

Archaeological Perspectives on Gender and Women in Traditional Cherokee Society

by Christopher B. Rodning

ARCHAEOLOGY AND CHEROKEE HISTORY

Archaeologists have cultivated an interest in gender as a topic worthy of consideration in their efforts to study the past. Some of the earliest books and essays about archaeological studies of gender concentrated on undoing the male bias of many archaeological narratives about the past,¹ many of which have presumed that gender roles in native North American communities and the distinctions between public and private spheres, for instance, are or were comparable to those in the minds of European American colonists who began exploring and settling the North American landscape in the sixteenth century. More recent archaeological studies of gender build upon some of those earlier critiques to specifically study gender and cultural change within specific communities;² their topics range from African chiefdoms, to Mayan hieroglyphs and monuments, to prehistoric Hohokam groups of southwestern North America, to the Iroquois of northeastern North America, and many others. One major point to draw from these scholarly studies is simply that understanding cultural traditions about gender roles and identities is a valuable step towards understanding the ways that people in the past have interacted with each other and the ways that they have created communities. Another important point is that the voices of women and other groups have often been unseen and unheard in narratives about the past. Looking and listening carefully for these voices can become a stepping stone towards ever richer interpretations about social and cultural history.

This essay reviews archaeological evidence about gender in native communities in southern Appalachia that likely predate or are contemporary with the historical moment at which the Cherokee became known as such in journals and letters written by nonnative colonists.³ First, I make some comments about what gender is, especially as it relates to the study of Cherokee culture and its history. Then, I review ethnohistoric knowledge about kinship and community in the eighteenth century, when Cherokee women held prominent places as clan leaders whose power and authority complemented that of the male chiefs and warriors who were leaders of

townships. These sections develop the background for my description and interpretation of archaeological evidence from the upper Little Tennessee Valley in what is now southwestern North Carolina. My focus is an archaeological site near the confluence of Coweeta Creek and the Little Tennessee. My conclusions offer some comments about how archaeological and historical studies of the Cherokee and other native peoples in southern Appalachia complement each other within the common interests of both disciplines in studying cultural continuity and change in the past.

My hope is that my writing and that of other archaeologists will reach not just other archaeologists and ethnohistorians but will speak to native people as well. Recently, archaeologists interested in Native American cultures and communities have begun to tackle this challenge.⁴ Ideally, both Native American people and the archaeologists who study their ancestors can both contribute to and learn from this exchange.⁵ This ideal is something that many archaeologists have begun to pursue.

GENDER

Perdue's book (*Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835*) about Cherokee gender and culture change in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries offers an interesting perspective on the way historians think and write about the past.⁶ Traditionally, historians have concentrated on major events and historically visible players in the wars, trade, and treaty negotiations of the past.⁷ Recently, ethnohistorians have amply illustrated that another rich layer of social history is recoverable through close readings of evidence about the everyday lives of people, including people whose voices are neither clearly nor prominently recorded in journals, letters, treaties, and other primary written sources.⁸ Perdue's book takes this critique and develops a compelling narrative about Cherokee social history and the endurance of some cultural traditions through years of dramatic and even tragic cultural change.

Her critique about the way historians have written and should write about the past is applicable to American archaeology.⁹ Traditionally, archaeologists have concentrated on the lives of past elites, whose social status and place are represented by monumental architecture and prestige goods that have a greater archaeological visibility than the architecture and other material culture associated with more routine aspects of past lifeways. Meanwhile, there has been greater attention devoted to the lives of men than those of women and children, and several scholars have noted this

imbalance. An interest in gender has guided archaeologists to a greater awareness of how different members of a community relate to and interact with each other.¹⁰

Gender refers to social expectations about the kinds of relationships and roles within communities that men, women, and children should adopt during different stages of their lives.¹¹ Gender is a cultural phenomenon, and although gender roles and identities are related to the age and biological sex of individuals, these biological characteristics are neither the only nor necessarily the most significant determinants of gender roles and identities. Nor are men, women, and children the only gender groups within different cultures and communities, for many members of different native communities were berdache, or males who chose to adopt gender roles and identities more commonly associated with women.¹²

Gender roles and identities in many native North American communities of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were sharply divided.¹³ Cultural conventions about gender roles and identities made clear distinctions between the tasks associated with women or with men, differentiated the roles of men and women in communal rituals, and created associations between men and women with different parts of the natural and cultural landscape. Not only were the gender roles and identities of men and women distinct, but they complemented each other within the social structure of their communities. This complementarity enabled Native American women and men to derive social status and even power through their own gender roles and identities within their communities.¹⁴

KINSHIP

Perdue's recent book includes a chapter ("Chapter 2: Defining Community") about the ways that the Cherokee of the eighteenth century defined their communities and relationships among different communities through the bonds of kinship.¹⁵ Among its many insights is the point that matrilineal kinship was a pervasive influence on the way people lived their lives. Membership in one clan or another (there are seven traditional Cherokee clans¹⁶) had implications for where people lived and whom they married. Maternal uncles and grandmothers (here referring to the European conception of a grandmother¹⁷) contributed to raising the children of fellow clanswomen. A child was a member of his or her mother's clan from birth. A man became a member of his wife's clan upon marriage. Perdue's book and other writings clearly demonstrate the prominent role of clan membership and kinship in structuring

traditional Cherokee communities.

Cherokee women were vested with the power of kinship. Men were related to fellow clan members only by virtue of their relationship to a woman, whether a mother or a sister or a wife. Women were the lynchpins of the traditional clan kin network, and their status as clan leaders persisted in many ways throughout the otherwise dramatic episodes of cultural change in native communities during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As Perdue has written,¹⁸ The descendants of Kana'ti and Selu defined themselves as a distinct people in ways that did not always make sense to European observers. Cherokees called themselves Ani-Yun Wiya, the Real People, which distinguished them from others with whom they had contact, but the bonds that held them together were obscure. Living in scattered villages separated by rugged terrain, Cherokees spoke several dialects of a common language, but no clear boundaries demarcated their territory and no political authority delineated citizenship. Only kinship seems to have bound Cherokees together in the early eighteenth century. Unlike the civic duties of European citizenries, the prerogatives and responsibilities of kinship extended to women as well as men. Furthermore, the Cherokees traced kinship solely through women. This circumstance gave women considerable prestige, and the all-encompassing nature of the kinship system secured for them a position of power.

Cherokee women thus wielded significant power within their communities. Men were not without a source of power and prestige of their own, of course. Considerable historical and archaeological evidence, as well as cultural memory, points to the status of men as advocates for the interests of their home towns, through a variety of activities. As Evans has written,¹⁹ In early eighteenth-century Cherokee society a man could gain fame from either a diplomatic or a military career. The Great Warrior Oconastota (sic), although a poor speaker and a complete failure as a diplomat, achieved great distinction from his many successful military expeditions. Attacullaculla (sic), who led a number of war bands without notable success, gained a great reputation from his superior skill in negotiations. The subject of [Evens'] biography, Ostenaco, was a rare individual in that he gained exceptional distinction in both fields.

Cherokee men gained status primarily as warriors, hunters, traders, diplomats, and stickball players, roles that would have taken them away from their hometowns for extended periods of time.²⁰ Upon returning to their hometowns, men likely spent

several days and nights within the council house—also known as the townhouse²¹—performing rituals of purification commensurate with the nature and outcome of their travels. Perhaps the adult men of Cherokee communities spent as much or more time in townhouses as they did in their clan households. Their affiliation with other Cherokee men may have been a major component of their identities as members of a matrilineal community. It is interesting to consider whether Cherokee men stayed in council houses when they were visiting other native towns, or whether they might have stayed with local members of their clan. They would likely stay in the households of Cherokee clan kin, or in the communal council house in towns where they had no relatives.

Cherokee women gained status primarily as gardeners, heads of households, clan leaders, and perhaps potters and weavers.²² Their likely roles as leaders of some aspects of communal rituals—as dancers or the providers of feasts²³—may have gone unrecorded in primary historic sources precisely because these journals were penned by colonial men. Just as groups of Cherokee men may have associated themselves with the architecture of council houses, women may have had architectural space of their own within the built environment of Cherokee villages. Several colonial authors of the eighteenth century described Cherokee summer and winter lodges, and my opinion is that more than just dwellings these buildings or building pairs were architectural landmarks associated with local members of Cherokee clans. Women in traditional Cherokee society did wield the power of kinship, which entitled them to significant voices about membership in their communities and the social places of those members within their communities. Given the prominence of women in traditional Cherokee society, it is not inconceivable that native people would have associated them and their clans with certain architectural spaces in their communities.

