 10 different areas, based on landform. However, the Qualla series ceramics are relatively homogenous throughout the different collection areas and represent the same early Qualla phase occupation of the site. Therefore, they are grouped and discussed as a single assemblage in this study.

In his analysis, Egloff (1967) did not differentiate between curvilinear and rectilinear complicated stamped surfaces. Keel (1976) followed this procedure during his analysis of

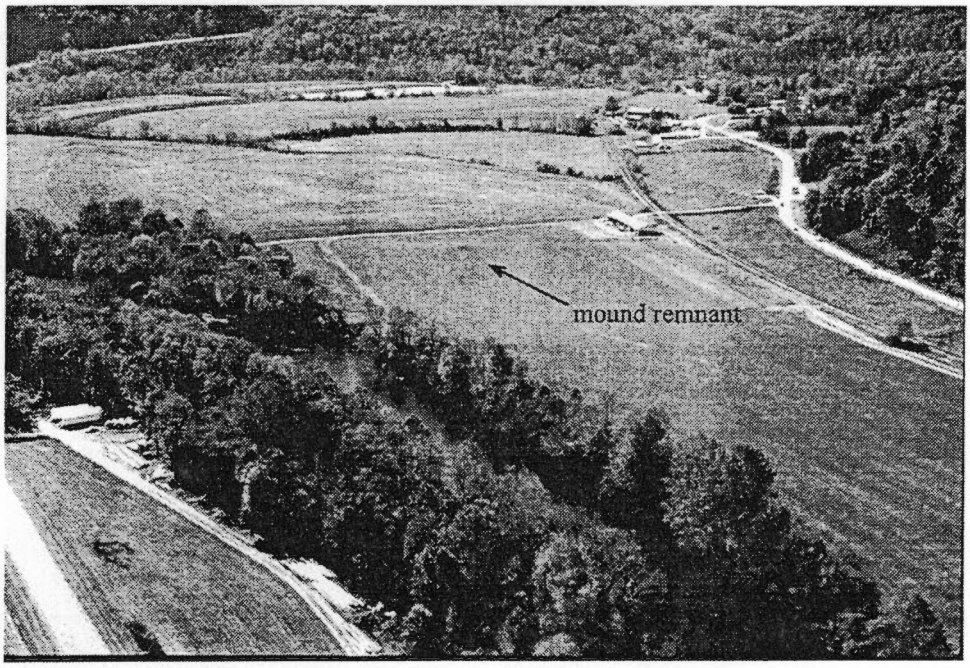


Figure 25. Site photograph at Kituwha (31SW1). (Source: Greene 1995)

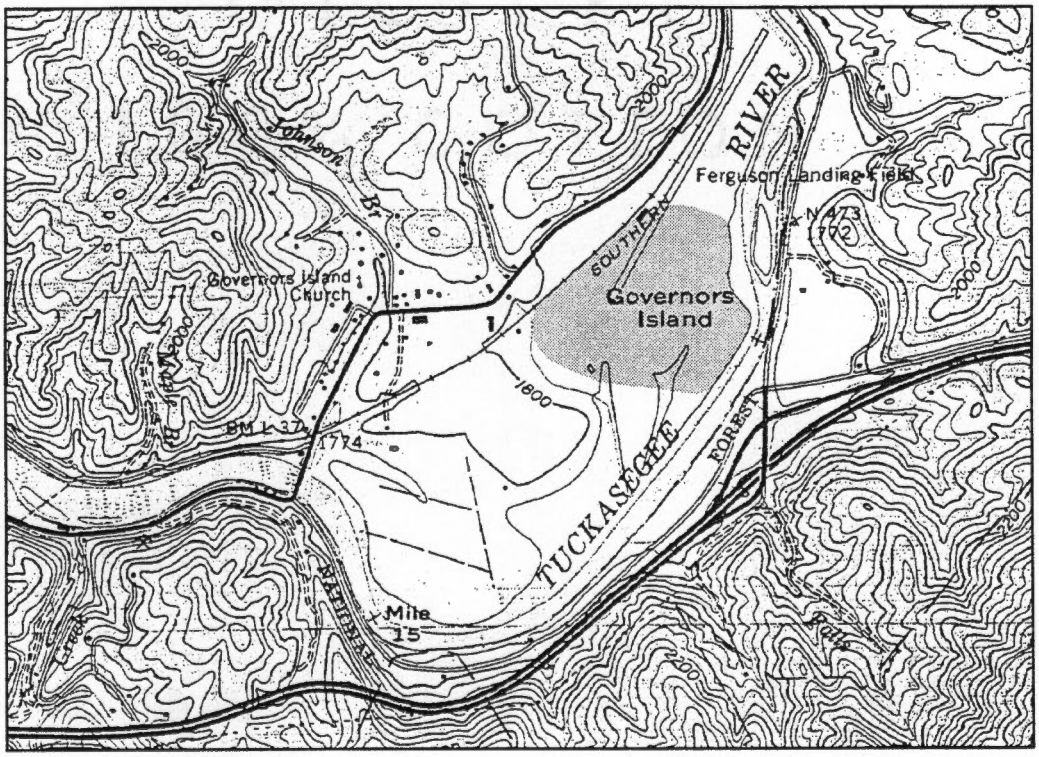


Figure 26. Location of Kituwha on USGS 7.5 minute Bryson City quad.

Qualla series ceramics from the Tuckasegee site (31JK12). While curvilinear complicated stamped sherds seem to be the most common of the two surfaces in most assemblages, Riggs (personal communication 1996) suggests that the presence and frequencies of the rectilinear form may be temporally sensitive. However, without these data from the Kituwha and Tuckasegee sites, the two forms are combined in discussion of surface treatments (Table 3).

Summary

The densest occupation of Kituwha occurred during the early Qualla phase (A.D. 1450-1650). However, there is much historical documentation which reveals Kituwha was occupied during the majority of the 18th century as well. Kituwha appears on the majority of maps produced throughout the 18th century, and appears in primary documents of various colonial governments, especially around mid-century (1750-1760). It is likely, however, that Kituwha, as with most towns in the Out Town area, was either largely depopulated or abandoned after its destruction by Grant's troops in 1761. Although Kituwha appears on two maps after this date (DeBrahm 1766; Figure 10, and Stuart-Purcell 1775; Figure 11), these maps were largely copied from earlier maps. It is likely that Kituwha, being one of the seven "mother towns" of the Nation, would be copied directly from other maps.

Conversely, it is possible that Kituwha existed, although reduced in size and population, throughout all or a part of this period. If this was the case, however, it is odd that the town was not recorded by Rutherford or Moore during their marches through the area in 1776, or by Sevier when his force burned Tuckasegee in 1781.

Although Kituwha does not appear on the 1809 census by Davis, it was re-occupied

by several families during the reservee period of 1819, including Yonaguska (Riggs 1988).

Ela (31SW5)

The Ela site is located between Bryson City and Cherokee, North Carolina, on Highway 19. It is situated on a second terrace approximately 180 m north of the Tuckasegee River (Figure 27). Excavations were performed in relation to the construction of East Elementary School by archaeologists from Western Carolina University under the direction of Anne Rogers and Ruth Wetmore. The excavated portion of the site encompassed 1.6 acres.

The scope of work identified four topics of focus during excavation: the regional cultural sequence, settlement patterns, subsistence, and technology (Wetmore 1990). Fieldwork included removal of the plowzone from a 5850 m^2 block with heavy equipment, mapping of all features, and excavation of approximately half of these (104 of 235). Feature fill was either waterscreened (1/2 in, 1/4 in, and 1/16 in) or retained for flotation.

Excavated Qualla phase contexts at the Ela site consisted of 33 features and five structures. The features consisted of hearths, borrow pits, storage pits, cooking pits, and burials. The five structures were all rectangular, ranging in size from 7.0-7.5 m wide x 7.0-9.5 m long.

Qualla Series Ceramics

Qualla series ceramics were recovered from surface collections, 1 m x 1 m test unit excavations, and features. In many of the features, Qualla phase and Middle Woodland

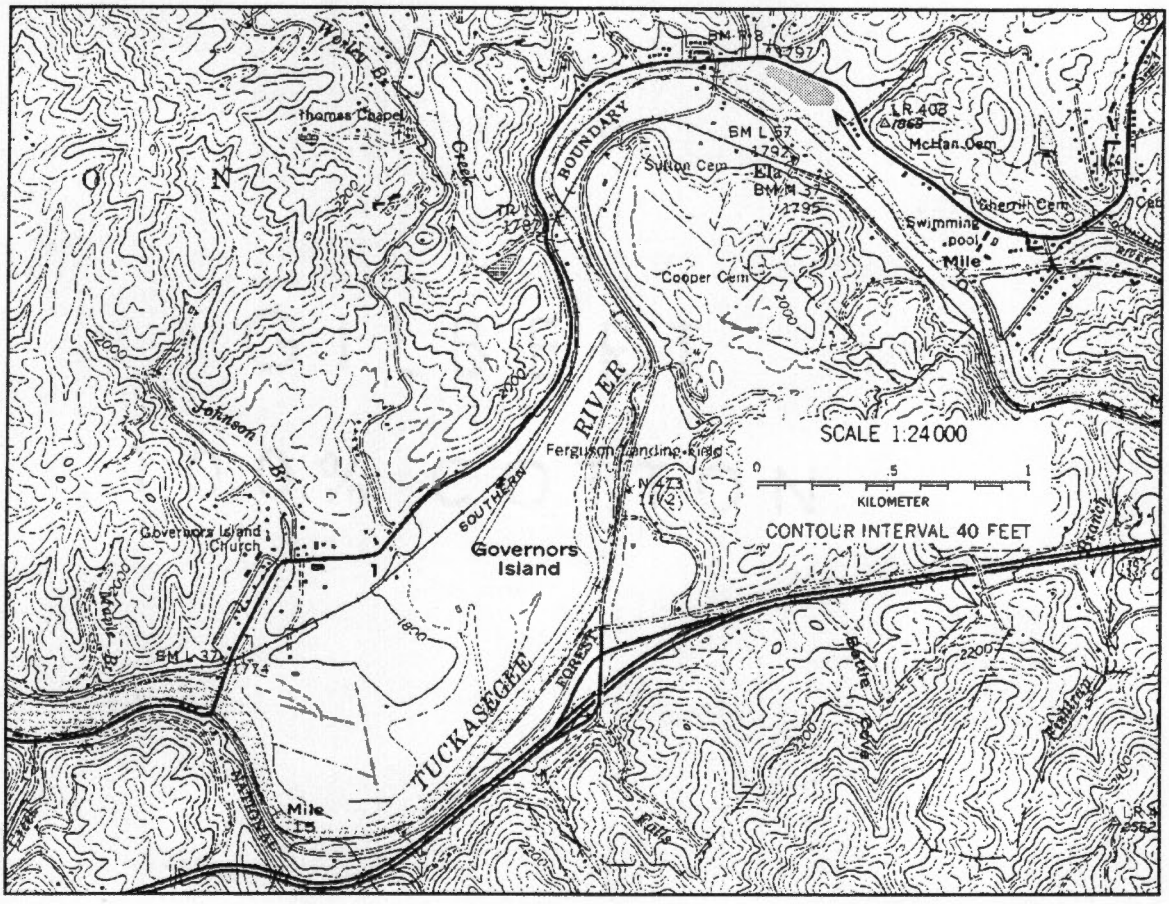


Figure 27. Location of Ela (31SW5) on USGS 7.5 minute Bryson City quad.

