5 / William Bartram and the Archaeology of the Appalachian Summit

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During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, tribal communities composed of several different towns and groups of towns formed out of the vestiges of the diverse Mississippian chiefdoms that rose and fell in southeastern North America from the eleventh through the sixteenth centuries (Galloway 1994, 1995; Knight 1994a; Muller 1997; J. F. Scarry 1994a, 1996a; Wesson 1999; Widmer 1994). As the seventeenth century drew to a close, the community that became known as the Cherokee formed within the cultural landscape of southwestern North Carolina and surrounding areas (Champagne 1983, 1990; Dickens 1978, 1979; Goodwin 1977; Hatley 1989, 1995; Hill 1997; Persico 1979). This paper reviews ethnohistoric evidence about native cultures and communities of southwestern North Carolina and surrounding areas in southern Appalachia and its relevance to the archaeological study of Cherokee cultural history. I concentrate especially on the travel journal of the Quaker naturalist William Bartram and his reflections on visiting the southern Appalachians during the eighteenth century.

Several crisscrossing mountain ranges in western North Carolina form the natural landscape of a cultural and geographic province known as the Appalachian Summit (Figure 5.1)(Kroeber 1939:95; Purrington 1983:83). Bartram visited the Middle Cherokee towns and surrounding countryside in these mountains on the eve of the American Revolution (Figure 5.2)(Waselkov and Braund 1995:72–88). His path of travel across southeastern North America eventually led him through several Upper Creek towns (see Braund 1993:10; Dimmick 1989:2; Lolley 1996:5). Some of his writing compares and contrasts the material culture and social structures of Iroquoian-speaking Cherokee groups and Muskogean-speaking Creek communities (Waselkov and Braund 1995:110–186).

Although his travels and journals date to the late eighteenth century, William Bartram's written descriptions of Cherokee lifeways and architecture are valuable ethnohistoric material for archaeologists interested in earlier periods (see I. W. Brown 1993:278–279; Dickens 1967:10–11; Hammett 1997:201–202; Waselkov 1997:185–187). Of course the lives of native people and communities across the Southeast had changed dramatically during the eighteenth century through their
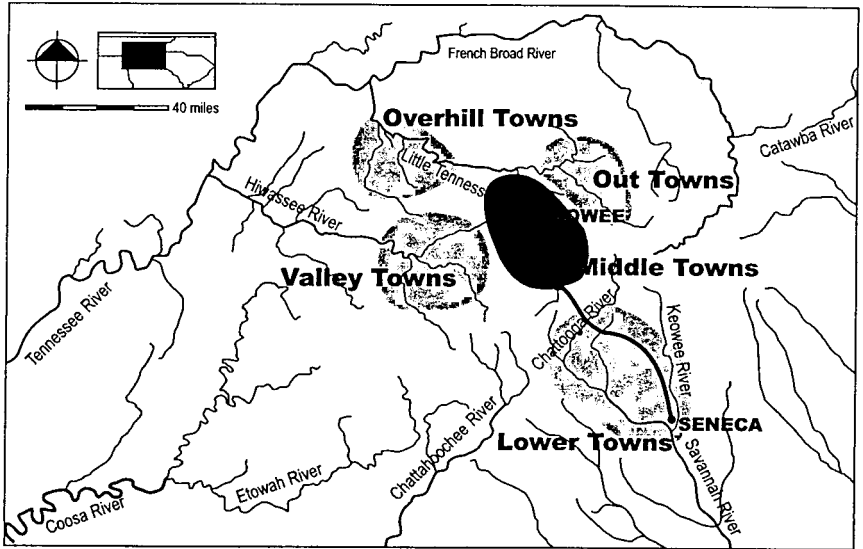
Figure 5.1 Cherokee towns and the route of William Bartram.