Children are as yet an understudied group in the history of the Cherokee and other native peoples, although historical studies of mission schools offer a window upon the status of children in Cherokee communities.²⁴ Cherokee children were members of their biological mothers' clans. Cherokee children would likely have viewed their biological mothers' brothers as significant male parental figures, perhaps more significant influences than their biological own fathers. It is of course likely that there were rites of passage through which children became adult members of their communities, when they would have adopted gendered roles and identities as adult men and women, although such rituals among the Cherokee are not well docu-

mented in written materials from the eighteenth century.

The following section of my essay reviews archaeological evidence relevant to the topic of gender and cultural traditions of Cherokee communities of the eighteenth century and earlier. It concentrates mostly on the archaeology of one locality in southwestern North Carolina that was excavated some thirty years ago.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE UPPER LITTLE TENNESSEE RIVER VALLEY

Throughout much of the 1960s and 1970s, UNC archaeologists conducted fieldwork in the mountain counties of western North Carolina to study the origins and development of Cherokee culture. This fieldwork encompassed areas historically associated with the Middle, Out, and Valley towns.²⁵ Archaeologists in neighboring states have conducted fieldwork in the areas of the Lower and Overhill towns, as well.²⁶ Archaeological fieldwork has continued in the years since the Cherokee archaeological project in western North Carolina, but this essay concentrates on archaeological materials gathered during the Cherokee archaeological project itself.²⁷

This fieldwork included both archaeological surveys and excavations. Surveys are the methods by which archaeologists look for aboveground clues about the locations of archaeological sites; they often involve walking across plowed fields and woodlots and looking for broken pieces of clay pottery and stone tool debris that betray the presence of archaeological sites hidden underground. Maps drawn during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and journals from the eighteenth century have also offered many clues about where to look for sites.²⁸ Excavations involve the systematic removal of dirt to uncover the traces of architecture that are sometimes preserved underground; this painstaking process includes sifting all the excavated dirt to look for artifacts and the careful mapping of everything recovered from different areas within sites. Excavations were undertaken at sites selected partly due to the richness of the set of artifacts found on the ground surface and partly due to expectations about the locations of historically known towns.²⁹ All the artifacts and written records from surveys and excavations were brought back to the university archaeology lab.

My focus here are some of the materials gathered during this archaeological fieldwork years ago, especially that at the Coweeta Creek site. I was not involved in any of this fieldwork myself, and I was actually born after much of this fieldwork was

done. I rely upon all the notes, maps, and artifacts curated here at UNC since the excavations were done. Several other archaeologists have likewise been going back to the shelves of museums and archaeological archives as much as out in the field to learn as much as they can from the material culture of the past, in North Carolina and elsewhere.

Both surveys and some archaeological excavation have been conducted in the upper Little Tennessee River Valley and the areas associated with the Middle Cherokee towns of the eighteenth century.³⁰ The archaeology of this part of western North Carolina has received somewhat less attention in the published literature than have the Tuckasegee, Swannanoa, and Pigeon river valleys further northeast.³¹

ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE COWEETA CREEK SITE

During the long field seasons between 1965 and 1971, UNC archaeologists excavated the material remnants of a Cherokee village and council house along the western bank of the upper Little Tennessee River. One UNC anthropology student wrote his master's thesis describing some of these excavations and comparing them to those at other sites in southern Appalachia.³² Another UNC anthropology student wrote his master's thesis to compare the different kinds of ceramics associated with different groups of the historic Cherokee.³³ These theses are the primary written statements about archaeology near the confluence of Coweeta Creek and the Little Tennessee River, although other archaeologists have offered their impressions about the significance of the Coweeta Creek site itself.³⁴

Figure 1 shows the location of the Coweeta Creek archaeological site, located within the area historically associated with the Middle Cherokee towns (Figure 2)³⁵ in the eighteenth century. When Carolina militias led by James Grant scorched the upper Little Tennessee Valley in 1761, they noted the mounds at Nequassee and Cowee but did not record a township centered at Coweeta Creek.³⁶ When Carolina militiamen led by Griffith Rutherford visited the upper Little Tennessee Valley in 1776, they visited mounds and abandoned towns at Nequassee and Cowee but did not note a major township centered at Coweeta Creek.³⁷ When Pennsylvania naturalist William Bartram visited the upper Little Tennessee Valley in 1775, he passed through the village of Echoee en route to the Cowee mound and associated town but presumably did not find a major town at Coweeta Creek.³⁸ For these and other reasons, I think that Coweeta Creek represents a major Cherokee town center dating to the very