Connestee phase ceramics were recovered together. In these cases the features were generally defined as originating during the Qualla phase, with mixing of the earlier material occurring during use of the feature or its subsequent filling.

As with the Qualla Boundary survey sites, for study purposes the ceramic data from all contexts are presented as a single assemblage. The homogenous nature of the ceramics from all contexts and the relatively short occupation of the site make this method valid. The Qualla series ceramic assemblage from Ela is unique among the early Qualla phase sites. It contains a slightly higher percentage of Qualla series plain (46.5%) than complicated stamped sherds (42%) within the Qualla series assemblage (Table 3). However, both types are common in the early Qualla phase.

Summary

Although the Ela site is situated on a landform heavily occupied during the early and late periods of the Qualla phase, no record of the site exists in historical documents. No pre-20th century Anglo-American artifacts were recovered from the site, also suggesting that the site was not occupied at least after 1700, or possibly earlier. Wetmore (1990) suggests the site was occupied during the 16th century, based mainly on the lack of Anglo-American goods. The presence of a Citico style rattlesnake gorget in Burial 8 strengthens the argument for a 16th century occupation. Smith (1987) suggests these occur during the protohistoric period in the Southeast, after the Lick Creek style gorgets.

Tuckasegee (31JK12)

The Tuckasegee site was first recorded in 1963 by Edward M. Dolan. In 1964 a section of a burned structure was observed by the landowner's son. Upon hearing of the structural remains, the North Carolina Research Laboratories of Anthropology gained permission from the landowner to excavate on the property (Figures 28 and 29).

The area containing the burned structure was cleared down to the subsoil, and an arbitrary 10 ft^2 grid was established. A total of 1,075 ft^2 was exposed in this manner, excavated in a combination of 10 x 10 feet squares, 5 x 5 feet squares, and a 5 x 20 feet step trench down the face of the bank toward the Tuckasegee River (Figure 30).

The exposed circular structure measured 23 feet (7 m) in diameter. Single set posts formed the exterior wall, with four paired sets of interior posts. A raised puddled clay central hearth (Feature 4), measuring 3.6 feet (1.1 m) in diameter, was found intact. The hearth and floor of the structure had been capped by the burned clay of the roof. A large amount of cultural material was located within the structure, including two Qualla phase vessels.

Keel (1976) refers to the burned structure as a townhouse, based on the presence of a prepared central clay hearth. Excavations in the Tellico Reservoir in East Tennessee have revealed that this type of hearth was also constructed in residential structures (Schroedl 1986). The structure at Tuckasegee is also similar to Overhill residential structures in plan and size (Schroedl 1986).

Excavations and artifact analysis were divided into three broad contexts; pre-structure, structure, and post-structure. Although all three contexts contained a mixture of Archaic, Woodland, Mississippian period and Qualla phase artifacts, all the Qualla series

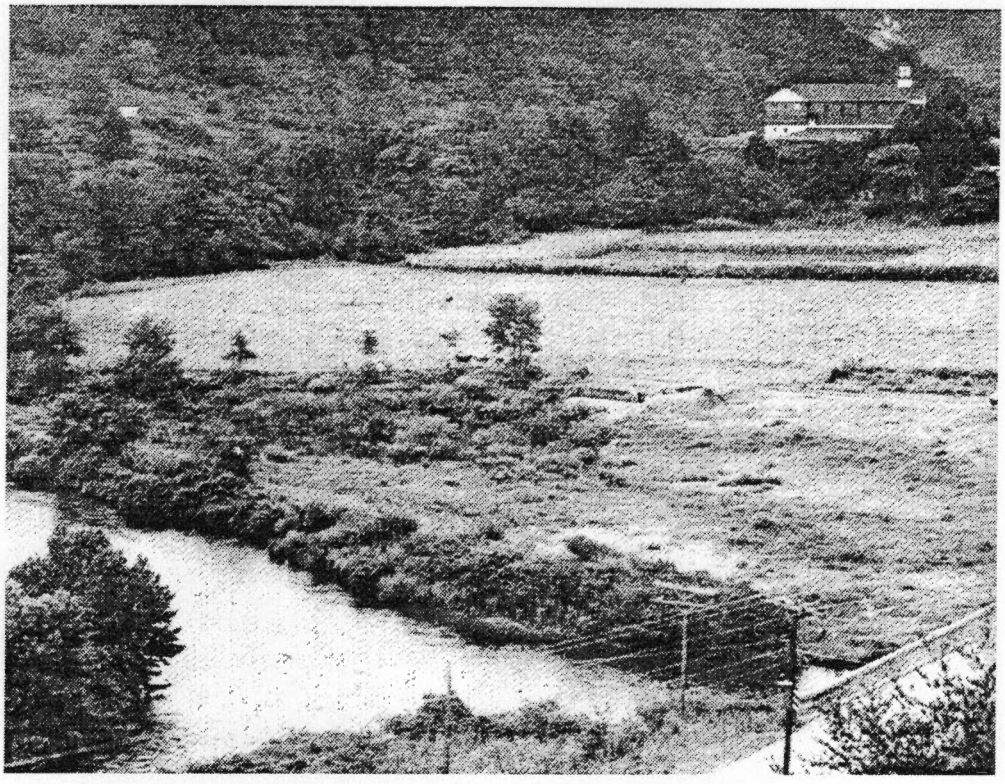


Figure 28. Tuckasegee site (31JK12), facing north. (Source: Keel 1976)

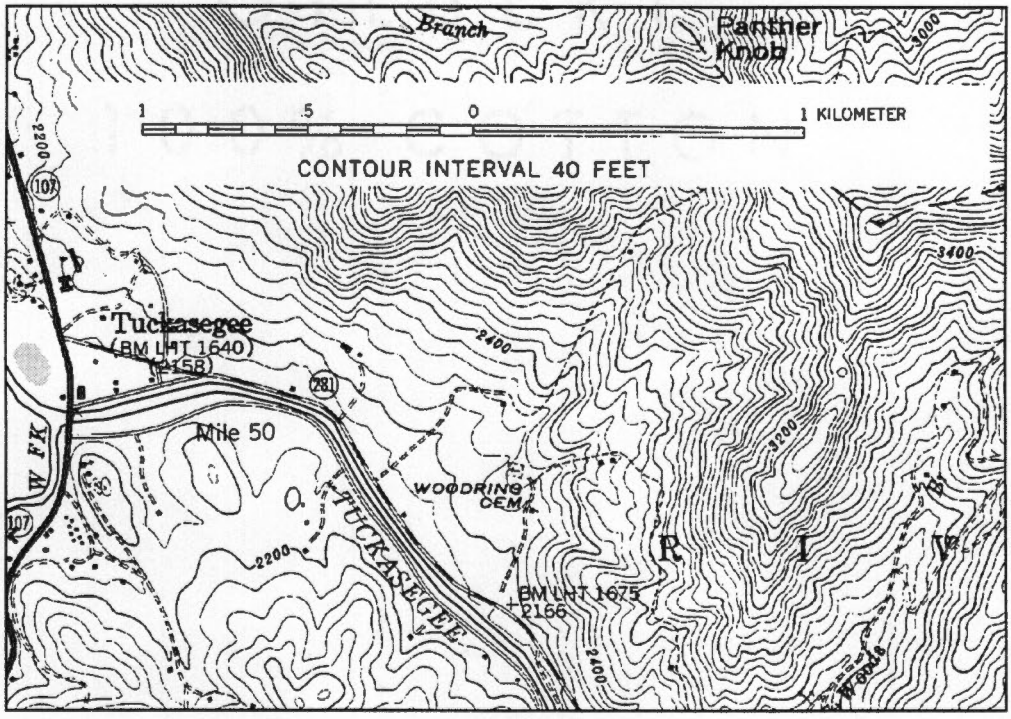


Figure 29. Location of Tuckasegee on USGS 7.5 minute Tuckasegee quad.