involvement in the deerskin trade and all the conflicts with Europeans and native allies that came with it. However, there are relatively few eyewitness accounts of native cultures and communities in the southern Appalachians between the Spanish explorations during the sixteenth century and the more permanent English presence in the mountains during the middle and late eighteenth century (see Adair 1930 [1775]; Baden 1983; Chicken 1928; Corkran 1962, 1967, 1969; Cuming 1928; Davis 1990; DePratter 1991, 1994; DeVorsey 1971, 1998; Gearing 1958, 1962; Hatley 1995; D. H. King and Evans 1977; Mereness 1916; Merrell 1989; Mooney 1887, 1891, 1900; Randolph 1973; Sattler 1995; B. A. Smith 1979; M. T. Smith 1987; Timberlake 1927). Therefore, archaeologists interested in Cherokee lifeways and the Appalachian Summit cultural landscape during the seventeenth century often rely upon ethnohistoric evidence dating to the late sixteenth or late eighteenth century, at least as starting points for archaeological research (see Beck 1997:162–163; Dickens 1967:3–5; C. Hudson 1990:94–101; M. T. Smith 1987:11–22).

This chapter concentrates on the writings of William Bartram, whose journals and essays offer a vivid portrait of what the landscapes along his path of travel looked like.[1] I relate his writing to archaeological problems and interests in the Appalachian Summit, where considerable surveys and excavations have been done and where there is great potential for further fieldwork.[2] First I trace Bartram's route of travel through the Appalachian Summit. Then I outline several anthropological
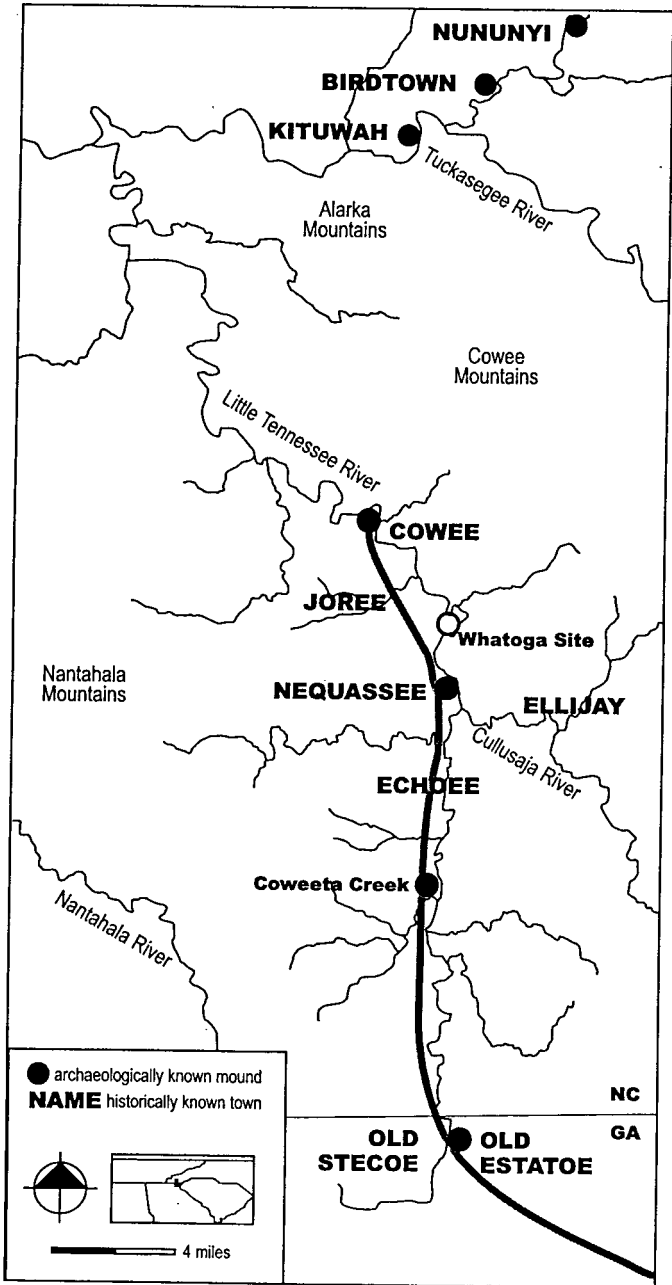
Figure 5.2 Archaeology in the upper Little Tennessee Valley, North Carolina.