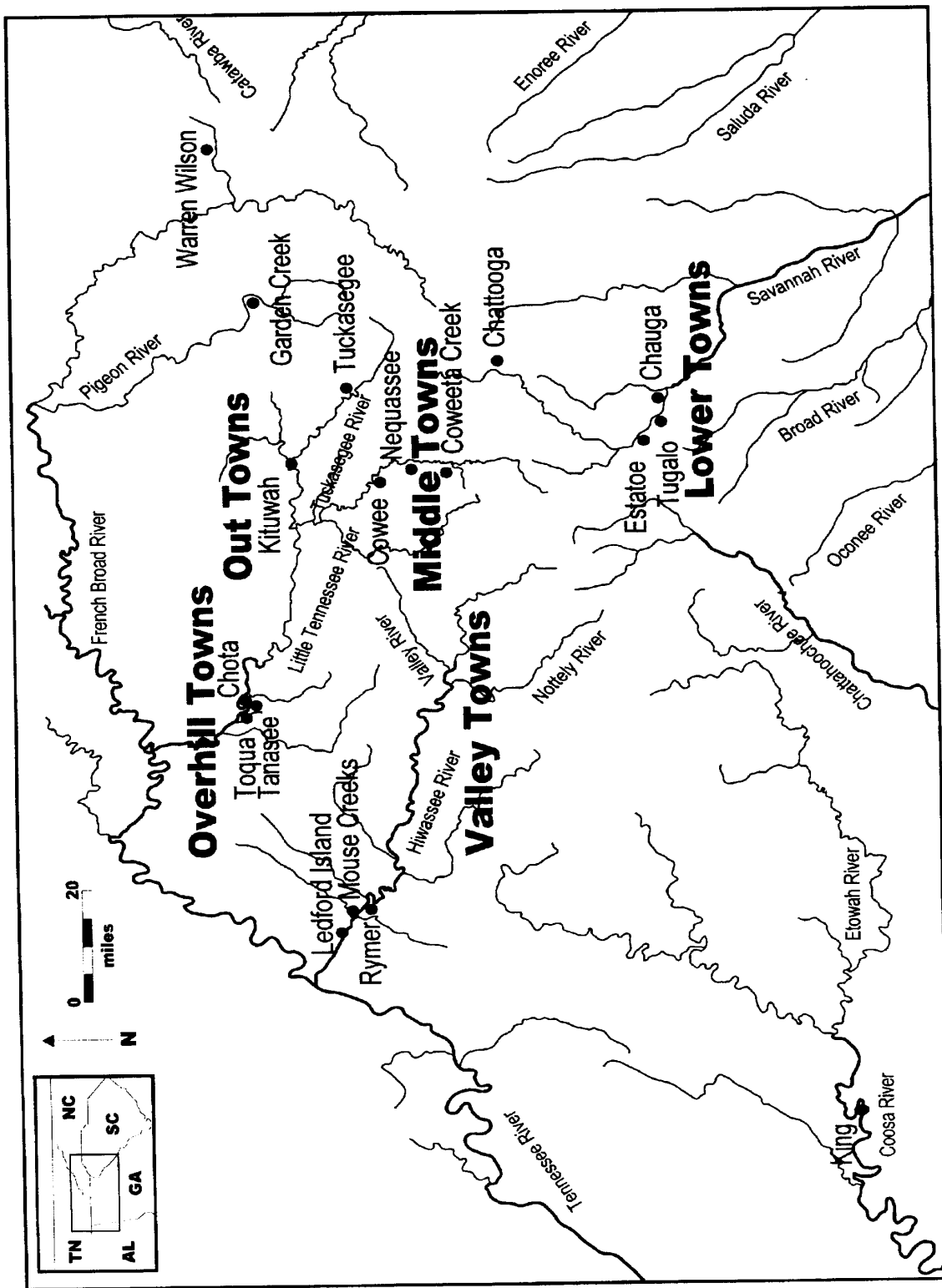


FIGURE 1

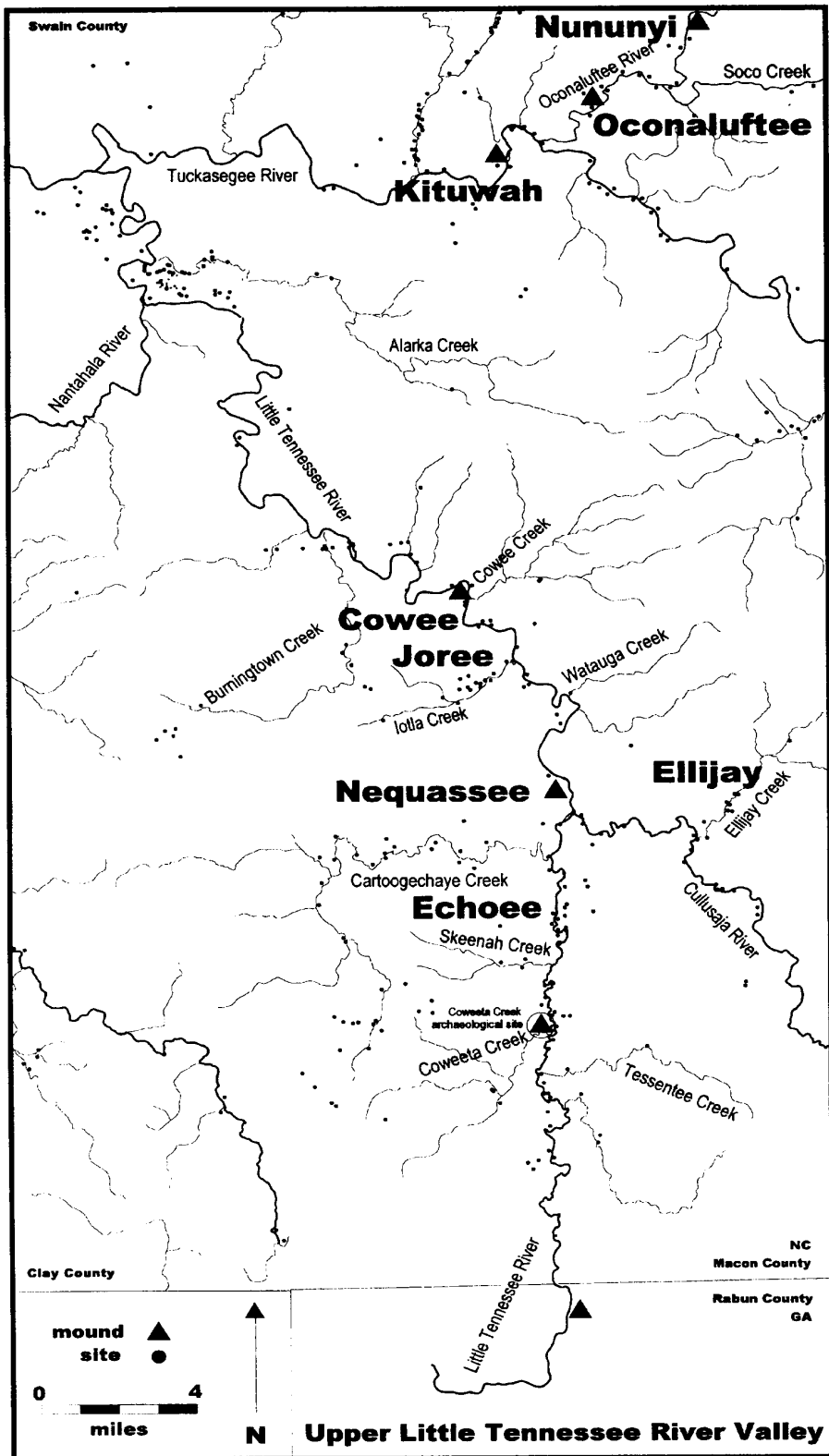


FIGURE 2

early eighteenth or more likely to the seventeenth century.³⁹

Figure 3 shows the layout of architectural features at the Coweeta Creek archaeological site, including the council house (Figure 4),⁴⁰ several dwelling houses with hearths and vestibule entryways (Figure 5),⁴¹ the courtyard, and several dozen graves. This map warrants some further description. The triangles are schematic representations showing the locations of burials. The solid circles are schematic symbols that represent hearths. The other unshaded curvilinear shapes represent black stains in the yellowish brown clay where wooden posts once stood. Many of these posts formed the frames of houses; mud and sticks would have been woven between the posts forming the walls of winter lodges such as those found in the southeastern corner of the Coweeta Creek excavations.⁴² Winter lodges and council houses likely had bark or thatch roofs with smokeholes above the hearths; summer houses are perhaps represented by constellations of postholes shown on this map just southeast of the Coweeta Creek courtyard.⁴³ The council house included a square building with rounded corners and a central hearth, and a rectangular pavilion just outside its entrance that probably looked like a summer house; the council house is represented by all the posts, the hearth, and other architectural remnants shown in the upper portion of the Coweeta Creek site map.⁴⁴ The council house was built and rebuilt at least six times during its tenure as the architectural center of its township; this activity created the low mound visible to the Coweeta Creek excavators.⁴⁵ Given this architectural layout, I think that Coweeta Creek compares favorably to written descriptions of the spatial layout of traditional Cherokee communities.⁴⁶

Graves placed in certain parts of the site would have been referenced to these different architectural spaces within the Coweeta Creek community. Most of the burials associated with the council house were resting places of men, presumably prominent town leaders. Most of the graves in the village were those of women, whose public roles within the community were tied to their status as leaders of their clans, which were associated with architectural landmarks different than the council house itself. There is always some uncertainty involved in identifying the age and sex of individuals based on the bones and teeth that archaeologists sometimes find in burials, but the patterns are certainly interesting in light of ethnohistoric evidence about the distinct roles of men and women in these native communities. My interpretation is that they reflect the separate and complementary social spheres in which men and women in the Coweeta Creek community achieved status.