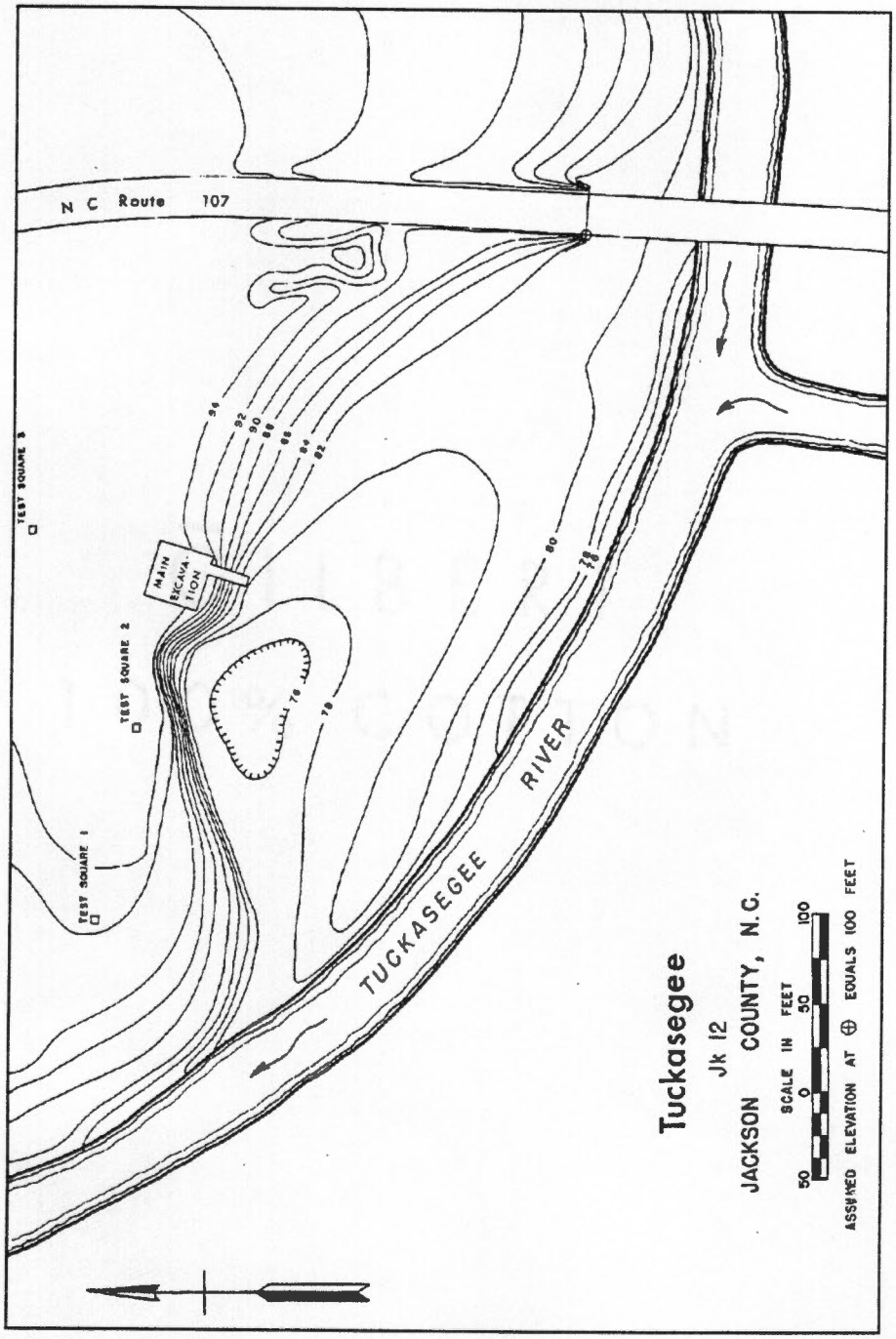


Figure 30. Plan map of Tuckasegee. (Source: Keel 1976)

ceramic data is combined as a single context in this study. The Qualla phase occupation of the site seems of short duration, and therefore the combining of these contexts is appropriate. Also, the proportions of different ceramic traits within the Qualla series sherds of the three contexts are almost identical, suggesting they are of the same timeframe.

Qualla Series Ceramics

Qualla series sherds, recovered from the pre-structure, structure, and post-structure contexts, make up 81% of ceramics from the site. The rest are from the Woodland period. Over half of the Qualla series assemblage consists of complicated stamped and complicated stamped-smoothed sherds (Figure 31 and Table 3). Plain, check stamped, simple stamped, and cord marked sherds make up about one percent each of the assemblage. The rest of the Qualla series assemblage from the site consists of rims and unidentifiable surface treatments (Keel 1976).

Anglo-American Artifacts

In addition to the numerous Native American items, 28 Anglo-American artifacts were recovered from the site. These include 26 glass beads, one dark green wine bottle fragment and one piece of iron. The glass beads allow a relatively tight dating of the structure. Although many of the beads were used over a long period between the 16th-18th centuries, a few of the beads can be relatively dated to the early 18th century (Riggs, personal communication 1996).

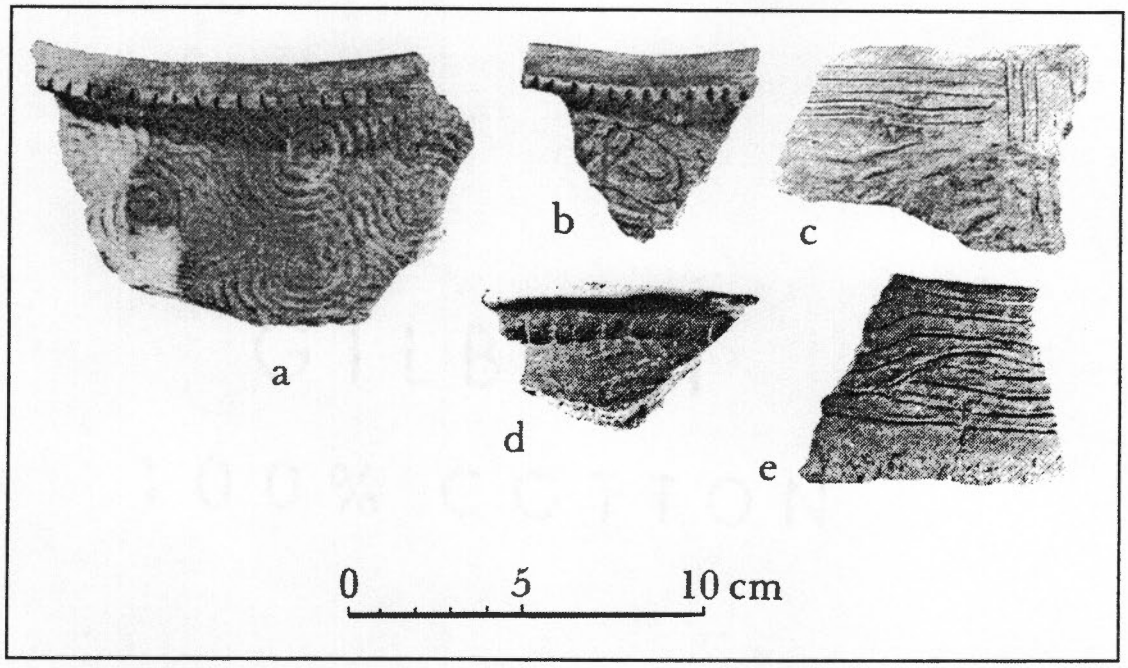


Figure 31. Qualla Series ceramics from Tuckasegee. a-b, curvilinear complicated stamped; c and e, incised neck and rim of Cazuela bowls; d, complicated stamped (indeterminate). (Source: adapted from Keel 1976)

Summary

The Tuckasegee site structure probably dates to the first two decades of the 18th century. A relatively small amount of Anglo-American goods was recovered from the site, although even this is somewhat surprising due to the period it was occupied. The structure was in use when contact and trade with the English was becoming established, especially in the more inaccessible areas of the Cherokee Nation.

Keel (1976) suggests that the structure at 31JK12 may have been burned during Rutherford's attacks in 1776, due to a radiocarbon date of 1775 from the structure. This is unlikely, for Rutherford burned no towns on the Tuckasegee River, and Moore, attacking a month later, burned only Stecoe. However, in 1781, Sevier burned the town of Tuckasegee with a cavalry force from Tennessee. It is unlikely that the excavated structure was involved, however, for it dates to approximately 60 years before this time.

Obviously, the limited excavations of a single site cannot be used to make broad statements about occupation of an area for an entire century. A lack of excavated contexts for this critical period in the Out Towns is problematic, and limits interpretations based on archaeological information.

Cullowhee Valley School (31JK32)

The Cullowhee Valley school site is located approximately 2 km south of Cullowhee, North Carolina. The site is situated on a low terrace of Cullowhee Creek, which empties into the Tuckasegee River at Cullowhee (Figures 32 and 33). It was excavated in 1992 by the North Carolina Department of Archives and History under the direction of David Moore.



Figure 32. Location of Cullowhee Valley School site (31JK32) on USGS 7.5 minute Sylva South quad.

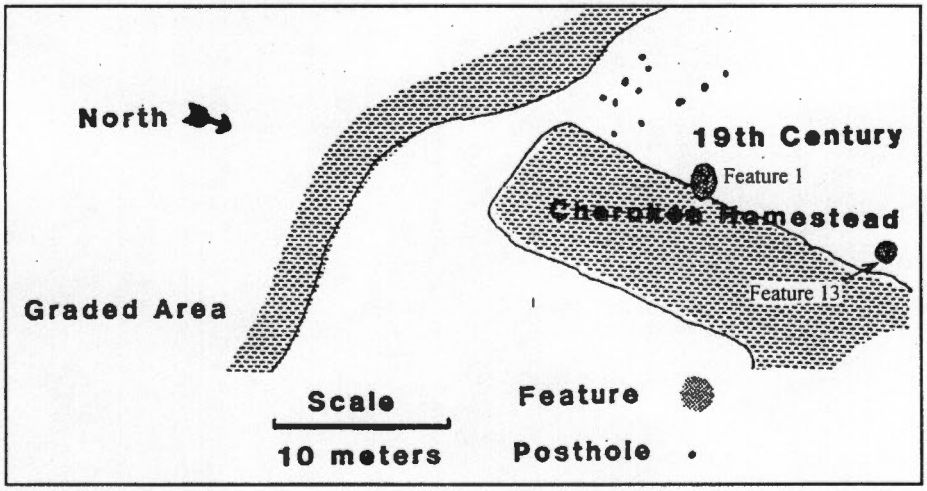


Figure 33. Plan map of Cullowhee Valley School site. (Source: adapted from David Moore n.d.)

Large portions of the site had been graded away by heavy equipment before construction was halted and the state was notified. Two adjacent sites were included in the excavations; 31JK32, which contained portions of a Late Woodland Napier phase village, and portions of an early 19th century Cherokee farmstead, and 31JK270, which contained a large portion of a Mississippian Pisgah phase village. Discussion of the two sites in this study is limited to the 19th century Cherokee farmstead, consisting of two pit features (Features 1 and 13).

Feature 1 was a large rectangular pit, measuring 114 x 82 cm. The pit had been truncated by heavy machinery prior to excavation. Depth of the feature was therefore only 10 cm. The feature is interpreted to be a cellar pit which would have been located beneath the cabin floor. Four postmolds, approximately 25 cm in diameter, were observed in the floor of the feature. It is unknown if the postmolds were associated with the 19th century occupation of the site.

Although the majority of the feature had been destroyed before excavation, a very large quantity of material was recovered. The artifact assemblage from Feature 1 includes 631 Qualla phase sherds, a large amount of various Anglo-American goods, glass beads, clay beads, lithic tools and debitage, faunal material, carbonized floral material, daub, and soapstone fragments (Moore n.d.).

Feature 13 was a circular pit, measuring 83 cm x 78 cm. It was also truncated by heavy machinery, with a depth of approximately 34 cm. It was approximately 11 m southeast of Feature 1, and is the only other feature conclusively associated with the 19th century occupation. Feature 13 contained 350 Qualla phase sherds, 258 pieces of debitage, 5 beads, 4 clay pipe fragments, 4 effigy fragments, a single piece of graphite, 37 pieces of daub, and

616 pieces of faunal material. No Anglo-American artifacts were recovered from the feature. Association with Feature 1 is based largely on the similar types of Qualla phase sherds recovered from each pit.

Qualla Series Ceramics

Material recovered from Feature 1 originally included 631 Qualla series ceramic sherds. Only 12 of these sherds could be located for this study. David Moore (personal communication 1996) suggests that all of the sherds were similar in paste, temper, and surface treatment. The Qualla series ceramics (Table 3) are all of the same type. Temper and paste were typical of the Qualla series. The surface treatment, however, was unusual for the period. All sherds analyzed by the author exhibited a rectilinear complicated stamped design (Figure 34). Studies of late Qualla series ceramics suggest that the most common surface treatments are check stamping and plain surfaces (Greene 1995; Kelly and Neitzel 1961).