topics that come up in Bartram's journal and that are worth further archaeological consideration in the Appalachian Summit. His journal offers some valuable material to compare and contrast with spatial patterns in the archaeological record of the Appalachian Summit, even though his visit to southern Appalachia came well after the Cherokee became enmeshed in the deerskin trade and other forms of interaction with European colonists. My conclusions comment on one scene from his journal that illustrates both the cultural upheaval within native communities during that century and the persistence of some traditions in the secluded cultural landscape of the Appalachian Summit, which was relatively far away from major European colonial settlements during much of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Bartram's Path

Bartram sailed from Philadelphia to Charleston in 1773. He traveled by horse to eastern Georgia and Florida and visited several ancient and abandoned mounds and villages while touring river valleys and coastal forests until March of 1774. In May of 1775 he set his course for southern Appalachia and the Cherokee towns. After visiting Cherokee country, Bartram made his way to several Creek towns along the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers in Alabama, arriving in Mobile in July of 1775. He sailed to Pensacola and stayed there for a short while, then headed west again to explore parts of what are now southern Mississippi and southeastern Louisiana. However, he became sick and returned to Mobile by November of 1775. His journal offers excellent descriptions of native landscapes of Georgia, Alabama, and the western part of the Carolinas, but nothing about the Tennessee Valley itself and only some brief comments about the Mississippi Valley. Greg Waselkov and Kathryn Braund (1995) have written a remarkable book about his journal and its significance for archaeology in different parts of southeastern North America. Here my specific interests are Bartram's comments about native people and landscapes in and around what is now southwestern North Carolina.

Bartram traveled from a colonial outpost at the confluence of the Savannah and Broad rivers and visited Seneca as well as former Cherokee towns along the Keowee River in northwestern South Carolina (Waselkov and Braund 1995:73–75). For the most part these settlements had been abandoned, but architectural remnants of ancient villages and old townhouses were prominently visible landmarks in these areas. Traveling by horseback, Bartram then wound his way through the mountains northwest of Keowee toward the Cherokee town of Cowee (Waselkov and Braund 1995:75–76). Apparently he did not meet anybody between the Keowee and Chattooga rivers, but he saw many former settlements. He did pass through a place called Oconee somewhere west or northwest of Keowee itself, and here he noted the ruins of an ancient town.

Bartram continued to find the ruins of former towns near the headwaters of the Little Tennessee River in what is now northeastern Georgia and southwestern North Carolina (Waselkov and Braund 1995:75–76). He saw an abandoned mound that he called "Old Stecoe," which is probably at or somewhere close to the archaeologically known Dillard mound (see King and Evans 1977:289; Wynn 1990:54–55).[3] He may have been at "Old Estatoe," which perhaps was an earlier site for the historically known Lower town known by that name (see Hill 1997:68–74; King and Evans 1977:289).[4]

Bartram was intent on visiting the mound and town at Cowee along the Little Tennessee River in southwestern North Carolina (Waselkov and Braund 1995:76–79). He followed trails from near the headwaters of this river to this major town.[5] Along the way he passed through several towns and hamlets that were surrounded by fields and woods.[6]

Using Cowee as a base, Bartram traveled with a colonial trader through the Cowee Mountains east toward the Tuckasegee River, where one afternoon trek inspired some of his most lyrical prose. From overlooks above Cowee, Bartram (1955:287 [1791]) found stunning scenery—

After riding near two miles through Indian plantations of Corn, which was well cultivated, kept clean of weeds and was well advanced, being near eighteen inches in height, and the Beans planted at the Corn-hills were above ground; we leave the fields on our right, turning towards the mountains and ascending through a delightful green vale or lawn, which conducted us in amongst the pyramidal hills and crossing a brisk flowing creek, meandering through the meads which continued near two miles, dividing and branching in amongst the hills; we then mounted their steep ascents, rising gradually by ridges or steps one above another, frequently crossing narrow, fertile dales as we ascended; the air feels cool and animating, being charged with the fragrant breath of the mountain beauties, the blooming mountain cluster Rose, blushing Rhododendron and fair Lilly of the valley: having now attained the summit of this very elevated ridge, we enjoyed a fine prospect indeed; the enchanting Vale of Keowe, perhaps as celebrated for fertility, fruitfulness and beautiful prospects as the Fields of Pharsalia or the Vale of Tempe: the town, the elevated peeks [sic] of the Jore mountains, a very distant prospect of the Jore village in a beautiful lawn, lifted up many thousand feet higher than our present situation, besides a view of many other villages and settlements on the sides of the mountains, at various distances and elevations; the silver rivulets gliding by them and snow white cataracts glimmering on the sides of the lofty hills; the bold promontories of the Jore[7] mountain stepping into the Tanase[8] river, whilst his foaming waters rushed between them (Waselkov and Braund 1995:79–80).