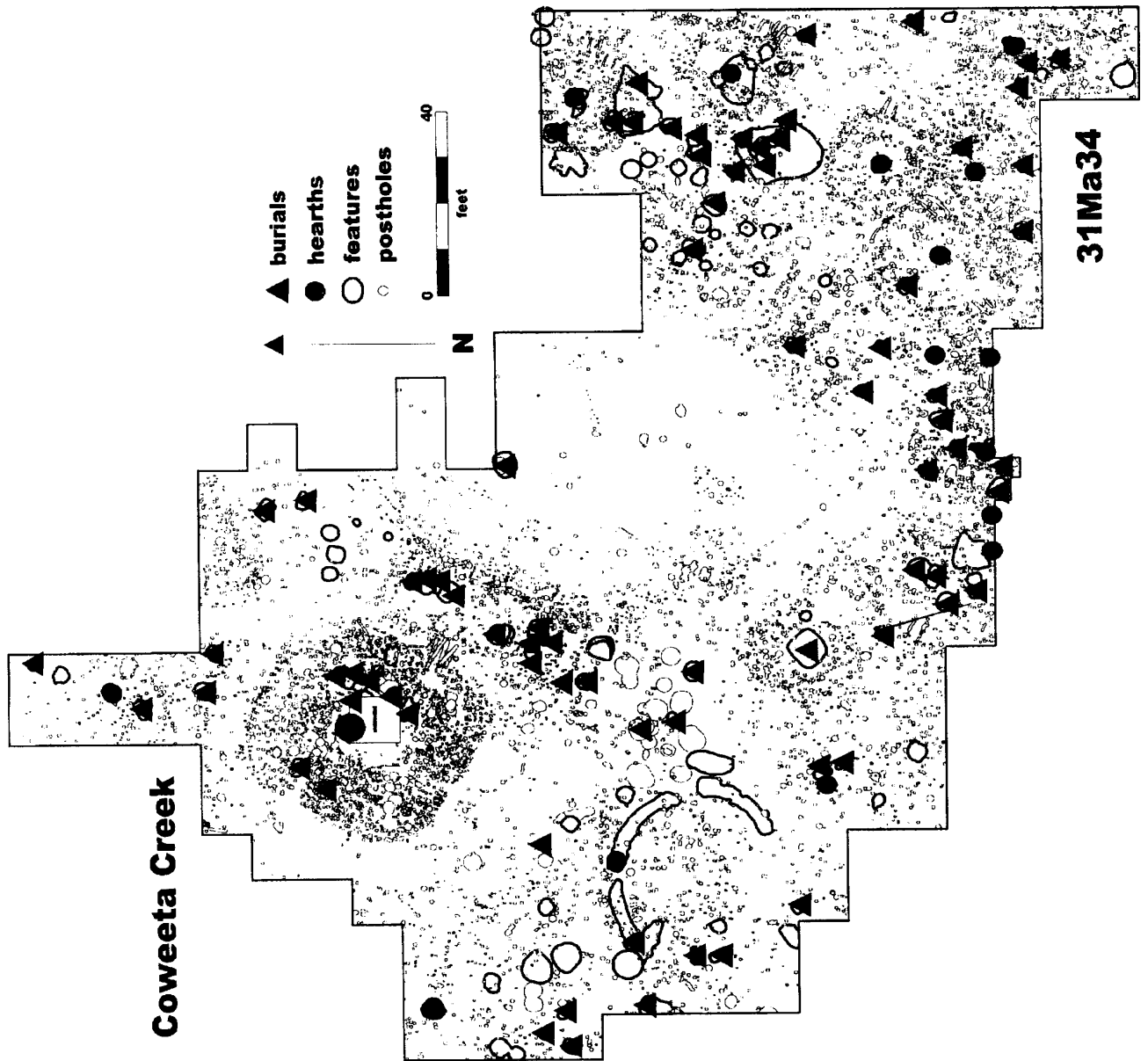


FIGURE 3



FIGURE 4



FIGURE 5

This gendered pattern in the placement of graves at Coweeta Creek is visible at other archaeological sites. Excavations at Coweeta Creek uncovered 88 burials, and a comparable pattern is visible in the 65 burials at the Warren Wilson site some 75 miles northwest on the Swannanoa River in Swannanoa.⁴⁷ There are some 802 burials known at the pre-17th century Ledford Island site on the lower Hiwassee River,⁴⁸ and some 511 burials from the pre-17th century Toqua site on the lower Little Tennessee in eastern Tennessee.⁴⁹ These are much larger datasets than the 88 burials from the Coweeta Creek site, and they show comparable patterns in the spatial layout of burials and buildings. There are 117 burials from the sites representing Cherokee towns of Chota and Tanasee, and again this gendered pattern is visible.⁵⁰ My argument from this evidence is that the gender distinctions made through the burial of people in different architectural spaces are critical clues for understanding the social structure of the community represented by the Coweeta Creek archaeological site.

Another essay of mine describes the grave goods associated with the dead at Coweeta Creek in somewhat more detail than what is offered here. One male elder was buried with pieces of mica, seven arrows, shell ear pins, shell beads, and other artifacts — a suite of artifacts likely symbolizing his status as a prominent warrior and town leader⁵¹—his grave was placed underneath the council house pavilion. Another male elder was buried with a stone pipe, shell ear pins, and a shell gorget engraved with a rattlesnake motif — often associated with the elite of pre-Columbian paramount chiefdoms⁵²—his grave was placed in the council house. One pair of women buried in a house just south of the courtyard were associated with turtle shell rattles, consistent with ethnohistoric evidence of native women wearing rattles during dances.⁵³ Several children were associated with shell pendants, as well as other shell ornaments.⁵⁴ Shell ear pins are commonly associated with relatively old males buried at the Coweeta Creek site. The only two clay pots associated with buried individuals at Coweeta Creek were associated with children whose biological sex cannot be identified. There are no grave goods such as copper plates that clearly differentiate any subgroup of the Coweeta Creek community as a distinct, hereditary elite, as is the case at the Etowah site in Barstow County, northern Georgia,⁵⁵ or at the Citico site in Hale County, eastern Tennessee.⁵⁶ Nor are there any colonial trade goods clearly associated with burials at the Coweeta Creek site, contrasting their widespread presence in graves at Overhill sites along the lower Little Tennessee River,⁵⁷ and at several Siouan sites in the North Carolina Piedmont.⁵⁸ Some categories of grave goods at

Coweeta Creek may indeed have gender-specific meaning. But the relatively even distribution of them in townhouse-related and village-related burials at Coweeta Creek suggests that a relatively egalitarian community put them in the ground with their ancestors.

The significance of this pattern is that men and women whose hometown stood at the confluence of Coweeta Creek and the Little Tennessee River were associated with different social institutions housed within different architectural spaces in the community. The association between men and the council house and between women with other architectural landmarks at the Coweeta Creek archaeological site compares favorably with ethnohistoric evidence about the different public roles and statuses of Cherokee women and men in traditional society.

THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN TRADITIONAL CHEROKEE SOCIETY

The consideration of gender is imperative for a holistic understanding of the social significance of burials and buildings at Coweeta Creek and other contemporary archaeological sites. This case study reveals the distinct and complementary sources of public status for men and women in the Coweeta Creek community.

Theda Perdue's presentation at the Cherokee Women's Conference made the point that traditional narratives about Cherokee history have often overlooked the experiences of women and their contributions to their communities. The study of women not only gives them their rightful place in the annals of Cherokee history, but it enriches our understanding of the social roles and identities of other members of Cherokee communities as well. Her critique of the way Cherokee history has been written is applicable to the way archaeology has been written, and an interest in the archaeology of Cherokee women sheds light not only on the lives of women in the past, but on the lives of men and children in their communities as well.

Rayna Green's presentation at the Cherokee Women's Conference highlighted the power wielded by women in traditional Cherokee society. This power has derived largely from their status as lynchpins in the framework of Cherokee kinship. Men have been members of certain Cherokee clans and their households by virtue of their kin relationships with women. This aspect of membership and social place had major implications for the allocation of resources and the residential patterns of traditional Cherokee communities in the eighteenth century.⁵⁹ Archaeological evidence hints that

native women in southern Appalachia held comparable kinds of social authority and influence during earlier centuries.⁶⁰

My suggestion that the sources of social status for men and women in native communities in southern Appalachia during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were distinct from each other is not likely to surprise readers familiar with eighteenth-century Cherokee culture. I would argue, however, that understanding the social structure of Cherokee communities before the deerskin trade and cultural interactions of the eighteenth century is critical to understanding Cherokee cultural change as documented in historical and archaeological records of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I would suggest, furthermore, that continued archaeological study of pre-Columbian and postcontact sites in southern Appalachia can offer more insights about how and why gender parity and egalitarianism prevailed among Cherokee communities of the eighteenth century. This point is important because the eighteenth-century cultural landscape of greater southern Appalachia was likely very different in many respects than it was in the centuries before the Cherokee became known by that specific name.

EPILOGUE

Most of the archaeologists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who have studied Native Americans are not Native Americans themselves.⁶¹ The ways that archaeologists tend to think and write about the past reflect a European American rather than a Native American mindset and worldview.⁶² Archaeology is certainly not the only way of knowing the past. The cultural memories held by native people themselves about their ancestors are a case in point. These different ways of knowing the past need not threaten each other. Perhaps they can even complement each other.

Like many historians, archaeologists tend to think of time as a linear phenomenon. Years pass, and one generation grows to replace its elders. While there are continuities from generation to generation and memories of those who have gone before, this appreciation of the passage of time makes distinctions between the recent and more distant past.

Unlike academics, many native people perceive time as more of a cyclical phenomenon. People are not separated from their ancestors by a certain number of years, but rather their ancestors are given a place in the present. Even from this

perspective, the ancestral status granted people in prayers and rituals performed by the living acknowledges that they are members of earlier generations.

The ancestors of the people who became widely known as the Cherokee in the eighteenth century are inaccessible through written records. Written descriptions of Cherokee culture in the eighteenth century are certainly valuable clues about their predecessors. Cultural memories and oral traditions of the Cherokee themselves are relevant to scholarship in academic disciplines such as ethnohistory. Preserved traces of the architecture and other material culture of these communities also offer valuable glimpses in their own right of the roots of Cherokee culture in this pre-Columbian past.

Spatial patterns in the layout of burials and buildings at the early Cherokee town center described in this essay reflect the place of ancestors in the lives of this community in the late seventeenth or very early eighteenth century. Women seem to have been laid to rest in graves associated with houses that were themselves associated with one clan or another, as was the case at the later towns of Chota and Tanasee downriver. Some men seem to have been buried in graves associated with the communal council house, a pattern visible at the archaeological sites representing Chota and Tanasee as well. The resting places of children are found in both townhouse and village space, and perhaps children were buried beside close clan relatives. My interpretation of these patterns is that there were mortuary spaces set aside for these different gender groups, and that the architecture standing near these graves would have preserved cultural memories of them. The congruence between this pattern and ethnohistoric evidence about Cherokee culture of the later eighteenth century is a remarkable testament to the persistence of some aspects of traditional culture throughout the dramatic cultural upheavals associated with the deerskin trade.