The reason for the appearance and ubiquity (in this feature) of a heretofore unusual surface treatment is unknown. One explanation could be the lack of archaeological data for the late Qualla phase, especially in this area. Ceramic studies in other areas of the Appalachian Summit (Riggs, personal communication 1996) suggest that spatial variations in such traits may be great even between individual households. This may be related to the isolation caused by the mountainous terrain.

It is also possible that 31JK32 contains ceramics which are unique to, or rare, in the area. This is not unlikely, especially in an area which had undergone recent dramatic changes. The 19th century occupation at 31JK32 may represent a recent arrival by people



Figure 34. Qualla series ceramics from Cullowhee Valley School site.

from outside the area, including possibly the occupation by members of other tribes. Scattered movements by specific individual families and other small groups, however, are undocumented during the first years of the 19th century.

Anglo-American Artifacts

The Anglo-American artifacts recovered from Feature 1 were analyzed by Dr. Charles Faulkner at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Department of Anthropology. Although these artifacts make up a small percentage of the feature assemblage, tremendous variation exists (Figure 35). Anglo-American goods from Feature 1 include olive green rum/wine bottle fragments (n=12), clear glass (n=10), light green container glass (n=11), light amber container glass (n=12), lead glazed redware (n=3), pearlware (n=1), carved bone utensil handle fragments (n=3), a single-hole bone button, a white metal disc button, copper/brass plated straight pins with wire-wound heads (n=5), mercury/tin-backed mirror glass (n=2), an iron cut tack, an iron tinkler, tin container handles (n=2), an iron knife haft, iron pin fragments (n=7), spherical lead shot (n=2), an unidentifiable brass fragment, unidentifiable iron fragments (n=50), lead sprew (n=11), and glass beads (n=50). The straight pins and mirror glass fragments pre-date 1824. Dr. Faulkner states that the Anglo-American goods place the occupation in the first two decades of the 19th century. He suggests the Anglo-American assemblage may represent fragments of materials which were broken and fell through the floor and came to be deposited in or around the feature. The size of the Anglo-American artifact fragments is unlike that of the Qualla series sherds, which ranged from 4.5-13.0 cm in diameter.

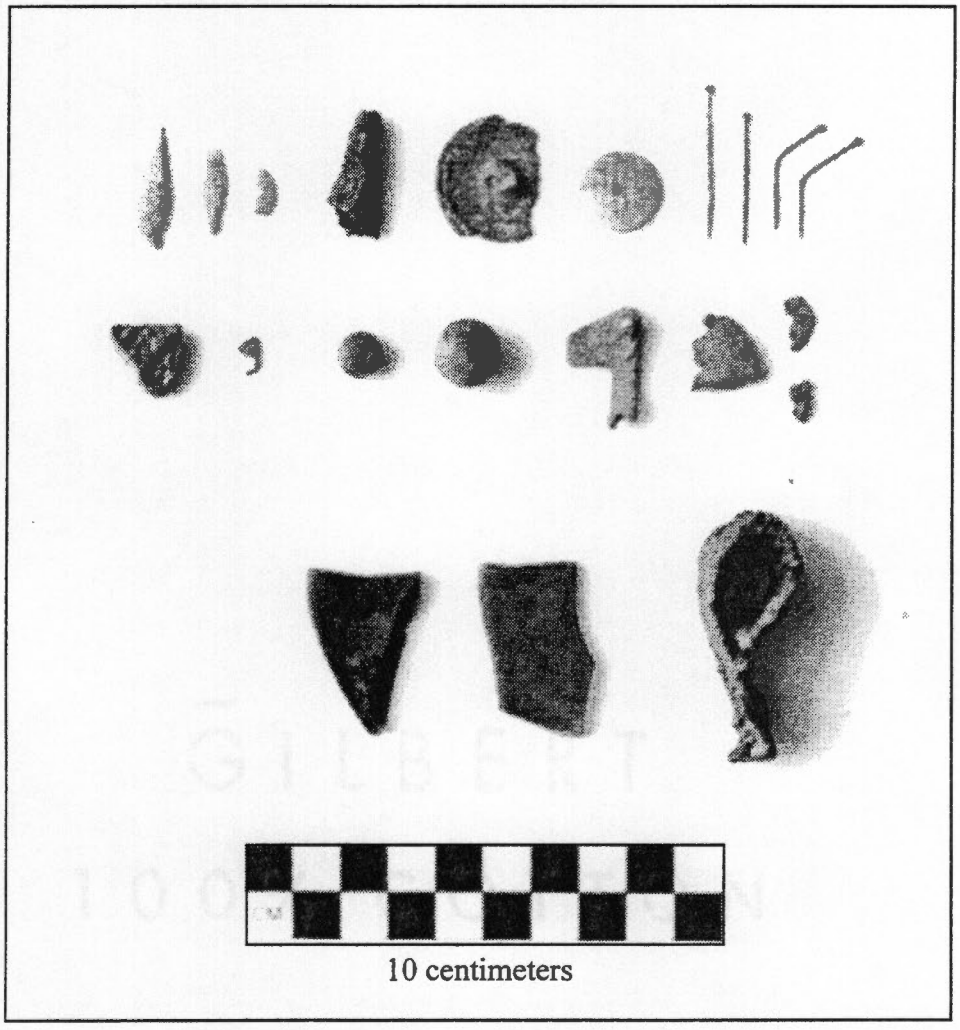


Figure 35. Anglo-American goods from the Cullowhee Valley School site (31JK32).
Row 1: incised bone utensil handles, iron tinkler, metal disk button, bone button, straight pins.
Row 2: redware, pearlware, lead shot, brass and iron fragments.
Row 3: olive-green bottle glass fragments, iron cup handle.

Summary

The 19th century occupation at 31JK32 is a unique archaeological context in the Out Towns. Very little is known about occupations on the Tuckasegee and Oconaluftee rivers after the turn of the century. It is probable that small numbers of people began returning to the area during this time. The only references to occupation of the area are from the 1809 census, which places occupations at Oconalufty (Birdtown) and at Dick's Village (Dick Walker's/present day Dillsboro), and the 1819 reservation surveys. Although no reservation was recorded on Cullowhee Creek, there were some located nearby on the Tuckasegee River.

The Cherokee context at 31JK32 seems to represent a 19th century cabin with a cellar pit (Feature 1). This pattern was common during the 19th century Cherokee occupations in all parts of the Nation, and was similar to the contemporary white subsistence farmers in the area. Location of the residence was also common for the period: on a narrow bench near and slightly above a small but constant source of water (Cullowhee Creek).

Conclusions

Dickens (1979) argues that there are many distinctions between Early and Late Qualla phase sites. He states that the Early Qualla phase (A.D. 1450-1650) is a continuation of the Late Pisgah phase, and includes many of the same characteristics: nucleated villages with mounds located on large floodplains, large-scale maize agriculture, and series of smaller villages and hamlets radiating outward from mound sites. Dickens (1979) defines the Late Qualla phase (A.D. 1650-1838) as a period of dispersal of the large nucleated towns, the

subsequent appearance of smaller sites which include single family farmsteads, and the utilization of an increased variety of landforms.

Synthesis of archaeological data in the Out Town area partially supports Dickens' statements. Sites such as Kituwha, Nununyi, and Birdtown are situated on large floodplains, contain mounds, and were densely occupied during the Early Qualla phase. However, a variety of other site types existed during the Early Qualla phase. Ela is probably much smaller than these three large towns, and may have been associated with the occupation at Kituwha. Occupation of small sites, including 31SW285 and 31SW286, occurred on benches or alluvial fans. It is apparent that a variety of landforms was occupied during the Early Qualla phase. Criteria for classifying sites as Early Qualla phase is therefore largely limited to material culture: the presence of curvilinear complicated stamped Qualla series sherds and the absence of Anglo-American artifacts.

The Late Qualla phase witnessed the increased utilization of a variety of landforms, although landform alone cannot be used as a temporal indicator. Late Qualla phase sites are determined by the presence of Anglo-American goods, and, after about 1750, the absence of incised Qualla series sherds (cazuela bowls), and a low percentage of curvilinear complicated stamped sherds.

Locations of all known Qualla phase sites in the Out Town area reveal occupations most commonly along floodplains and terraces of the Tuckasegee and Oconaluftee rivers. They tend to follow Hatleys' idea of linear settlements "snaking alongside rivers" (1989:227). This occurs especially at Kituwha (31SW1, 31SW2, 31SW5, 31SW163, 31SW165, 31SW166), in the Thomas Valley approximately 1 km upstream from Whittier (31JK5,

31JK16, 31JK17, 31JK19, 31JK21, 31JK22, 31JK177), on the Oconaluftee River near the mouth of Soco Creek (31SW10, 31SW15, 31SW17, 31SW285, 31SW286, 31JK7), and at Nununyi on the Oconaluftee River (31SW3 AND 31SW48).

Linear sites also occur on smaller landforms in several creek valleys. The densest occupations are on Cullowhee Creek (31JK32, 31JK33, 31JK34, 31JK113, 31JK139, 31JK140, 31JK161), Deep Creek (31SW150, 31SW151, 31SW152, 31SW153), and at the forks of the Tuckasegee River (31JK12, 31JK13, 31JK38, 31JK42). Other occupations include multiple sites on the Raven Fork River, which flows into the Oconaluftee River, and Caney Creek which empties into the Tuckasegee River.

Although these sites are not defined temporally, most are probably from the Early Qualla phase. Although Dickens (1979) defines the occupations in the Out Towns during the Early Qualla phase as nucleated, it is likely that the pattern was more similar to Hatley's (1989) description of linear occupations which could take advantage of the rich soils on long, narrow floodplains.

Four of the archaeological sites discussed (Kituwha, Nununyi, Birdtown, and Tuckasegee) represent historically documented towns, although the first three contain material mainly from the protohistoric period. Birdtown represents two historic occupations: Cunnulrasha during the mid-18th century and Oconelufty during the early 19th century. The remaining six historic towns (Stecoe, Tuckareche, Conuntory, Connawisca, Evanga, and Dick's village) have not been accounted for archaeologically. The largest of these is Stecoe, which is documented from 1721-1776. Wilburn (1950) suggests that the residence of William Holland Thomas (first chief of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians) was

constructed on the site of Stecoe. Little may ever be known about the site, however, for the present town of Whittier was built on the same location. Dick's Village (Dick Walker) was located at the mouth of Scott's Creek, at present Dillsboro. Riggs (1988) observed that the site of Dick's Village was probably destroyed or largely obscured by residential construction. Tuckareche was probably located around the mouth of Deep Creek, now Bryson City, and is also disturbed or destroyed. The archaeological sites of Conuntory, Connawisca, and Evanga may still be largely intact.

