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learning tool. Professional archaeologists and lay persons will have fun browsing through the report, picking up interesting tidbits of information from the text, and staring at all the amazing illustrations. If you want data for comparison to include in your research, this is the place for a professional to come. Everyone who tours *Excavating Occaneechi Town* will see the very best excavation procedures. The Research Laboratories of Archaeology at Chapel Hill are renowned for their precision in excavation and recording. It is important for professionals to see good archaeology, to be reminded of what they should be striving for. But it is particularly important for students of all ages, when they are first exposed to archaeology, to see the very best work.

Note. *Excavating Occaneechi Town* requires an IBM-compatible computer with a VGA graphics display (capable of 640 x 480 pixels and 256 colors), a double-speed or faster CD-ROM drive, a 486/66 or faster processor, at least 8 MB of RAM (16 MB RAM for Windows 95), a sound card, a mouse or Windows-compatible pointing device, and 25 MB of available hard disk space. It runs equally well under Windows 3.1 and Windows 95. A demonstration version can be viewed on the world wide web at <http://sunsite.unc.edu/uncpress/occaneechi/>.

The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians Through the Era of Revolution, by M. Thomas Hatley. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1993. xvi + 320 pp., illus., endnotes, index. \$19.95 (paper).

Reviewed by Christopher B. Rodning

This excellent book reviews the history of interactions between Cherokees and South Carolinians in the eighteenth century, and it evaluates the effects of this interaction upon the southern Appalachian cultural landscape. Despite their mutual participation in the fur trade, colonial and Cherokee groups experienced these years of cultural interaction and exchange much differently. This metaphor of dividing historical paths comes from the actual trail that once led from lowcountry colonial outposts to the Cherokee homeland and, eventually, to other native communities. Cultural misunderstandings between native and colonial communities led to a series of intercultural wars that fed the flames of intertribal rivalries. After years of tumultuous interactions both

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native and colonial communities regrouped and began contending with the challenging prospect of living in a dramatically different cultural landscape. Throughout this book, Tom Hatley offers insights into how the deerskin trade and colonial wars of the eighteenth century changed the lives of Cherokees and Carolinians alike, and he makes the point that the cultural distance between the colonists at Charles Town and the native people of the southern Appalachian Mountains was much greater than the geographic distance spanned by the trails between them. The author reviews a wealth of ethnohistoric evidence about the Cherokees and colonial communities of the southern Appalachians, and his descriptions of primary sources and endnotes are a valuable resource for archaeologists studying the Cherokees and their neighbors.

The book begins by reconstructing the cultural landscape and communities of southern Appalachia at the dawn of the eighteenth century. The people who became known as Cherokees were living in villages in rich mountain woodlands that surrounded verdant gardens and overgrown clearings where former villages once stood. Placenames for abandoned old fields and current settlements often described local ecology, and many reflected a history of residents who spoke both Cherokee and Muskogean languages. From the descriptions in this book, it is evident that entire Cherokee communities moved every now and then from one Appalachian locale to another, often carrying their placenames with them. Given the geographic isolation of southern Appalachia from bustling mid-Atlantic colonies of the late seventeenth century, the initial effects of cultural encounter and interaction were less severe among the Cherokees than they were for some other native groups. The interaction among Cherokees and Carolinians changed its tone, however, with the momentum of the deerskin trade in the eighteenth century and the major changes in native lifeways that followed.

Initially, the Cherokees embraced opportunities for trade and the social dimensions of this interaction. Some Cherokee groups began to selectively adopt some forms of European material culture obtained in exchange for deerskins and adapted them to their own needs and desires. Some Cherokee leaders negotiated with European colonies to enhance access to trade. Even before the establishment of a permanent European presence in the southern Appalachian province, the Cherokees had experienced some cultural changes through the deerskin trade.

The tenor of this cultural interaction changed relatively rapidly as both Cherokees and Carolinians experienced deep growing pains in their relationships with each other. Concepts of diplomatic pluralism among

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Cherokees did not mesh with the Carolinians' expectations that alliances were firm and binding. Among traditional Cherokee communities, the prevalent egalitarian ethic valued decisions forged by consensus and allowed dissenters to pursue their own visions and policies as they deemed fit. Thus, one Cherokee group would not have considered itself bound by agreements made with colonists by another Cherokee group. These characteristics of political culture among the Cherokees caused significant consternation among colonial European authorities accustomed to negotiating with other European monarchies.

In the mid-eighteenth century, the Overhill Cherokees invited the South Carolinians and other colonies to build forts among their towns, but they soon began to change their minds about that decision. Cherokees often felt slighted by the demanding commanders of these outposts along the colonial frontier, and they voiced their dismay at inconsistencies in colonial trading policies and practices. Cherokees also became suspicious of colonial garrisons where only men came to live without any women and children, and where several native people were imprisoned and even killed. As colonial rivalries in the Americas simmered between France and England and their respective native allies, the Cherokees themselves became divided about allegiances to these competing colonial powers. These divisions compounded rivalries between the Cherokees and other native peoples, including the Creeks to the south and the Iroquois to the north. An irony of this swelling disenchantment between Cherokees and Carolinians for their new neighbors is that for many years, the colonial forts depended upon Cherokees for sustenance and survival. It was not long after the Cherokees had encouraged Carolinians and Virginians to build forts among their towns that they found themselves getting ready for war against both English and French forces, and their respective Amerindian allies.