The presence of this pattern among native communities of the greater southern Appalachians predating the eighteenth century is significant for understanding the broad sweep of Cherokee social history. It demonstrates the antiquity of one key aspect of the structure of kinship and community associated with later generations of Cherokee people in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. My recommendation based upon this conclusion is that there is much more to learn from the archaeology of southern Appalachia about the social structures and gender conventions that bound native men and women together in the centuries before the arrival of Euramerican colonists.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This essay relates to my interests as an archaeology student pursuing a doctorate in anthropology from the UNC Department of Anthropology in Chapel Hill. Most of the archaeological materials described here are curated by the UNC Research Laboratories of Archaeology at Chapel Hill. I greatly appreciate the invitation from William Anderson to contribute to the 1998 conference at WCU from which this article is drawn. I must also thank Theda Perdue, Mike Green, and Francis Jennings for the UNC graduate course in 1995 that was my introduction to the rich literature by ethnohistorians about native cultures and communities. Thanks to Professor Perdue, Vin Steponaitis, and David Moore for recommendations about this particular paper. Thanks to them and to Trawick Ward, Steve Davis, Lynne Sullivan, Margie Scarry, Bram Tucker, Greg Wilson, Amber VanDerwarker, Kathy McDonnell, and Hope Spencer for their guidance and encouragement. Any errors in fact or interpretation in this chapter are my responsibility.

FIGURES

- Figure 1. Cherokee town groups and select archaeological sites in southern Appalachia.
- Figure 2. Archaeological sites and historic towns in the upper Little Tennessee Valley.
- Figure 3. Archaeological map of the council house and village at Coweeta Creek.
- Figure 4. View after excavation of the hearth (center), postholes (throughout), and entrancetrenches (lower) from the townhouse at the Coweeta Creek site. Courtesy UNC Research Laboratories of Archaeology.
- Figure 5. View after excavations of the hearth (center), postholes (throughout), and entrancetrenches (right) from a winter lodge at the Coweeta Creek site. Courtesy UNC Research Laboratories of Archaeology.

ENDNOTES

¹Important statements about this interpretive bias in the archaeological literature are those by Margaret Conkey and Janet Spector, "The Archaeological Study of Gender" in Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory 7(1984):1-38, and Alison Wylie, "The Interplay of Evidential Constraints and Political Interests: Recent Archaeological Research on Gender," in American Antiquity 57(1992):15-35.

²See chapters in edited volumes by Cheryl Claassen, editor, Exploring Gender Through Archaeology (Madison, Wisconsin: Prehistory Press, 1992); Cheryl Claassen and Rosemary Joyce, editors, Women in Prehistory: North America and Mesoamerica (Philadelphia: University of Pennsyl-

vania Press, 1997); Joan Gero and Margaret Conkey, editors, Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991); Susan Kent, editor, Gender in African Prehistory (Walnut Creek, California: Alta Mira Press, 1998); Jenny Moore and Eleanor Scott, editors, Invisible People and Processes: Writing Gender and Childhood in European Archaeology (London: Leicester University Press, 1997); Elizabeth Scott, editor, Those of Little Note: Race, Class, and Gender in Historical Archaeology (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994); Dale Walde and Noreen Willows, editors, The Archaeology of Gender (Calgary: Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary, 1991); and Rita Wright, editor, Gender and Archaeology (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996). Other major recent archaeological studies of gender are those by Patricia Crown and Suzanne Fish, "Gender and Status in the Hohokam Preclassic to Classic Transition," in American Anthropologist 98(1996):803-817; Elizabeth Scott, "A Feminist Approach to Historical Archaeology: Eighteenth Century Fur Trade Society at Michilimackinac," in Historical Archaeology 25(1991):42-53, Mary Whelan, "Gender and Historical Archaeology: Eastern Dakota Patterns in the Nineteenth Century," in Historical Archaeology 25(1991):17-32, and Roberta Gilchrist, Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women (London: Routledge, 1994).

³Charles Towne trader Henry Woodward wrote in 1674 of a group known as the "Chorakaes," who lived at the headwaters of the Savannah River further northwest of the "Westoes," with whom Woodward was negotiating trade agreements Tom Hatley, The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians Through the Revolutionary Era (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 17-18. The Jamestown agent Gabriel Arthur visited the "Tomahitans," probably the group known in the eighteenth century as the "Cherokees," in 1673 during his expedition with James Needham to explore the lands between the Chesapeake region and the Blue Ridge Mountains. John Phillip Reid, "A Perilous Rule: the Law of International Homicide," The Cherokee Indian Nation: A Troubled History, edited by Duane King (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), 34-36; Abraham Wood, "The Travels of James Needham and Gabriel Arthur Through Virginia, North Carolina, and Beyond, 1673-1674," edited by Stephen Davis in Southern Indian Studies 39(1990):31-55. The precolumbian people of southern Appalachia are the ancestors of the Cherokee whatever their name for themselves may have been. The coalescence of the group known at the dawn of the eighteenth century as the Cherokee may have been a recent historical development that brought seven clans and several dozen native towns in southern Appalachia together as such.

⁴Nina Swidler, Kurt Dongoske, Roger Anyon, and Alan Downer, editors, Native Americans and Archaeologists: Stepping Stones to Common Ground (Walnut Creek, California: Alta Mira Press, 1997).

⁵Ibid., 14.; Thomas Gates, Along the Ridgelines: A History of Yurok Trail Systems (Ph.D. Dissertation for the Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1995).

⁶Theda Perdue, Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998).

⁷Paul Prucha, The Great Father: The United States Government and American Indians (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

⁸Women are one group that are often underrepresented in historical and archaeological narratives of the past, a point explored by Claassen and Joyce, editors, Women in Prehistory; Gero and Conkey, Engendering Archaeology; Laura Klein and Lillian Ackerman, Women and Power in Native America (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1995); Nancy Shoemaker, editor, Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women (London: Routledge, 1995).

⁹Gero and Conkey (editors, Engendering Archaeology, 15) write "By placing women and gender issues at the center of our interpretations of prehistory and by inquiring into what cultural meanings might have been bound up with engendered activities, and by inquiring further how these meanings contributed to the construction of social life, a fundamentally new prehistory ensues. An engendered past addresses many longstanding concerns of archaeology: the formation of states, trade and exchange, site settlement systems and activity areas, the processes of agriculture, lithic production, food production, pottery, architecture, ancient art—but throws them into new relief. *An engendered*

past replaces the focus on the remains of prehistory with a focus on the people of prehistory; it rejects a reified concept of society or culture as an object of study, does away with the earliest, biggest, the best examples of prehistoric forms, and concentrates instead on the continuities and dialectics of life, the interpersonal and intimate aspects of social settings that bind prehistoric lives into social patterns” (emphasis by author).

¹⁰Sarah Milledge Nelson, Gender in Archaeology (Walnut Creek, California: Alta Mira Press, 1997), 15.

¹¹Claassen and Joyce (editors, Women in Prehistory, 4) write “*Inherent in the realization that age makes a difference to gender is acceptance of gender as something that varies not only within society, but on the scale of the individual as well.* If gender develops after childhood and changes in later adulthood, then what kind of entity is it, anyway? Here archaeologists can draw on a rich literature on gender in other disciplines, including social anthropology. The ideas that gender is a social category, an aspect of core personal identity, or any other fixed and immutable construct existing before the individual actor have been debated, and for the most part shown lacking, by scholars in other fields. Instead, gender appears better understood as something that develops through particular practices engaged in by individual actors and evaluated differently in different cultures or cultural settings” (emphasis by author).

¹²Charles Hudson, The Southeastern Indians (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976), 269.