GILBERT
100% COTTON

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

This study combines the archaeological and historical literature pertaining specifically to the historic Cherokee Out Towns in the Appalachian Summit of western North Carolina. Discussion from these two kinds of sources focuses on three issues; periods of occupation of historically documented towns, changes in settlement patterns, and temporal changes in Qualla series ceramics.

In regard to the Out Towns, the Qualla phase can be divided into three periods. The first encompasses the early Qualla phase (Table 4). It is similar to the Early Qualla phase (A.D. 1450-1650) defined by Dickens (1979), but is extended to 1710, at which time contact with the English became more sustained.

The second period is from A.D. 1710-1761. This defines a period of intense contact and rapid dramatic change for the Out Town Cherokees. This 51 year period witnessed not only a greater increase in contact with the English, but also related occurrences of repeated epidemic diseases, increased hostilities and continuous encroachment by the English which eventually led to war, increased attacks from other native tribes, and a breakdown in the traditional economy and settlement patterns. The period ends with the virtual abandonment of the Out Towns.

The third period, A.D. 1761-1819, is characterized by minor re-occupation of the area, especially during the early part of the 19th century when the threat of warfare had passed. Re-occupation of the area was sparse during any time, however, and was

Table 4. Archaeological and Historical documentation of the Cherokee Out Towns.

Towns (by period)	Archaeological	Reference	Historical	Reference
1450-1710				
Kituwha	X	Egloff 1967		
Nununyi	X	Coe 1974, Greene 1995		
Birdtown	X	Coe 1974, Greene 1995		
Ela	X	Wetmore 1990		
1710-1761				
Kituwha			X	Saunders 1890, McDowell 1958
Nununyi			X	historical maps
Stecoe			X	Saunders 1890, McDowell 1958
Tuckasegee	X	Keel 1976	X	Saunders 1890, McDowell 1958
Tuckareche			X	historical maps
Cunnulrasha			X	historical maps
Conuntory			X	Saunders 1890, McDowell 1958
Connawisca			X	historical maps
Evanga			X	historical maps
1761-1819				
Kituwha			X	historical map
Stecoe			X	Saunders 1890
Tuckasegee			X	Virginia State Papers (Mooney 1900)
Oconelufty			X	1809 census (McLoughlin 1984)
Dick's Village			X	1809 census (McLoughlin 1984)
Cullowhee Valley School (31JK32)	X			Moore n.d.

characterized by the construction of single family farmsteads built by Out Town occupants returning from refugee towns elsewhere.

A.D. 1450-1710

This period contains the largest sample of archaeological sites and data presently documented for the Qualla phase in the Out Town area. Material culture data are available from Ela, Nununyi, Birdtown, and Kituwha. Although no radiocarbon dates have been recovered from these sites, several authors consider the main occupations to have been in the 16th and early 17th centuries, based largely on similarities with the late prehistoric Pisgah phase and scarcity or absence of Anglo-American goods (Greene 1995; Riggs personal communication 1996; Wetmore 1990).

Early Qualla phase occupation of the Out Town area was largely a continuation of Pisgah phase culture (Keel 1976). Large, nucleated towns, each containing a mound, were used as the center of religious, political, and social activities, and were surrounded by smaller villages, hamlets, and farmsteads situated on terraces, spurs and uplands (Dickens 1978; Keel 1976). Hatley characterizes the settlements as "linear, snaking alongside rivers" (1989:227). Subsistence was maize-based, and supplemented with hunting, fishing, and gathering.

Settlement during this period focused on floodplain or low terrace occupation. This is the case for all four of the sites used in this study for this period (Kituwha, Nununyi and Birdtown on floodplains, Ela on second terrace). Smaller villages and hamlets also existed on toe slopes, spurs, older terraces and in upland settings (Greene 1995; Keel 1976). These include 31SW285 and 31SW286, situated on a long, narrow bench above the Oconaluftee

River which extends from 31SW10 to 31SW17. The entire length of this landform may have been occupied during this period.

No historic records exist which define the Out Towns from this period. Kituwha, Nununyi and Birdtown are historically documented from the later Qualla phase. However, the densest occupation of these three towns occurred during the early Qualla phase.

Qualla series ceramics from this period can be described as the "classic Qualla series", i.e., that described by Egloff (1967). The characteristic ceramic traits include a majority type of large, sloppy, curvilinear complicated stamped wares. The majority of ceramic data presented in this study suggests this is the case for the early Qualla phase. The only discrepancy is the assemblage from Ela, in which there is a slightly higher percentage of Qualla series plain sherds than curvilinear complicated stamped. Both surface treatments were common in this period, however, and this amount of variation may not be surprising.

A.D. 1710-1761

The year 1710 has been used as the starting date for this period, because this is when the Cherokees began continuous relations with the English, especially in the more isolated areas of the Cherokee Nation. The appearance of the first detailed historical records during this period help define the rapid and dramatic changes experienced by the Cherokees. Sustained exposure to the English meant repeated episodes of epidemic diseases (Hatley 1993), increased warfare with Anglo-Americans and other native tribes (Corkran 1962), increased factionalism within the Cherokee Nation (Corkran 1962), widespread changes in economy and settlement (Dickens 1979), and finally abandonment of the Out Towns.

Historically documented towns during this period are Kituwha, Nununyi, Cunnulrasha (Birdtown), Stecoe, Tuckasegee, Conuntory, Connawisca, Tuckareche, and Evanga. These larger settlements were located on floodplains or wide terraces. Occupation of these larger villages occurred before populations in the Cherokee Nation began rapidly declining (Hatley 1993). Maps and historical references suggest that this period witnessed the largest number of towns and greatest populations (McDowell, ed. 1958, ed.1970; Saunders 1890). Smaller villages and hamlets were probably also located near these towns.

This period for the Out Towns is poorly documented archaeologically, with Tuckasegee as the only excavated site. Excavations revealed a large section of a burned structure. Recovered material includes Qualla series ceramics, lithic debitage, and a small amount of Anglo-American goods, including glass beads and green bottle glass fragments. The site has been relatively dated to about 1715, using the glass beads. No other structures were observed during the excavation. Although the excavations do not provide much information on land use, they do provide significant data on the arrival of trade goods during early contact with the English. The Tuckasegee site, located where the Tuckasegee River forks into north and south branches, is in an isolated area of the Appalachian Summit. The artifact assemblage suggests that even at an early date, trade goods moved quite freely through the Appalachian Summit.

Changes in Qualla series ceramics reflect changes in other aspects of life, such as trade. The cazuela bowl, which during the early Qualla phase was a very common vessel form, disappears from the archaeological record by 1750. It has been suggested that this native vessel form was replaced by the brass kettle (Riggs, personal communication 1996).

The only ceramic assemblage from the Out Towns during this period is from the Tuckasegee site. The Qualla series ceramics represent a common early Qualla series assemblage: a majority of complicated stamped sherds, with less common forms including simple stamped, check stamped, and plain surfaces. The ceramic assemblage from Tuckasegee is similar to assemblages from early Qualla phase sites. These sites as a group may represent the "original" Qualla series ceramics, before they, as all other cultural traits, underwent massive and rapid changes during the 18th century.

A.D. 1761-1819

Archaeological data and historical documents suggest that the Out Towns were largely unoccupied during this period. Historically, the Out Towns disappear from the record about 1761, after Grant's attacks. Destruction of towns and crops caused displacement of most of the Out Town inhabitants. Families moved to other parts of the Cherokee Nation, and refugee towns (e.g. Mialoquo, Tomotley, Seneca, Cowee) rapidly expanded in population. A detailed look at the specific causes of the abandonment of Cherokee towns during the 18th century is presented by Hatley (1993). His example is from Keowee in the Lower Towns, but the processes are applicable to the Out Towns.

Changes in settlement pattern, as with most other aspects of Cherokee life during this period, are dramatic. Settlements in the Out Towns during this period probably consisted of very small and scattered villages or camps. Moore (Saunders 1890), during the American attack on the Tuckasegee and Oconaluftee rivers, describes the habitations on the Oconaluftee River as small "camps". He does not refer to the camps as villages, or even refer

to the number or types of houses in each. On the Tuckasegee River, Moore destroyed the town of Stecoe, which had at that time 25 houses, where 60 had stood in 1761. Stecoe is the only town he refers to by name in the entire area, indeed the only place he describes as a "town". The "camps" which Moore referred to were probably small villages, containing a few houses and perhaps one or two families. He observed three such camps on the Oconaluftee River: one at Birdtown, one at the mouth of Soco Creek, and one further up Soco Creek. It is unknown if any villages were located further up the Oconaluftee River, for Moore went no further than the mouth of Soco Creek. He never reached Nununyi, and it is therefore unknown if the site was occupied during the American Revolutionary period. The area on and around the old town of Nununyi was probably occupied at this time, but was limited to the same small scattered camps as at Birdtown and on Soco Creek.

Settlement at this time may have largely been single family farmsteads, often placed in concealed areas such as in narrow creek valleys at higher elevations. These residences would have stood a better chance of remaining hidden, which was especially important during the last four decades of the 19th century. The Cullowhee Valley School site, situated near a small creek, represents a farmstead from late in this period.

The latter part of this period witnessed some revitalization. Historical and archaeological information suggest that re-occupation of the Out Towns began perhaps around the turn of the century. The 1809 census records the villages of Oconelufty (Birdtown), Dick's village (Richard Walker, present Dillsboro), and Tuckaleche village (probably at Deep Creek, presently Bryson City). Although the population of these three towns totals only 180 persons, it suggests that people were beginning to return to areas

abandoned during the second half of the 18th century.

Acquisition by several Cherokee families of 640 acre reserves in the Out Towns in 1819 increased the population dramatically. Sixteen such reserves were acquired on the Tuckasegee and Oconaluftee rivers. This was a small fraction of the total number of reserves given by the United States, and suggests that populations in the Out Towns were still relatively small.

Very little is known about Qualla series ceramics from the period. The Cullowhee Valley School site represents the only professionally excavated 19th century Out Town assemblage. The Qualla series ceramics from the site are all rectilinear complicated stamped. Studies from other parts of the Cherokee Nation suggest that the most common surface treatments are check stamped and plain (Greene 1995; Kelly and Neitzel 1961). The unusual sherds from the Cullowhee Valley School site may reflect the complexities of the period: constant movement by people from all over the Cherokee Nation occurred during this period. Refugees moved to different parts of the Nation as different towns were destroyed by the Americans. The unusual ceramics from the site may represent the dislocation of a group from another part of the Nation, or possibly from another tribe.