After staying for several days at Cowee, Bartram rode toward the Overhill Cherokee towns along the lower Little Tennessee River in southeastern Tennessee, but after meeting the Overhill chief Attakullakulla in the Nantahala Mountains and learning of unrest between colonists and native groups, he returned to Cowee. While he was there, Bartram (1955:296–298 [1791]) noted many aspects of native architecture and witnessed a ritual in the townhouse—

The town of Cowe consists of about one hundred dwellings, near the banks of the Tanase, on both sides of the river. . . . The Cherokees construct their habitations on a different plan from the Creeks, that is but one oblong four square building, of one story high; the materials consisting of logs or trunks of trees, stripped of their bark, notched at their ends, fixed one upon another, and afterwards plaistered well, both inside and out, with clay well tempered with dry grass, and the whole covered or roofed with the bark of the Chesnut tree or long broad shingles. This building is however partitioned transversely, forming three apartments, which communicate with each other by inside doors; each house or habitation has besides a little conical house, covered with dirt, which is called the winter or hot-house; this stands a few yards distance from the mansion-house, opposite the front door. . . . The council or town-house is a large rotunda, capable of accommodating several hundred people; it stands on the top of an ancient artificial mount of earth, of about twenty feet perpendicular, and the rotunda on the top of it being above thirty feet more, gives the whole fabric an elevation of about sixty feet from the common surface of the ground. But it may be proper to observe, that this mount on which the rotunda stands, is of a much ancienter date than the building, and perhaps was raised for another purpose. . . . The rotunda is constructed after the following manner, they first fix in the ground a circular range of posts or trunks of trees, about six feet high, at equal distances, which are notched at top, to receive into them, from one to another, a range of beams or wall plates; within this is another circular order of very large and strong pillars, above twelve feet high, notched in like manner at top, to receive another range of wall plates, and within this is yet another or third range of stronger and higher pillars, but fewer in number, and standing at a greater distance from each other; and lastly, in the centre stands a very strong pillar, which forms the pinnacle of the building, and to which the rafters centre at top; these rafters are strengthened and bound together by cross beams and laths, which sustain the roof or covering, which is a layer of bark neatly placed, and tight enough to exclude the rain, and sometimes they cast a thin superficies of earth over all. There is but one large door, which serves at the same time to admit light from without and the smoak to escape when a fire is kindled; but as there is but a small fire kept, sufficient to give light at

night, and that fed with dry small sound wood divested of its bark, there is but little smoak; all around the inside of the building, betwixt the second range of pillars and the wall, is a range of cabins or sophas, consisting of two or three steps, one above or behind the other, in theatrical order, where the assembly sit or lean down; these sophas are covered with matts or carpets, very curiously made of thin splints of Ash or Oak, woven or platted together; near the great pillar in the centre the fire is kindled for light, near which the musicians seat themselves, and round about this the performers exhibit their dances and other shews at public festivals, which happen almost every night throughout the year. (Waselkov and Braund 1995:84–85)

Because of the unrest between Cherokee groups and European colonists in the Overhill towns in eastern Tennessee, Bartram traveled back to Dartmouth and Fort James at the confluence of the Savannah and Broad rivers. His hosts at this European colonial outpost were preparing for meetings with Cherokee town leaders, and during his stay there he saw several stone mounds while walking through the woods close to where the town of Keowee had once stood. After a brief stay in Dartmouth, Bartram left with a group of traders bound for the Creek towns further southwest. Having visited several Lower Creek and Upper Creek towns along the Chattahoochee and Tallapoosa rivers, he described in his journal the architecture of these towns and offered clues about the history of the landscapes in which they stood.

Bartram's Journal

His journal about these travels offers a wealth of rich descriptions from which archaeologists can draw for their studies of native landscapes and lifeways in southeastern North America. It raises several topics that are worth considering in the context of archaeology in North Carolina.