¹³Hudson (The Southeastern Indians, 260) has written that “Like the men, the women ranked themselves with respect to each other, but the basis for their ranking is not well understood. The fundamental division of labor among the Southeastern Indians was between men and women. Indeed, the roles of men and women were so different that the two sexes were almost like different species. Consistent with this basic assumption, men and women kept themselves separate from each other to a very great extent. They seem, in fact, to have preferred to carry out their day-to-day activities apart from each other. During the day the women worked with each other around their households, while the men resorted to their town house or square ground. Separation was most important in activities which in their view epitomized sexual identity.” Perdue (Cherokee Women, 17) has written that “The myth of Kana’ti and Selu provided the Cherokees with an explanation for why men and women in their society lived the way they did, occupying separate categories that opposed and balanced each other. Cherokee men and women performed different tasks, followed different rules of behavior and engaged in different rituals. They knew little about each other’s lives because any intrusion, any crossing of boundaries, involved a certain amount of danger. Yet men and women lived together in villages, they joked with each other, they made love, they shared houses and children, and they joined together in celebrating the harvest. On occasion, men could be found in fields, the realm of women, and sometimes women went on the winter hunt or even to war, normal pursuits of men. But Cherokees always understood their society in more absolute terms and tried to conform to those expectations.” Kathryn Holland Braund in Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Trade with Anglo-Americans, 1685-1815 (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1993) has written that, “Creek men and women followed very gender-specific work patterns. Hunting and warfare defined manhood for Creek males, but there were also a number of other important activities they undertook, including the construction of private habitations and public buildings and the production of canoes, tools, musical instruments, equipment for ball play, and ceremonial implements. Men were the leaders, not only in government of their towns but also of their clans. Women raised food and families. Creek women cultivated and cared for the communal cornfields and private vegetable plots, gathered wild food and herbs, and were responsible for the manufacture of clothing and household items such as baskets and pottery.” See p. 14. William Fenton in “Northern Iroquoian Culture Patterns,” Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 15: Northeast, edited by Bruce Trigger (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978) has written that, “The basic patterns of Iroquois social structure have been known for more than a century. There is first the division of labor between the sexes, which has both a functional and spatial aspect. Although Iroquois towns were built and governed by men, and to all appearances the women were drudges, men

owed their offices to female succession, and the village and its environs of cleared fields up to the wood's edge were the domain of women. Save the council, men's roles were carried out in the forest — hunting, the war path, and embassies of peace and trade." See p. 309. Bruce Trigger in "Unity and Diversity," in Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 15: Northeast, edited by Bruce Trigger (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978) has written that "Women, children, and the aged remained in these villages throughout the year, while men frequently were absent fishing, hunting, trading, waging war, and visiting other tribes. This encouraged the development of matrilineal residence and thereby of matrilineal institutions. In spite of this, Iroquoian kinship relations retained many bilateral features; and kin terms were of the Iroquois type, which shows no special development in a matrilineal direction." See p. 802.

¹⁴Archaeologist Lynne Sullivan's article "The Mouse Creek Phase Household," in Southeastern Archaeology 6(1987) has long been interested in gender dynamics among native groups in the greater southern Appalachians. See pp 16-29. Recently Sullivan and Chris Rodning have begun a collaboration to study the history of gender complementary among native peoples of the southern Appalachians. "Gender Duality and Chiefdoms of the Southern Appalachians," (Paper Presented at the Fifth Biennial Gender and Archaeology Conference, Wisconsin, 1998)

¹⁵Perdue, Cherokee Women, 41.

¹⁶Ibid., 42.

¹⁷Ibid., 47.

¹⁸Ibid., 41.

¹⁹Raymond Evans, "Notable Persons in Cherokee History: Ostenaco," in Journal of Cherokee Studies 1(1976):41-54. Historian James Kelley, "Notable Persons in Cherokee History: Attakullakulla," in Journal of Cherokee Studies 3(1978):2-34 and "Notable Persons in Cherokee History: Oconostota," in Journal of Cherokee Studies 3(1978):221-238, has written comparable biographical essays of Cherokee leaders of the eighteenth century. Sociologist Duane Champagne "Symbolic Structure and Political Change in Cherokee Society," in Journal of Cherokee Studies 8(1983):87-96 and "Institutional and Cultural Order in Early Cherokee Society," in Journal of Cherokee Studies 15(1990):3-26, has studied the changes in Cherokee political culture that took place during the course of the eighteenth century and the significance of those changes to local communities. Anthropologist Raymond Fogelson has written in "Cherokee Notions of Power," in The Anthropology of Power, edited by Raymond Fogelson and Richard Adams (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 186, that there was not a concept of absolute power prevalent among traditional Cherokee communities in which gender distinctions were more pronounced than any sense of inherited social ranking.

²⁰David Corkran, The Cherokee Frontier, 1740-1762 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), and The Creek Frontier, 1540-1783 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967); Verner Crane, The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732 (New York: Norton Publishers, 1981); Frederick Gearing, "The Structural Poses of Eighteenth-Century Cherokee Villages," in American Anthropologist 60(1958), and Priests and Warriors: Social Structures for Cherokee Politics in the Eighteenth Century (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association 93, Washington, 1962); Charles Hudson, The Catawba Nation (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1970), and The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990); Duane King, "The Origins of the Eastern Cherokees as a Social and Political Entity," in The Cherokee Indian Nation: A Troubled History, edited by Duane King (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), 164-180; James Mooney, History, Myths, and Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report 19, Washington, 1900); Richard Persico, "Early Nineteenth-Century Cherokee Political Organization," in The Cherokee Indian Nation: A Troubled History, edited by Duane King (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), 92-110; John Swanton, Indians of the Southeastern United States (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 137, Washington).

²¹James Adair, History of the American Indians, edited by Samuel Cole Williams (Johnson City, Tennessee: Watauga Press, 1930), 453; Charles Faulkner, "The Origin and Evolution of the Cherokee Winter House," in Journal of Cherokee Studies 3 (1978), 91; Hudson, The Southeastern

Indians, 218; Henry Timberlake, Memoirs of Lieutenant Henry Timberlake, edited by Samuel Cole Williams (Johnson City, Tennessee: Watauga Press, 1927), 35; Samuel Cole Williams, editor, Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1540-1800 (Johnson City, Tennessee: Watauga Press, 1928), 97, 125, 153.

²²Alexander Longe, A Small Postscript on the Ways and Manners of the Indians Called Cherokees, edited by David Corkran in Southern Indian Studies 21(1969), 30-33; Tom Hatley, "Cherokee Women Farmers Hold Their Ground," in Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society, and Development in the Preindustrial Era, edited by Robert Mitchell (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 37; Sarah Hill, Weaving New Worlds: Southeastern Cherokee Women and Their Basketry (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 34.

²³Hill, Weaving New Worlds, 48, 73; Hudson, The Southeastern Indians, 365-375; Perdue, Cherokee Women, 1-2.

²⁴Theda Perdue, "Letters from Brainerd," in Journal of Cherokee Studies 4(1979):4-9.

²⁵Published books and essays from this collective research project in North Carolina are those by Joffre Coe, "Cherokee Archaeology" in The Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture, edited by William Fenton and John Gulick (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 180, Washington, 1961); Daniel Crouch, South Appalachian Earth Lodges (M.A. Thesis for the Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1974); Roy Dickens, Cherokee Prehistory: The Pisgah Phase in the Appalachian Summit (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976); "Mississippian Settlement Patterns in the Appalachian Summit Area: The Pisgah and Qualla Phases," in Mississippian Settlement Patterns, edited by Bruce Smith:115-139 (New York: Academic Press, 1978); "The Origins and Development of Cherokee Culture," in The Cherokee Indian Nation: A Troubled History, edited by Duane King (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), and "An Evolutionary-Ecological Interpretation of Cherokee Cultural Development," in The Conference on Cherokee Prehistory, compiled by David Moore (Swannanoa, North Carolina: Warren Wilson College, 1986); Brian John Egloff, "An Analysis of Ceramics from Historic Cherokee Towns," (M.A. Thesis for the Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1967); Keith Touton Egloff, "Methods and Problem of Mound Excavation in the Southern Appalachian Area," (M.A. Thesis for the Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1971); Leland Ferguson, "South Appalachian Mississippian," (Ph.D. Dissertation for the Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1971); Patricia Holden, "An Archaeological Survey of Transylvania County, North Carolina," (M.A. Thesis for the Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1966); Bennie Keel, Cherokee Archaeology: A Study of the Appalachian Summit (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976); David Moore, "A Comparison of Two Pisgah Phase Assemblages," (M.A. Thesis for the Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1981); Burton Purrington, "Ancient Mountaineers: An Overview of the Prehistoric Archaeology of North Carolina's Western Mountain Region," in The Prehistory of North Carolina: An Archaeological Symposium, edited by Mark Mathis and Jeffrey Crow (North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, 1983), 83-160; Other archaeological investigations in western North Carolina and northwestern South Carolina are those described by Lance Greene, An Archaeological Survey of Qualla Boundary, Swain and Jackson Counties, North Carolina (Report to the Division of Archives and History, Asheville, North Carolina, 1995) and "The Archaeology and History of the Cherokee Out Towns," (M.A. Thesis for the Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1996); George Heye, Certain Mounds in Haywood County, North Carolina (Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian 5(3)(New York, 1919):34-43); George Heye, Frederick Hodge, and George Pepper, "The Nacoochee Mound in Georgia" in Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian, 4(3)(New York, 1918):1-103; Brett Riggs, Removal Period Cherokee Households and Communities in Southwestern North Carolina (Report to the Division of Archives and History, Asheville, North Carolina, 1996), and "The Christie Cabin Site: Historical and Archaeological Evidence of the Life and Times of a Cherokee Metis Household, 1835-1838," in May We All Remember Well: A Journal of the History and Cultures of Western North Carolina, Volume 1, edited by Robert S. Brunk (Asheville, North Carolina: Brunk Auction Services, 1997):228-248; Andrew Howard, An

Intrasite Spatial Analysis of Surface Collections at Chattooga, A Lower Cherokee Village (Report to the Sumter and Francis Marion National Forests, South Carolina, 1997); Gerald Schroedl, A Summary of Archaeological Investigations at the Chattooga Site, Oconee County, South Carolina (Report to the Sumter and Francis Marion National Forests, South Carolina, 1994); Frank Setzler and Jesse Jennings, Peachtree Mound and Village Site, Cherokee County, North Carolina (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 131, Washington, 1941).