Summary

Egloff (1967) began archaeological research in the Out Town area by defining historic Cherokee ceramics of the Appalachian Summit, which he termed the Qualla series. Dickens (1976, 1979) and Keel (1976) broadened the study of the Qualla phase by presenting information on settlement and subsistence patterns. Since then very little has been written

about the Qualla phase, although much more fieldwork has been done. This study synthesizes the archaeological fieldwork in the Out Towns. It also synthesizes the primary historic documentation. Interpretation of Cherokee occupation of the Out Towns is based on these two sources.

Discussion of the archaeology includes a description of excavated Qualla phase sites and a summary of recorded Qualla phase sites in the Out Town area. Dense occupations are recorded for the Early Qualla phase (1450-1650). Sites decreased in size in correlation with population decreases throughout the 18th century.

Discussion of the historic documentation focuses on locating all British and American references to the Out Towns from the 18th and early 19th centuries. This search reveals a wealth of information from the period of first recorded Out Town contact with the English (1721) and through the Cherokee-English War (1759-1761). Documentation of the Out Towns decreased dramatically after this.

Syntheses of the two sources provides new interpretations of Cherokee occupation in the historic Out Towns:

1. Settlement pattern during the Early Qualla phase is long, linear sites lining the floodplains and terraces of waterways, such as at Kituwha, Thomas Valley, Nununyi, and 31SW17.

2. Early Qualla series ceramics consist of a majority type of curvilinear complicated stamped sherds, which lasts into the early part of the 18th century.

3. The Out Towns were abandoned or very sparsely occupied after their destruction in 1761.

4. Re-occupation after 1761 occurred as small scattered camps or villages, sometimes on previously densely occupied sites, such as Birdtown.

5. Later Qualla series ceramics (after 1761) are poorly understood: archaeologists have expected a majority type of check stamped sherds, while the entire assemblage at Cullowhee Valley School site (1800-1820) was rectilinear complicated stamped.

A focus on primary historical documents as well as the archaeological literature dealing with the Out Towns has provided not only an overview of the historic Qualla phase in the Out Towns, but also interpretations regarding the occupation of historic towns and archaeological sites, and variation in material culture. Syntheses of these sources have clarified the historic period in the Out Towns and corrected some historical inaccuracies. The Out Towns have less commonly been a focus of study than other parts of the Cherokee Nation, making this material an important contribution to the history of the entire Nation during the 18th and early 19th centuries.

Historical documentation reveals the constant struggle by the Cherokee Nation during the 18th and early 19th centuries. As with the entire Nation, the Cherokees of the Out Towns experienced a dramatic, and often tragic, history. Yet their isolation in the rugged mountains of the Appalachian Summit forced on them an independence, and a strong and lasting traditionalism, which other members of the tribe may not have embraced. Abandonment of the Out Towns finally became a necessity in the last decades of the 18th century, but a revitalization of their land by the Ani'-Kitu'hwagi became a reality. In learning to adapt and

succeed in spite of the Americans, the Cherokees of the Out Towns reclaimed a portion of their homeland. These same people still retain the land, as the Eastern Band of the Cherokee Indians.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Appendix A. Nununyi (31SW3) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip treatment	Lip form	N=
surface coll. unit 1	1-2 cm	grit						3
surface coll. unit 1	2-3 cm	grit						57
surface coll. unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	residual					1
surface coll. unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					3
surface coll. unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	plain					2
surface coll. unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					10
surface coll. unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					4
surface coll. unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					17
surface coll. unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit 1	3-4 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted			1
surface coll. unit 1	3-4 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit 1	3-4 cm	grit		smoothed	inverted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit 1	3-4 cm	grit			everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit 1	3-4 cm	grit		vertically notched rimstrip	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit 1	3-4 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					4
surface coll. unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	plain	punctate	everted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit 1	4-5 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)	linear stamped (indet.)	inverted	plain	5	1
surface coll. unit 1	5-6 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit 1	5-6 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit 1	6-7 cm	grit		punctate	everted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit 1	2-3 cm	no temper		plain	everted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit 2	1-2 cm	grit						24
surface coll. unit 2	2-3 cm	grit						74
surface coll. unit 2	2-3 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit 2	2-3 cm	grit		vertically notched rimstrip	straight	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					10
surface coll. unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	residual					1
surface coll. unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					4
surface coll. unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	check stamped					1
surface coll. unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	cord marked					1
surface coll. unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					3

Appendix A. Nununyi (31SW3) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip treatment	Lip form	N=
surface coll. unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					15
surface coll. unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	incised (line-filled triangles)					1
surface coll. unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					3
surface coll. unit 2	3-4 cm	grit		vertically notched rimstrip	everted			2
surface coll. unit 2	3-4 cm	grit		plain	straight	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit 2	3-4 cm	grit		vertically notched rimstrip	straight	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit 2	3-4 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	straight	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit 2	3-4 cm	grit		vertically notched rimstrip	everted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit 2	3-4 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	straight	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit 2	4-5 cm	grit	smoothed					2
surface coll. unit 2	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					5
surface coll. unit 2	4-5 cm	grit	check stamped					1
surface coll. unit 2	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					5
surface coll. unit 2	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit 2	4-5 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit 2	4-5 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	rounded	2
surface coll. unit 2	5-6 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit 2	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					3
surface coll. unit 2	5-6 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)	pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit 3	1-2 cm	grit						2
surface coll. unit 3	2-3 cm	grit						5
surface coll. unit 3	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					3
surface coll. unit 3	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					2
surface coll. unit 3	3-4 cm	grit		plain	straight	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit 3	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit 3	4-5 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit 3	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 1	1-2 cm	grit						474
test unit 1	1-2 cm	grit			everted	plain	flattened	1
test unit 1	1-2 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	flattened	1
test unit 1	1-2 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	5	2
test unit 1	1-2 cm	crushed shell						2
test unit 1	2-3 cm	grit						263
test unit 1	2-3 cm	grit			everted	plain	flattened	3

Appendix A. Nununyi (31SW3) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip treatment	Lip form	N=
test unit 1	2-3 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	flattened	4
test unit 1	2-3 cm	grit				plain	rounded	1
test unit 1	2-3 cm	grit			everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 1	2-3 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 1	2-3 cm	grit			inverted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 1	2-3 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 1	2-3 cm	grit		plain		applied strip	thickened	1
test unit 1	2-3 cm	crushed shell						2
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					10
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					15
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					21
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	plain					1
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					28
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	incised (indet.)					1
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	check stampeded					1
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					2
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit			everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	straight	plain	5	1
test unit 1	3-4 cm	crushed shell	residual					1
test unit 1	3-4 cm	crushed shell	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	smoothed					2
test unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					4
test unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					3
test unit 1	4-5 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted			1
test unit 1	5-6 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					2
test unit 1	5-6 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (lineblock motif)					1
test unit 1	1-2 cm	grit						58
test unit 1	1-2 cm	grit		plain	everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 1	2-3 cm	grit						38
test unit 1	2-3 cm	grit		plain	straight	plain	flattened	1
test unit 1	2-3 cm	grit		vertically notched rimstrip	everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 1	2-3 cm	crushed shell						1
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	residual					2
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					7

Appendix A. Nununyi (31SW3) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip treatment	Lip form	N=
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					7
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					6
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit		vertically notched rimstrip	everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip		plain	5	1
test unit 1	3-4 cm	crushed shell	cord marked					1
test unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					5
test unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	check stampeded					1
test unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	smoothed					1
test unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					3
test unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
test unit 1	5-6 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					3
test unit 1	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
test unit 1	6-7 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
test unit 1	7-8 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
test unit 10	3-4 cm	sand	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 10	3-4 cm	grit						2
test unit 11	1-2 cm	sand						2
test unit 11	2-3 cm	sand						2
test unit 11	2-3 cm	grit						2
test unit 11	2-3 cm	grit				plain	rounded	1
test unit 11	3-4 cm	sand	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 11	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 2	1-2 cm	grit						153
test unit 2	2-3 cm	grit						237
test unit 2	2-3 cm	grit		vertically notched rimstrip	everted			1
test unit 2	2-3 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 2	2-3 cm	grit		plain	straight	applied strip	rounded	1
test unit 2	2-3 cm	crushed shell						3
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					13
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					5
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					7
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					38
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	incised (indet.)					1
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	incised (indet.)					1
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit		vertically notched rimstrip	everted			1
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	flattened	1
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	flattened	1

Appendix A. Nununyi (31SW3) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip treatment	Lip form	N=
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit		linear stamped (indet.)		left oblique	flattened	1
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit		smoothed	everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit		punctate	everted	plain	5	1
test unit 2	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					6
test unit 2	4-5 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 2	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					4
test unit 2	5-6 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
test unit 2	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
test unit 2	5-6 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
test unit 2	1-2 cm	grit						34
test unit 2	2-3 cm	grit						30
test unit 2	2-3 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip		plain	flattened	1
test unit 2	2-3 cm	grit				plain	rounded	1
test unit 2	2-3 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					3
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					9
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 2	3-4 cm	crushed shell	residual					1
test unit 2	4-5 cm	grit	smoothed					1
test unit 2	4-5 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					3
test unit 2	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					4
test unit 2	5-6 cm	grit	simple stamped					1
test unit 2	5-6 cm	grit		smoothed	everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 2	8-9 cm	grit	simple stamped					1
test unit 3	1-2 cm	sand						3
test unit 3	1-2 cm	grit						1
test unit 3	2-3 cm	sand						5
test unit 3	2-3 cm	grit						6
test unit 3	3-4 cm	sand	plain					1
test unit 3	3-4 cm	sand	cord marked					1
test unit 3	3-4 cm	crushed quartz	complicated stamped (indet.)					3
test unit 3	1-2 cm	sand						6
test unit 3	1-2 cm	crushed shell						2
test unit 3	2-3 cm	no temper		plain	straight	plain	rounded	1
test unit 3	2-3 cm	sand						7