A major passage in Bartram's journal to which many archaeologists have referred is his description of the Cherokee townhouse at Cowee, quoted at length above; this account has been very helpful to archaeologists interested in the evolution of Cherokee public architecture in the southern Appalachians (D. G. Moore 1990; Schroedl 1986a:220–221). Though Bartram described this public structure at Cowee as standing atop a great mound, it seems likely the townhouse stood on a modest mound that was itself built atop a much greater natural knoll beside the Little Tennessee River (Moore 1990, personal communication 1999).[9] How does archaeological evidence of southern Appalachian townhouses dating to different periods of the past compare to Bartram's description?[10] Interestingly, his representation of the Cowee council house corresponds closely to archaeological evidence of Cherokee council houses in eastern Tennessee dating to the eighteenth century. Moreover, these forms of Cherokee council houses seem to have been present in

towns with some forms of household architecture showing European influences such as Bartram described.

Another interesting point about Bartram's journal is that it does not describe a mound at the place historically known as the Cherokee town of Nequassee, though he did visit a place he called Nequassee: "arrived at the town of Echoe, consisting of many good houses, well inhabited; I passed through and continued three miles farther to Nucasse" (Waselkov and Braund 1995:77). He did find a great mound and townhouse at Whatoga—

> and three more miles brought me to Whatoga: riding through this large town, the road carried me winding about through their little plantations of Corn, Beans, etc. up to the council-house, which was a very large dome or rotunda, situated on the top of an ancient artificial mount, and here my road terminated; all before me and on every side appeared little plantations of young Corn, Beans, etc. divided from each other by narrow strips or borders of grass, which marked the bounds of each one's property, their habitation standing in the midst. (Waselkov and Braund 1995:77)

Whereas Nequassee is the name of a mound along the Little Tennessee River in downtown Franklin—the current seat of Macon County (Mooney 1900:336–337)[11]—Whatoga is associated with an archaeological site in a bend of the Little Tennessee River north of Franklin, near what is now Lake Emory (Dickens 1967:7–8).[12] Did Bartram confuse or misremember these names? Did he or his publisher mistake some of the names of places along the path he traveled? My suggestion is that the place to which Bartram referred to as Whatoga is actually the mound and village known to archaeologists today as Nequassee. Perhaps when he composed his journal he mistook the order in which he visited Nequassee and Whatoga. Or perhaps place-names changed from time to time as people or whole towns moved from one place to another.[13] Cherokee place-names seem to reflect something about local environments—for example, "Keowee" refers to an abundance of mulberries (Hill 1997:9). Yet Cherokee town names often refer to "current" and "old" settings for communities—"Old Estatoe" is one example (Hill 1997:86)—and town names may apply to the "people" of a town rather than a specific "place."

It is also interesting that Bartram did not find a major town at the mouth of Coweeta Creek, where archaeologists have excavated a townhouse and village that likely date to the seventeenth century (see Dickens 1976:100; B. J. Egloff 1967:8–12; K. T. Egloff 1971:42–71; Keel 1976:234; Ward and Davis 1999:185). Glass beads and kaolin pipe stems were found with the latest stages of the Coweeta Creek council house, although non-native trade goods were not found in any burials and were very rare in all other contexts at the site (Dickens 1978:131; K. T. Egloff 1971:62–69). The native ceramics from Coweeta Creek would fit a time frame

within the seventeenth or early eighteenth century, and they are comparable in many respects to Tugalo and Estatoe phase ceramics from sites farther south (Dickens 1979:22–28; B. J. Egloff 1967:27–67). Neither the Coweeta Creek archaeological locality nor archaeologically known settlements farther south in the upper Little Tennessee Valley figure prominently in the ethnohistorical literature or historical cartography of Cherokee towns,[14] supporting the conclusion that the town at Coweeta Creek predates the eighteenth century. It must have been a major town center during the seventeenth century (Ward and Davis 1999:183–187), and yet it may not have been an especially visible landmark by the middle of the eighteenth century (D. H. King and Evans 1977:297–299).