²⁶Studies of the archaeology and geography of Cherokee groups in northern Georgia and surrounding areas include those by Joseph Caldwell, "Cherokee Pottery from Northern Georgia," in American Antiquity 20(1954):277-280; David Hally, "The Cherokee Archaeology of Georgia," in The Conference on Cherokee Prehistory, edited by David Moore (Swannanoa, North Carolina: Warren Wilson College, 1986): 95-121; David Hally and James Langford, Mississippi Period Archaeology of the Georgia Valley and Ridge (University of Georgia, Laboratory of Archaeology Report 25, Athens, 1988), David Hally and James Rudolph, Mississippi Period Archaeology of the Georgia Piedmont (University of Georgia, Laboratory of Archaeology Report 24, Athens, 1986); Michael Harmon, Eighteenth Century Lower Cherokee Adaptation and Use of Material Cultures (South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Volumes in Historical Archaeology 2, Columbia, 1986); Richard Pillsbury, "The Europeanization of the Cherokee Settlement Landscape Prior to Removal: A Georgia Case Study," in Historical Archaeology of the Eastern United States, edited by Robert Neuman (Louisiana State University, Geoscience and Man Volume 23, Baton Rouge, 1983): 59-69; William Sears, "Ceramic Development in the South Appalachian Province," in American Antiquity 18(1952):101-110, and "Creek and Cherokee Culture in the Eighteenth Century," in American Antiquity 21 (1955):143-149; Robert Wauchope, "Archaeological Survey of Northern Georgia" in Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology, 21 (Washington, 1966); Douglas Wilms, "Cherokee Settlement Patterns in Nineteenth Century Georgia" in Southeastern Geographer 14(1974):46-53 and "Cherokee Land Use in Georgia before Removal" in Cherokee Removal, Before and After, edited by William Anderson (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991):1-28; Jack Wynn, The Mississippi Period Archaeology of the Georgia Blue Ridge (University of Georgia, Laboratory of Archaeology Report 27, Athens, 1991). Publications on the archaeology of Cherokee and related groups in eastern Tennessee include those by William Baden, Tomotley: An Eighteenth Century Cherokee Village (University of Tennessee, Department of Anthropology Report of Investigations 36, Knoxville, 1983); Jefferson Chapman, Tellico Archaeology: Twelve Thousand Years of Native American History (University of Tennessee, Department of Anthropology Report of Investigations 43, Knoxville, 1985); Mark Harrington, Cherokee and Earlier Remains on the Upper Tennessee River (New York: Museum of the American Indian, 1922); Richard Polhemus, Archaeological Investigation of the Tellico Blockhouse Site (University of Tennessee, Department of Anthropology Report of Investigations 26, Knoxville, 1978); The Toqua Site: A Late Mississippian Dallas Phase Town (University of Tennessee, Department of Anthropology Report of Investigations 41, Knoxville, 1987); "Dallas Phase Architecture and Sociopolitical Structure," in Lamar Archaeology: Mississippian Chiefdoms of the Deep South, edited by Mark Williams and Gary Shapiro (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990):125-138; Brett Riggs, "Ethnohistorical and Archaeological Dimensions of Early Nineteenth Century Cherokee Intrahousehold Variation," in Households and Communities, edited by Scott MacEachern, David Archer, and Richard Garvin (Calgary: Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary, 1989): 328-338; Kurt Russ and Jefferson Chapman, Archaeological Investigations at the Eighteenth Century Overhill Cherokee Town of Mialoquo (University of Tennessee, Department of Anthropology Report of Investigations 37, Knoxville, 1983); Gerald Schroedl, editor, Overhill Cherokee Archaeology at Chota-Tanasee (University of Tennessee, Department of Anthropology Report of Investigations 38, Knoxville, 1986); "Toward an Explanation of Cherokee Origins in East Tennessee," in The Conference on Cherokee Prehistory, compiled by David Moore (Swannanoa, North Carolina: Warren Wilson College, 1986):122-138; "Overhill Cherokee Household and Village Patterns in the Eighteenth Century," in Households and Communities, edited by Scott MacEachern, David Archer, and Richard Garvin (Calgary: Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary, 1989):350-360; Lynne Sullivan, "Household, Community, and Society: An Analysis of Mouse Creek Settlements," in House-

holds and Communities, edited by Scott MacEachern, David Archer, and Richard Garvin (Calgary: Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary, 1989):317-327.

²⁷This article is an outgrowth of a major paper written for the Ph.D. program in the UNC Department of Anthropology at Chapel Hill — Christopher Rodning, “Towns and Clans: Social Organizations and Institutions Among Native Communities of the Appalachian Summit,” (Fourth Semester Paper for the Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1996).

²⁸Gary Goodwin, Cherokees in Transition: A Study of Changing Culture and Environment Prior to 1775 (University of Chicago, Department of Geography Research Paper 181, Chicago, 1977); Betty Smith, “The Distribution of Eighteenth-Century Cherokee Settlements,” in The Cherokee Indian Nation: A Troubled History, edited by Duane King (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979):46-60; Marvin Smith, Historic Period Indian Archaeology of Northern Georgia (University of Georgia, Laboratory of Archaeology Report 30, Athens, 1992).

²⁹Coe, “Cherokee Archaeology,” 59-60.

³⁰Dickens, “Mississippian Settlement Patterns in the Appalachian Summit Area,” 116-117.

³¹The Garden Creek mounds and village are located near the confluence of Garden Creek and the Pigeon River (Dickens, Cherokee Prehistory, 69-88; Keel, Cherokee Archaeology, 65-158). The Warren Wilson site is located along the Swannanoa River on the campus of Warren Wilson College (Dickens, Cherokee Prehistory, 19-68; Keel, Cherokee Archaeology, 159-212). The Tuckasegee site is located along the Tuckasegee River in Jackson County (Greene, Cherokee Out Towns, 115-120; Keel, Cherokee Archaeology, 21-64).

³²Keith Touton Egloff, “Mound Excavations,” 42.

³³Brian John Egloff, “Cherokee Towns,” 1.

³⁴Dickens, Cherokee Prehistory, 132; Dickens, “Mississippian settlement patterns in the Appalachian Summit area,” 124; Dickens, “The Origins and Development of Cherokee Culture,” 24.

³⁵For more detailed maps of Cherokee towns in southern Appalachia at different points in the past, see Sarah Hill’s Weaving New Worlds, 64-74, 131-144; Gary Goodwin’s Cherokees in Transition, 44-45, 117-123; and Betty Smith’s “Cherokee Settlements,” 48-50, 51-56.

³⁶Duane King, “A Powder Horn Commemorating the Grant Expedition Against the Cherokees,” in Journal of Cherokee Studies 1(1976):32-38; Duane King and Raymond Evans, editors, “Memoirs of the Grant Expedition Against the Cherokees,” in Journal of Cherokee Studies 2(1977):284-286.

³⁷Roy Dickens, “The Route of Rutherford’s Expedition Against the Cherokees,” in Southern Indian Studies 19(1967):10-12.

³⁸Gregory Waselkov and Kathryn Holland Braund, editors, William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 75-82.

³⁹Native pottery found at Coweeta Creek includes globular jars and rounded bowls with stamped motifs on their outer surfaces that closely resemble those dating to the sixteenth century at Tugaloo and the eighteenth century at Estatoe (Dickens, “Origins and Development of Cherokee Culture,” 27; Hally, “Cherokee Archaeology,” 105). Carinated bowls from Coweeta Creek have incised motifs comparable to those at other Cherokee settlements in southern Appalachia that date to the early eighteenth century (Dickens, “Origins and Development of Cherokee Culture,” 25; Hally, “Cherokee Archaeology,” 103). Roy Dickens (“Mississippian Settlement Patterns in the Appalachian Summit Area,” 124) writes, “At Coweeta Creek, a small platform mound was completely excavated. See also Egloff, “Mound Excavations,” 42-71; The earlier phases of the mound were contemporary with the surrounding village (ca. late 1600s), whereas the later stages of the mound probably postdate the village (ca. early 1700s).”