Appendix A. Nununyi (31SW3) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip treatment	Lip form	N=
test unit 3	2-3 cm	sand		incised (hachured)	straight	plain	flattened	1
test unit 3	2-3 cm	sand			everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 3	2-3 cm	sand		incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 3	2-3 cm	grit						5
test unit 3	3-4 cm	sand	plain					1
test unit 3	3-4 cm	crushed quartz	plain					1
test unit 3	3-4 cm	crushed quartz	smoothed					2
test unit 3	1-2 cm	crushed quartz						1
test unit 3	2-3 cm	crushed quartz						4
test unit 3	3-4 cm	no temper		plain	straight	plain	flattened	1
test unit 3	3-4 cm	crushed quartz	plain					3
test unit 4	1-2 cm	sand				plain	rounded	2
test unit 4	1-2 cm	sand		punctate		plain	rounded	1
test unit 4	1-2 cm	grit						434
test unit 4	1-2 cm	crushed shell						1
test unit 4	2-3 cm	sand						1
test unit 4	2-3 cm	grit						331
test unit 4	2-3 cm	grit				plain	flattened	1
test unit 4	2-3 cm	grit			everted	plain	flattened	2
test unit 4	2-3 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	flattened	1
test unit 4	2-3 cm	grit				plain	rounded	1
test unit 4	2-3 cm	grit			everted	plain	rounded	5
test unit 4	2-3 cm	crushed quartz						1
test unit 4	2-3 cm	crushed shell						5
test unit 4	3-4 cm	sand	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
test unit 4	3-4 cm	sand		rimstrip (indet.)	everted	plain	flattened	1
test unit 4	3-4 cm	sand		plain	inverted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 4	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					5
test unit 4	3-4 cm	grit	residual					6
test unit 4	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					5
test unit 4	3-4 cm	grit	plain					2
test unit 4	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					7
test unit 4	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					42
test unit 4	3-4 cm	grit	incised (indet.)					2
test unit 4	3-4 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					4
test unit 4	3-4 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (lineblock motif)					1
test unit 4	3-4 cm	grit		vertically notched rimstrip				1

Appendix A. Nununyi (31SW3) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip treatment	Lip form	N=
test unit 4	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)	pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 4	3-4 cm	crushed shell	plain					1
test unit 4	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					2
test unit 4	4-5 cm	grit	check stampeded					1
test unit 4	4-5 cm	grit	plain					1
test unit 4	4-5 cm	grit	smoothed					5
test unit 4	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					9
test unit 4	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 4	5-6 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 4	1-2 cm	grit						23
test unit 4	2-3 cm	grit						19
test unit 4	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
test unit 4	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					2
test unit 4	3-4 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (lineblock motif)					1
test unit 4	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
test unit 4	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
test unit 4	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
test unit 4	5-6 cm	grit	plain					1
test unit 5	1-2 cm	grit						173
test unit 5	1-2 cm	grit		vertically notched rimstrip	straight	plain	rounded	1
test unit 5	2-3 cm	grit						128
test unit 5	2-3 cm	grit			everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 5	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					4
test unit 5	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
test unit 5	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (figure 9)					1
test unit 5	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					7
test unit 5	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					25
test unit 5	3-4 cm	grit	incised (indet.)					1
test unit 5	3-4 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
test unit 5	3-4 cm	grit	plain	vertically notched rimstrip	straight	plain	flattened	1
test unit 5	3-4 cm	crushed quartz	residual					1
test unit 5	3-4 cm	crushed shell	plain					1
test unit 5	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
test unit 5	4-5 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (lineblock motif)					1
test unit 5	6-7 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
test unit 5	1-2 cm	grit						52
test unit 5	1-2 cm	grit				plain	rounded	1

Appendix A. Nununyi (31SW3) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip treatment	Lip form	N=
test unit 5	1-2 cm	grit						1
test unit 5	2-3 cm	grit						18
test unit 5	2-3 cm	grit		plain	straight	plain	flattened	1
test unit 5	2-3 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 5	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					1
test unit 5	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					3
test unit 5	3-4 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
test unit 5	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					2
test unit 5	4-5 cm	grit	plain					1
test unit 5	1-2 cm	grit						6
test unit 5	1-2 cm	crushed shell						2
test unit 5	2-3 cm	grit						9
test unit 5	2-3 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	flattened	1
test unit 5	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					2
test unit 5	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 6	1-2 cm	grit						212
test unit 6	1-2 cm	grit			everted	plain	flattened	1
test unit 6	1-2 cm	crushed shell						1
test unit 6	2-3 cm	grit						162
test unit 6	2-3 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	flattened	1
test unit 6	2-3 cm	grit				plain	rounded	2
test unit 6	2-3 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 6	2-3 cm	crushed shell						1
test unit 6	3-4 cm	sand	plain					2
test unit 6	3-4 cm	sand	check stampeded	check stamped	straight	plain	flattened	1
test unit 6	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					5
test unit 6	3-4 cm	grit	residual					3
test unit 6	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					3
test unit 6	3-4 cm	grit	check stampeded					1
test unit 6	3-4 cm	grit	plain					1
test unit 6	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					33
test unit 6	3-4 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					2
test unit 6	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 6	3-4 cm	grit						1
test unit 6	3-4 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip				1
test unit 6	3-4 cm	grit		'L' shaped rimstrip	straight	plain	flattened	1
test unit 6	3-4 cm	grit		vertically notched rimstrip	everted	plain	rounded	2

Appendix A. Nununyi (31SW3) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip treatment	Lip form	N=
test unit 6	4-5 cm	grit	plain					1
test unit 6	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					2
test unit 6	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 6	5-6 cm	grit	smoothed					1
test unit 6	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
test unit 6	1-2 cm	grit						26
test unit 6	2-3 cm	grit						17
test unit 6	2-3 cm	crushed shell						1
test unit 6	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
test unit 6	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					8
test unit 6	3-4 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
test unit 6	4-5 cm	grit	residual					1
test unit 6	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					6
test unit 6	6-7 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
test unit 6	6-7 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					4
test unit 6	8-9 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 7	1-2 cm	sand						7
test unit 7	2-3 cm	sand						5
test unit 7	3-4 cm	sand	plain					2
test unit 7	3-4 cm	sand	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 7	2-3 cm	sand						1
test unit 7	4-5 cm	sand	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 7	2-3 cm	crushed quartz						1
test unit 7	3-4 cm	crushed quartz	check stampeded					1
test unit 7	3-4 cm	crushed quartz						1
test unit 8	1-2 cm	sand						2
test unit 8	2-3 cm	sand						4
test unit 8	3-4 cm	sand	incised (indet.)					1
test unit 8	1-2 cm	sand						1
test unit 8	1-2 cm	grit						2
test unit 8	2-3 cm	sand						1
test unit 8	2-3 cm	crushed quartz						3
test unit 8	3-4 cm	sand	plain					1
test unit 8	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 8	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 8	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 8	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1

Appendix A. Nununyi (31SW3) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip treatment	Lip form	N=
test unit 8	7-8 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 9	1-2 cm	sand						6
test unit 9	1-2 cm	grit						2
test unit 9	2-3 cm	sand						2
test unit 9	2-3 cm	grit						2
test unit 9	3-4 cm	sand	plain					1
test unit 9	1-2 cm	grit						1
test unit 9	2-3 cm	grit						2
test unit 9	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
feature 1	1-2 cm	grit						28
feature 1	1-2 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
feature 1	2-3 cm	grit						30
feature 1	2-3 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	rounded	1
feature 1	2-3 cm	crushed shell						1
feature 1	3-4 cm	grit	residual					8
feature 1	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
feature 1	3-4 cm	grit	check stampeded					1
feature 1	3-4 cm	grit	plain					2
feature 1	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					7
feature 1	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					2
feature 1	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					6
feature 1	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
feature 1	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
feature 1	4-5 cm	grit	smoothed					2
feature 1	4-5 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					1
feature 1	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					4
feature 1	4-5 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
feature 1	5-6 cm	grit	smoothed					1
feature 1	5-6 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
feature 1	5-6 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					1
feature 1	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
feature 1	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)	pinched rimstrip	straight	plain		1
feature 1	6-7 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
feature 1	6-7 cm	grit		vertically notched rimstrip	everted	plain	rounded	1
feature 1	2-3 cm	no temper		plain	everted	plain	rounded	1
feature 1	1-2 cm	grit						12
feature 1	2-3 cm	grit						25

Appendix A. Nununyi (31SW3) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip treatment	Lip form	N=
feature 1	2-3 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	rounded	1
feature 1	3-4 cm	grit	residual					2
feature 1	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					3
feature 1	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					2
feature 1	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					5
feature 1	3-4 cm	grit				plain	flattened	1
feature 1	3-4 cm	grit		smoothed	everted	plain	rounded	1
feature 1	3-4 cm	grit		vertically notched rimstrip	everted	plain	rounded	1
feature 1	4-5 cm	grit	residual					1
feature 1	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					5
feature 1	4-5 cm	grit	brushed					1
feature 1	4-5 cm	grit	smoothed					1
feature 1	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					3
feature 1	4-5 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					2
feature 1	5-6 cm	grit	smoothed					1
feature 1	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
feature 1	6-7 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
feature 1	6-7 cm	grit	smoothed					3
feature 2	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
feature 2	6-7 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
feature 2	2-3 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
feature 2	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
feature 2	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
feature 5	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					1
shovel test pit 1	1-2 cm	grit						9
shovel test pit 1	2-3 cm	grit						7
shovel test pit 10	1-2 cm	grit						6
shovel test pit 10	2-3 cm	grit						10
shovel test pit 10	2-3 cm	grit		pinched rimstrip	everted	plain	flattened	1
shovel test pit 10	2-3 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	flattened	1
shovel test pit 10	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					1
shovel test pit 14	2-3 cm	sand		plain		plain	flattened	1
shovel test pit 15	1-2 cm	grit						1
shovel test pit 15	2-3 cm	grit						1
shovel test pit 2	1-2 cm	grit						3
shovel test pit 2	2-3 cm	grit						4
shovel test pit 5	1-2 cm	grit						1

Appendix A. Nununyi (31SW3) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip treatment	Lip form	N=
shovel test pit 6	1-2 cm	grit						2
shovel test pit 6	2-3 cm	grit						5
shovel test pit 6	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
shovel test pit 7	1-2 cm	grit						1
shovel test pit 7	2-3 cm	grit						2
shovel test pit 8	1-2 cm	grit						2
shovel test pit 9	1-2 cm	grit						8
shovel test pit 9	2-3 cm	grit						6
TOTAL								4169

APPENDIX B

Appendix B. Birdtown (31SW6) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip Treatment	Lip Form	N=
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						3
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	crushed shell						1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						76
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	crushed shell						1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	residual					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					4
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	plain					2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					12
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					8
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit			everted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit			everted	plain	rounded	2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					3
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	crushed shell	incised (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)	everted			1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						12
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						21
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						74
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						120
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit			everted	plain	rounded	5
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	crushed shell						2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					3
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					3
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					3

Appendix B. Birdtown (31SW6) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip Treatment	Lip Form	N=
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					5
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					10
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					7
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					11
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)				1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		smoothed	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	crushed shell	cord marked					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (figure 9)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					3
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	incised (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit			everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit		smoothed	straight	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						25
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit				plain	rounded	2
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						143
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit				plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit	incised (indet.)	incised (indet.)		plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit			everted	plain	rounded	7
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	crushed shell						1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					9