Historians have widely dubbed the hostilities of the 1750s and 1760s as the French and Indian War, during which colonists and their native allies were pitted against each other throughout eastern North America. Those years of bloodshed in southern Appalachia peaked during a series of raids by South Carolina militias against Cherokee settlements along the Keowee and Little Tennessee rivers. Those campaigns against the Cherokee were driven by colonists' fears about alliances between the Cherokee and other native groups on the colonial frontier. The campaigns meanwhile reinforced the colonists' own perceptions of the status of South Carolina as a lesser counterpart of other English colonies in eastern North America where greater efforts were made by the English crown to

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deflect real and perceived threats by the French and their native allies. After their homeland was burned the Cherokee were certainly devastated, but South Carolina did not win any great peace of mind from the suffering of their presumed enemies. After the wars, Cherokee communities regrouped and began to advocate isolationism, mainly to avoid the risks of such arduous struggles against South Carolina. Meanwhile, the South Carolina colony as a whole grappled with deepening social rifts between colonial elites and backcountry settlers, colonists grew fearful of the perceived threats of Cherokee and metis communities at its geographic and social borders, and they began to guard those borders much more vigorously.

Trade in deerskins and woodland herbs diminished during the 1740s and 1750s while the Cherokees battled the Creeks and then the Carolinians, but it was rekindled in new forms after the French and Indian War and won great riches for many backcountry traders in western South Carolina. As these savvy traders made landmarks out of their own trading posts, many colonists from western Pennsylvania and Virginia moved down the Appalachians to settle along the Savannah headwaters. Continuing intercultural conflicts again ignited hostilities, and South Carolina began planning another series of raids against the Cherokees with the help of Virginia, Georgia, and North Carolina militias. As the American Revolution got underway during the 1770s, the colonists renewed raids on the Cherokees. In the wake of the American Revolution against British rule in the 1780s, militias continued to punish the Cherokees for their perceived loyalty to the crown. For a variety of reasons, the Cherokees often received the brunt of colonial frustrations no matter what they did or which side they favored.

By the last quarter of the eighteenth century, deep social rifts had formed among Cherokees and reflected different perspectives about cultural conservatism. The “Chickamauga Cherokees” had moved to the Tennessee River near what is now Chattanooga to live apart from nonnative communities. The “Virginia Cherokees” had earned that nickname from more conservative Cherokee factions for their efforts at negotiation and conciliation with Virginia and other colonies whose frontiers bordered Cherokee territory. Hatley makes an insightful point that this rift between cultural conservatives and those willing to negotiate with nonnatives was basically a division between different generations of Cherokee leaders. Elders favored negotiation to avert further devastation to their communities, while younger warriors were less willing to give away their land and cultural inheritance to colonists. This book

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effectively conveys the persistence of the egalitarian ethic among Cherokee communities, through which dissenters were not necessarily bound by the decisions of other groups. This tradition may have been a contributing reason for the tragic cultural devastation among Cherokees toward the end of the eighteenth century, by hampering any collective response to the colonial invasion of their homeland and their communities.

The book ends before the close of the eighteenth century, with Cherokee communities drawing from deep cultural memories of kinder days and creating rituals of cultural renewal and redemption, and before the formation of the Cherokee republic and the tragic years of Cherokee removal that were to come in the early nineteenth century.

One of the most fascinating chapters of the book is entitled “Rumble Parts,” which reconstructs the landscape of southern Appalachia as a cultural middle ground and the setting within which Cherokee groups and Carolina colonists interacted. Rather than describing this region as frontier wilderness, Hatley envisions it as a province well known to native peoples and the setting for interactions between native and colonial cultures, both of which changed and were changed by their neighbors. This viewpoint about the cultural landscapes of the colonial period is comparable to those of historians Francis Jennings, William Cronon, Timothy Silver, and others, who have studied the role of Native American communities in shaping the European-American colonial landscape.

That chapter leads nicely to the following, “At Peace with All Kings,” which makes the point that Cherokee traditions of diplomacy and alliance were drastically different than those of their Euro-American counterparts. Colonial authorities considered agreements with the Cherokees to bind these native “sons” to their colonial “fathers” according to the European model of a patriarchal family. For many Cherokees and other native groups, maternal “uncles” were more like “fathers” in the European tradition. Thus, the Cherokees would not have associated fatherhood with subservience and allegiance the way that their colonial counterparts would have. Negotiators representing the Cherokees further interpreted many agreements with colonists in the context of native traditions of diplomatic pluralism and saw nothing wrong with pursuing negotiations with the French or Creeks or anyone else without first getting English approval. Diplomatic misunderstandings due to vast cultural differences and distances were certainly common throughout the eighteenth century and were a major reason for much of the conflict between the Cherokees and their colonial neighbors.