⁴⁰This photograph shows postholes, hearth, and entrance trenches of the council house at the Coweeta Creek site, which is designated 31Ma34 in the site designation systems of the NC Office of State Archaeology (Raleigh and Asheville) and the UNC Research Laboratories of Archaeology (Chapel Hill). This photograph was taken by Brian Egloff on 3 August 1966 during his excavations at 31Ma34, after plowed soil had been dug and sifted, revealing the dense constellation of architectural features shown in the upper section of Figure 3, the 31Ma34 site map. Photograph courtesy of the

UNC Research Laboratories of Archaeology.

⁴¹This photograph shows architectural features the southeast portion of the the Coweeta Creek site; this photograph is a view of Square 60R220 (which refers to the grid system that guided the location of excavations at 31Ma34). This photograph was taken by Bennie Keel on 2 October 1970 during his excavations at 31Ma34, showing postholes and the hearth representing the remnants of a house shown in the lower right corner of Figure 3, the 31Ma34 site map. Photograph courtesy of the UNC Research Laboratories of Archaeology.

⁴²Adair, History, 448-450; Hill, Weaving New Worlds, 69-72; Schroedl, editor, Overhill Cherokee Archaeology, 224-228; Timberlake, Memoirs, 84; Waselkov and Braund, editors, William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians, 84-85.

⁴³Adair, History, 435,443; Hill, Weaving New Worlds, 72-74; Schroedl, editor, Overhill Cherokee Archaeology, 219-224; Timberlake, Memoirs, 84; Waselkov and Braund, editors, William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians, 183-186.

⁴⁴Keith Touton Egloff, "Mound Excavations," 42-71.

⁴⁵Brian John Egloff, "Cherokee Towns," 9-10.

⁴⁶The archaeological designation "Pisgah" refers to late prehistoric (AD 1000-1450) artifacts and architecture in western North Carolina; Warren Wilson is a late "Pisgah" site. The archaeological designation "Qualla" refers to early historic period (AD 1450-1900) artifacts and architecture in western North Carolina; Coweeta Creek is a "Qualla" site. Dickens ("Mississippian Settlement Patterns in the Appalachian Summit Area," 136) writes, "Pisgah sites tend to follow a clustered pattern in which there is a large mound site with surrounding smaller village sites, with the largest of these complexes occurring in intermontane basins. Qualla sites have a more linear arrangement with numerous, but sometimes closely neighboring sites having mounds. The change from a nucleated community pattern in the Pisgah phase to a more dispersed pattern in the Qualla phase may reflect some widespread trends in the Southeast during late Mississippian times."

⁴⁷Dickens, Cherokee Prehistory, 126; Dickens, "Mississippian Settlement Patterns in the Appalachian Summit Area," 119; Wilson, "Burials from the Warren Wilson Site," 54. There are also eight known burials at the Garden Creek sites on the Pigeon River (Keel, Cherokee Archaeology, 92).

⁴⁸Sullivan, "The Mouse Creek Phase Household," 17-21; Sullivan and Rodning, "Gender Duality in Southern Appalachian Chiefdoms." There are more detailed descriptions of these and related sites along the lower Hiwassee River and upper Tennessee River in Thomas Lewis and Madeline Kneberg, Hiwassee Island: An Archaeological Account of Four Tennessee Indian Peoples (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1946); Thomas Lewis and Madeline Kneberg Lewis, The Prehistory of The Chickamauga Basin, compiled and edited by Lynne Sullivan (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995).

⁴⁹Polhemus, The Toqua Site, 378; Sullivan and Rodning, "Gender Duality in Southern Appalachian Chiefdoms." Gerald Schroedl's article ("Mississippian Towns in the Eastern Tennessee Valley," in Mississippian Towns and Sacred Spaces: Searching for an Architectural Grammar, edited by Barry Lewis and Charles Stout (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998) has recently reviewed patterns in the spatial layout of burials and buildings at this and related Mississippian sites in the upper Tennessee Valley of eastern Tennessee. David Hally and Hypatia Kelly ("The Nature of Mississippian Towns in Georgia: The King Site Example," in Mississippian Towns and Sacred Spaces: Searching for an Architectural Grammar, edited by Barry Lewis and Charles Stout (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998) have studied this patterning at the King site along the Coosa River in northwestern Georgia.

⁵⁰Schroedl, editor, Overhill Cherokee Archaeology, 182-183; Lynne Sullivan, "Mississippian Community and Household Organization in Eastern Tennessee," in Mississippian Households and Communities, edited by Daniel Rogers and Bruce Smith (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995), 112.

⁵¹Rodning, "Towns and Clans," 42-50. Larissa Thomas has noted the widespread presence of shell beads in both male and female burials in different parts of southeastern North America during the late precontact period. See "A Study of Shell Beads and Their Social Context in the Mississippian

Period: A Case from the Carolina Piedmont and Mountains,” in Southeastern Archaeology 15(1996):29-46.

⁵²Hudson, The Southeastern Indians, 386-388. Marvin Smith and Julie Barnes Smith have noted that some forms of engraved shell ornaments were commonly associated with the burials of adult men in southeastern North America during the late precontact period. See “Engraved Shell Masks in North America,” in Southeastern Archaeology 8(1989):9-18.

⁵³Hudson, The Southeastern Indians, 400-402; Perdue, Cherokee Women, 1-2.

⁵⁴At earlier archaeological sites in southeastern North America engraved gorgets and other shell ornaments were buried with children. Marvin Smith, The Archaeology of Aboriginal Contact Change: Depopulation During the Early Historic Period (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1987), 108-112.

⁵⁵Hudson, The Southeastern Indians, 398-400.

⁵⁶James Hatch, “The Citico Site,” in Tennessee Anthropologist 1(1976):74-103, 94-96.

⁵⁷Alfred Guthe, “The Eighteenth-Century Overhill Cherokee,” in For the Director: Essays in Honor of James Griffin, edited by Charles Cleland (University of Michigan, Museum of Anthropology Anthropological Papers 61, Ann Arbor, 1977):219-229; Schroedl, editor, Overhill Cherokee Archaeology.

⁵⁸Steve Davis and Trawick Ward, “The Evolution of Siouan Communities in Piedmont North Carolina,” in Southeastern Archaeology 10(1991):40-53; Roy Dickens, Trawick Ward, and Steve Davis, editors, The Siouan Project, Seasons I and II (University of North Carolina, Research Laboratories of Archaeology Monograph 1, Chapel Hill, 1987); Trawick Ward and Steve Davis, Indian Communities of the North Carolina Piedmont, AD 1000-1700 (University of North Carolina, Research Laboratories of Archaeology Monograph 2, Chapel Hill, 1993); Trawick Ward and Steve Davis, editors, “The Archaeology of the Occaneechi Indians” in Southern Indian Studies (1988):36-37.

⁵⁹Hill, Weaving New Worlds, 27; Perdue, Cherokee Women, 46; Richard Sattler, “Women’s Status among the Muskogee and Cherokee,” in Women and Power in Native America, edited by Laura Klein and Lillian Ackerman (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 222.

⁶⁰Christopher Rodning, “Towns and Clans among the Cherokees,” in Archaeological Studies of Gender in Inland Southeastern North America, edited by Jane Eastman and Christopher Rodning (manuscript in preparation, 1999); Lynne Sullivan, “Those Men in the Mounds: Gender, Politics, and Mortuary Practices in Late Prehistoric Eastern Tennessee,” *ibid.*

⁶¹Many native North American groups in the United States developed tribal archaeology programs after the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) in 1966, which stipulated that places of historic and cultural significance should be studied and preserved. T.J. Ferguson has recently reviewed the history of Native American involvement in formal archaeology programs since then. See “NHPA: Changing the Role of Native Americans in the Archaeological Study of the Past,” Society for American Archaeology Bulletin 17(1)(1999):33-37.

⁶²The interaction between archaeologists and native North American groups in the United States has changed dramatically since the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990, which requires museums and other institutions to publish inventories of human remains and sacred artifacts in their collections so that native tribes can make formal requests for repatriation. T.J. Ferguson, “Native Americans and the Practice of Archaeology,” (Annual Review of Anthropology 25(1996):63-79. UNC archaeologists Stephen Davis, Pat Lambert, Vin Steponaitis, Clark Larsen, and Trawick Ward (NAGPRA Inventory of the North Carolina Archaeological Collection, Manuscript at the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1996) have published such an inventory of materials from archaeological sites in the Carolinas, and that inventory (which is a public document) has been my source for identifications of the biological sex and age at death of individuals buried at sites that have been excavated by archaeologists.