Appendix B. Birdtown (31SW6) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip Treatment	Lip Form	N=
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	residual					3
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					9
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	plain					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					14
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					28
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	incised (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit			everted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	incised (indet.)	incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit			everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	incised (indet.)	incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	crushed shell	residual					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (figure 9)					2
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	fabric marked					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					4
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						10
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit			everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						34
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					5
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	plain					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						6
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						7
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1

Appendix B. Birdtown (31SW6) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip Treatment	Lip Form	N=
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						41
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit		smoothed	inverted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						98
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		plain	inverted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		plain	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		smoothed	inverted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	residual					4
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					10
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					7
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	incised (line-filled triangles)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					17
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					3
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	rounded	2
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					4
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	smoothed					3
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					3
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	8-9 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						2
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						5
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						83
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	straight	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit			everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	crushed shell						2
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						147
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit			straight	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)	everted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	straight	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	straight	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)	everted	plain	rounded	2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	residual					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					9

Appendix B. Birdtown (31SW6) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip Treatment	Lip Form	N=
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (figure 9)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	check stamped					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					10
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					9
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					22
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	incised (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	simple stamped					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)				1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	flattened	2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)	rimstrip (pinched)	straight	plain	tapered	2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	tapered	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	crushed shell	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	plain					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					3
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	simple stamped					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)	everted			1
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)	rimstrip (pinched)	straight	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						21
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit		residual	everted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						94
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		stamped (indet.)	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					7
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	cord marked					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					11

Appendix B. Birdtown (31SW6) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip Treatment	Lip Form	N=
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					20
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)	plain	everted	punctate	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)	straight	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)	everted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit			everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (nested circles)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					5
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit		plain	inverted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						79
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit		plain	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						119
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		plain	everted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		punctate		plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit			everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit			inverted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					6
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	check stamped					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	plain					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					6
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					3
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					34
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	incised (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					4
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)	everted	plain	rounded	2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	crushed shell						1

Appendix B. Birdtown (31SW6) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip Treatment	Lip Form	N=
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					3
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (figure 9)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					3
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	7-8 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (figure 9)					1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						23
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						33
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					5
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	check stamped					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	check stamped					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					5
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		complicated stamped (indet.)	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	plain					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	plain					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit						1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						8
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						18
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit			everted	punctate	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit				plain	tapered	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	sand	plain					2
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						64

Appendix B. Birdtown (31SW6) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip Treatment	Lip Form	N=
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit				plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit				plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						76
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit			everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	tapered	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	crushed shell	plain					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	plain					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					6
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					6
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	incised (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)	straight	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	smoothed					2
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit	plain					1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						2
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						2
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						46
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						80
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit			everted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	residual					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (figure 9)					1

Appendix B. Birdtown (31SW6) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip Treatment	Lip Form	N=
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					6
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					6
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	incised (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)				1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	smoothed					2
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						17
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						97
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (herringbone)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					8
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	check stamped					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					3
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					17
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	incised (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	cord marked					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		smoothed	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	tapered	1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (figure 9)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					6
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	incised (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						9
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						19
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					4
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (nested circles)					1

Appendix B. Birdtown (31SW6) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip Treatment	Lip Form	N=
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						7
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						12
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					5
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						14
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						17
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					4
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit	simple stamped					1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						4
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						5
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						17
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						49
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit				plain	rolled	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					5
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					6
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit			straight	applied strippunct	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						5
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						12
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	straight	plain	rounded	1

Appendix B. Birdtown (31SW6) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip Treatment	Lip Form	N=
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						4
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit				plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						5
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (nested circles)					1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						3
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						3
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						9
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	sand	residual					1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						73
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)	straight	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit			straight	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit			everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	crushed shell	plain					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					4
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					5
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					5
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	tapered	1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					4
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	7-8 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (figure 9)	curvilinear comp. stp. (figure 9)	inverted	plain	tapered	1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						41
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit			everted	plain	rounded	2
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	crushed shell						2
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						81

Appendix B. Birdtown (31SW6) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip Treatment	Lip Form	N=
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	rounded	2
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	crushed shell						1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	residual					3
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					3
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (figure 9)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	check stamped					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	incised (indet.)					3
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					25
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)				1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)				1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	crushed shell		rimstrip (notched)				1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	plain					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (herringbone)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (figure 9)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit		incised (line-filled triangles)	inverted	plain	rounded	2
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						18
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)	straight	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						34
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					4
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)	straight	plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)	rimstrip (notched)	everted			1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit		rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)	straight	plain	rounded	1

Appendix B. Birdtown (31SW6) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip Treatment	Lip Form	N=
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						9
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						11
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	residual					1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						5
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						6
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (nested circles)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						6
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit				punctate	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						17
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	check stamped					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					3
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						16
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit				plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit			everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						8
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit			everted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						4
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						2
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						4
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						5
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						5
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	sand	plain					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit	residual					1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						1

Appendix B. Birdtown (31SW6) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip Treatment	Lip Form	N=
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						7
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit			everted	plain	tapered	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						11
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		incised (indet.)		plain	flattened	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	plain	plain	inverted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						35
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						41
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					6
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	rectilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)	complicated stamped (indet.)	straight			1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						20
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit				plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						21
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	rounded	1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					5
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	smoothed					1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						3
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						2
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	plain					1

Appendix B. Birdtown (31SW6) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip Treatment	Lip Form	N=
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						5
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit	residual					1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit	residual					1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	sand						1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	sand	simple stamped					1
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	sand	plain					1
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	crushed quartz						1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						2
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	sand	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	5-6 cm	sand	check stamped					1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						10
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						7
surface coll. unit	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					3
surface coll. unit	1-2 cm	grit						1
surface coll. unit	2-3 cm	grit						1
surface coll. unit	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 1	1-2 cm	grit						25
test unit 1	2-3 cm	grit						34
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	residual					1
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					2
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					1
test unit 1	5-6 cm	grit	smoothed					1
test unit 1	1-2 cm	grit						27
test unit 1	2-3 cm	grit						42
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	residual					1
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					2
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					3
test unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
test unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (figure 9)					1
test unit 1	5-6 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	rounded	1

Appendix B. Birdtown (31SW6) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip Treatment	Lip Form	N=
test unit 1	1-2 cm	grit						20
test unit 1	2-3 cm	grit						31
test unit 1	2-3 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 1	2-3 cm	crushed shell						1
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					3
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					6
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	flattened	1
test unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	brushed					1
test unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					3
test unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
test unit 1	5-6 cm	grit	brushed					1
test unit 1	1-2 cm	grit						45
test unit 1	1-2 cm	grit				plain	rounded	2
test unit 1	2-3 cm	grit						49
test unit 1	2-3 cm	grit			everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	residual					1
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	plain					1
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					8
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	cord marked					1
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					2
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					9
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)	everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 1	3-4 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					2
test unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 1	4-5 cm	grit						1
test unit 1	4-5 cm	grit		rimstrip (indet.)		plain	rounded	1
test unit 1	4-5 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)	everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 1	4-5 cm	grit	incised (indet.)	incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 1	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 1	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 2	1-2 cm	grit						29
test unit 2	1-2 cm	grit				plain	rounded	2

Appendix B. Birdtown (31SW6) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip Treatment	Lip Form	N=
test unit 2	2-3 cm	grit						65
test unit 2	2-3 cm	grit			everted	plain	flattened	1
test unit 2	2-3 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	residual					1
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					2
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					1
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	cord marked					1
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					2
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					7
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	incised (indet.)					1
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	incised (indet.)					1
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted			2
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	flattened	1
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	incised (indet.)	incised (indet.)	everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	incised (indet.)	incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 2	4-5 cm	grit	smoothed					1
test unit 2	4-5 cm	grit	incised (indet.)					1
test unit 2	1-2 cm	grit						23
test unit 2	1-2 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	flattened	1
test unit 2	1-2 cm	grit				plain	rounded	1
test unit 2	1-2 cm	grit			everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 2	2-3 cm	grit						44
test unit 2	2-3 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)	rimstrip (notched)		plain	rounded	1
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	brushed					1
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					3
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					2
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain		1
test unit 2	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 2	1-2 cm	grit						21
test unit 2	2-3 cm	grit						42
test unit 2	2-3 cm	grit			everted	plain	rounded	3
test unit 2	2-3 cm	crushed shell						3
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					4

Appendix B. Birdtown (31SW6) ceramic data.

Context	Size	Temper	Body Treatment	Rim Treatment	Rim form	Lip Treatment	Lip Form	N=
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	cord marked					1
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					3
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					5
test unit 2	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (punctated)		plain	rounded	1
test unit 2	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					4
test unit 2	5-6 cm	grit	brushed					1
test unit 2	5-6 cm	grit	incised (brackets and circles)	incised (brackets and circles)	inverted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 2	6-7 cm	grit	incised (line-filled triangles)	incised (line-filled triangles)	inverted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 3	1-2 cm	grit						48
test unit 3	1-2 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 3	2-3 cm	grit						142
test unit 3	2-3 cm	grit		rimstrip (pinched)	everted	plain	rounded	5
test unit 3	2-3 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	everted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 3	3-4 cm	grit	residual					1
test unit 3	3-4 cm	grit	smoothed					10
test unit 3	3-4 cm	grit	curvilinear comp. stp. (indet.)					1
test unit 3	3-4 cm	grit	brushed					3
test unit 3	3-4 cm	grit	stamped (indet.)					3
test unit 3	3-4 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					12
test unit 3	3-4 cm	grit	incised (indet.)					2
test unit 3	3-4 cm	grit						1
test unit 3	3-4 cm	grit		incised (indet.)	inverted	plain	rounded	1
test unit 3	3-4 cm	grit		rimstrip (notched)	everted	plain	tapered	1
test unit 3	4-5 cm	grit	plain					1
test unit 3	4-5 cm	grit	brushed					1
test unit 3	4-5 cm	grit	smoothed					2
test unit 3	4-5 cm	grit	brushed					1
test unit 3	4-5 cm	grit	brushed					1
test unit 3	4-5 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					1
test unit 3	5-6 cm	grit	complicated stamped (indet.)					2
test unit 3	2-3 cm	no temper		plain	everted	plain	flattened	1
TOTAL								4191

VITA

Lance K. Greene was born in Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua. He attended many public schools in Missouri, Colorado, and Tennessee, and later received his BA in Anthropology from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. He then spent some time in various archaeological field situations. Enrollment in Graduate School occurred after diagnosis of an advanced case of *digger's knee*. His MA in Anthropology was probably awarded by the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, in August, 1996. He is currently unemployed.