A significant thread that runs through the whole book is Hatley’s

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insights about traditional gender roles among the Cherokees and Carolinians and how they affected the ways that people experienced cultural encounters throughout the eighteenth century. Among the Cherokees, women were clan leaders and farmers, and men were warriors, traders, and diplomats. Cherokee men actively pursued the deerskin trade, and they eventually adopted horse rustling to replace raiding as a practice through which they could enhance their prestige as warriors. Cherokee women tended traditional gardens, and they sold much of their produce to trading posts and colonial forts. Gender roles were much different among the colonists. In colonial society men were farmers and merchants while most women were not active contributors to what were perceived as the male realms of politics and economic markets. Hatley offers several insights about the social differences between commoners and elites within colonial society. Hatley is somewhat less clear about how gender roles might have varied according to wealth and class status in colonial society. Nevertheless, his treatment of social differentiation by class, gender, and culture adds considerably to his reconstruction of communities and social relationships among Cherokees and Carolinians alike.

Another thread richly woven throughout the book is Hatley's thoughts about changes in the southern Appalachian landscape. His descriptions of Cherokee placenames and the multi-ethnic character of many settlements point to the fascinating phenomenon in southern Appalachia of permeable social boundaries among linguistically and historically distinct groups. His descriptions of Cherokee villages and the Cherokee countryside, covered with verdant forests and coursed by tumbling mountain streams, further note how tended gardens and orchards, and old fields where settlements once stood, all fit within this landscape. Hatley describes how cultural memories were attached to landmarks and how perceptions of those landmarks changed throughout the tragic history of the eighteenth century. Hatley describes the changing layouts of townships, gardens, and hunting grounds, and the ways that native and colonial leaders negotiated for these spaces throughout the eighteenth century. He could have drawn upon a wealth of archaeological evidence about settlement patterns in southern Appalachia from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries to help illustrate some of his points and the tradition of settlement mobility among Cherokee groups. He also could have drawn upon studies by archaeologists and geographers to trace major social changes among the Cherokee of the eighteenth century to establish some background for the trends visible in the historic record. Despite these omissions, I think that Hatley makes a compelling

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case with the historical and ethnographic evidence alone. I would further note that Hatley based this book on his dissertation, which itself was written before many of these archaeological studies were published. Meanwhile, the relevant archaeological patterns as currently understood would only strengthen his arguments about what landscapes and communities among the Cherokees were like before the Carolinians came and afterward.

Archaeologists will find this book especially valuable for all its insights and references about Cherokee history and ethnography. There are descriptions of Cherokee towns and the surrounding countryside (see pp. 6, 9, 13, 15, 16, 126, 130, 138, 167, 195, 211, and 221), the changing roles and relationships of men and women in Cherokee communities (see pp. 8, 9, 38, 90, 96, 97, 148, 161, 214, 220, and 233), Cherokee political culture and economic strategies (see pp. 11, 67, 70, 76, 92, 93, 102, 139, 157, 158, 159, 165, and 218), Cherokee kinship and social identity (see pp. 12 and 225), Cherokee color symbolism (see pp. 12, 15, and 27), relationships between Cherokee groups and colonial traders (see pp. 39, 208, and 224), tensions between colonial patriarchy and matrilineal Cherokee societies (see p. 58), the mobility of Cherokee families and of whole villages (see pp. 82, 156, 223, and 225), multi-ethnic townships at Tugalo and elsewhere (see pp. 57, 61, 82, and 225), and the processes by which some Cherokee individuals joined other ethnic groups and by which people were adopted into Cherokee and other native societies (see pp. 57, 159, and 225). The careful reader will find a gold mine of references to primary sources in Cherokee ethnohistory. These sources are essential tools for understanding the vast archaeological datasets gathered from sites in southern Appalachia during the past century of fieldwork.

Archaeologists interested in native peoples of greater southern Appalachia should read this book for the following reasons. First, the Cherokees actively engaged in trade with traders from Charles Town but much less with outfits from the greater Chesapeake Bay region. Although the Virginians tried to establish trade relationships with the Cherokees even in the seventeenth century, it was the Carolinians who offered them viable markets for deerskins during the eighteenth century. Therefore, understanding the social history of interactions between Cherokees and Carolinians is especially significant to understanding native communities of the eighteenth century and the cultural changes that Cherokees experienced during those years. Second, the book offers a wealth of ethnohistoric details about the Cherokees and lesser named groups such as

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the Yuchis, Congarees, and others. Third, the book directs readers toward gender as a meaningful dimension of past Native American and European American communities and thus as an essential component of any study of that past. Fourth, the book considers the ways that both Native American and European American cultures changed during their history of interaction, but also notes the cultural traditions that persisted throughout those years. The book reads well and offers rich insights into the history of the Carolina colonies and the Cherokee. It sets a good stage for looking forward to the years of Cherokee removal or further back in the past to the ethnogenesis of the Cherokee.