It is worth noting that Bartram offers a rich portrait of the whole landscape of the upper Little Tennessee Valley, describing trails running along the river and through the woods and fields between towns (see D. H. King and Evans 1977:283; Myer 1928:772; Waselkov and Braund 1995:77). He also depicts bustling Middle Cherokee towns and villages as well as abandoned towns and old fields, hinting that one reason Cherokee towns moved from place to place was that local supplies of firewood and other natural resources would sometimes dwindle.

Archaeological Topics

Bartram thus gives his readers striking visual images of what the cultural landscape as a whole looked like on the eve of the American Revolution, and what remnants of former towns and villages were still visible in the landscape. Of course his visit came after a century or more of trade and many forms of cultural encounter and exchange between Europeans and native people in the southern Appalachian region. He encountered both traders and some of their horses in the Middle Cherokee towns (Waselkov and Braund 1995:80), and he visited these areas after South Carolina and other colonies had waged war against native townspeople (King and Evans 1977:272). Nevertheless his descriptions of native landscapes and lifeways are a valuable window upon native southeasterners living in areas where there was a much different kind of colonial presence and perhaps greater native cultural conservatism than in many parts of the Piedmont and coastal plain provinces closer to colonial communities and outposts. Bartram offers a valuable stepping stone for comparative studies in Appalachian Summit archaeology. His descriptions of native landscapes and lifeways of the Southeast can form a contrast to archaeological patterns representing earlier eras in the Appalachian Summit or at least can suggest hypotheses that may be tested against the archaeological record.

How often did whole Cherokee communities move from one locale to another? Bartram traveled past old villages and townhouses along the Keowee River in what is now northwestern South Carolina (1955:268–271 [1791]). These were likely aban-

doned following encounters and conflicts with European colonists and Creek groups during the years of the slave and deerskin trades and the outbreak of epidemic diseases (see Hatley 1995:156–159; Hill 1997:74–76). He also visited deserted settlements and old fields in the Cowee Mountains of what is now southwestern North Carolina (1955:287–288 [1791]), which may have been abandoned when local supplies of natural resources dwindled. Reflecting upon visiting old fields somewhere in the mountains near Cowee, Bartram (1955:287–288 [1791]) wrote,

> After viewing this very entertaining scene we began to descend the mountain on the other side, which exhibited the same order of gradations of ridges and vales as on our ascent, and at length rested on a very expansive, fertile plain, amidst the towering hills, over which we rode a long time, through magnificent high forests, extensive green fields, meadows and lawns. Here had formerly been a very flourishing settlement, but the Indians deserted it in search of fresh planting land, which they soon found in a rich vale but a few miles distance over a ridge of hills. (Waselkov and Braund 1995:80)

How often this abandonment and movement happened is not clear. Nor is it clear how communities decided where to move or when to move. Did whole towns or just household groups within them relocate? Did different towns negotiate with each other to plan these kinds of movements? Were there changes in town spacing in different areas during different periods between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries?[15] How might these movements have affected or been affected by politics and social interaction in the region?[16] These aspects of landscape history certainly have implications for understanding archaeological evidence of settlement patterns across southern Appalachia during the late Prehistoric and Protohistoric periods. They also relate to our understanding of how Cherokee people living in different areas interacted with each other.

What happened to Cherokee townhouses when their tenures as architectural centers of towns were over? Bartram (1955:280–281 [1791]; Waselkov and Braund 1995:76) traveled past the remnants of an old townhouse still visible atop a mound somewhere near the source of the Little Tennessee River, and of course he had seen old mounds and townhouses along the Keowee River (1955:270–271 [1791]; Waselkov and Braund 1995:75). Gardens and woods around old towns and hamlets may have been left with little thought when people moved to another place. Perhaps there were traditions for ritually ending the lives of council houses as architectural centers for towns or even groups of towns. Remembering the ancient mound and townhouse at Old Stecoe, Bartram (1955:280 [1791]) wrote, "Here was a vast Indian mount or tumulus and great terrace, on which stood the council house, with banks encompassing their circus; here were also old Peach and Plumb

orchards, some of the trees appeared yet thriving and fruitful" (Waselkov and Braund 1995:76).

There is ethnohistoric evidence that old townhouses were ritually dismantled and perhaps even covered by mantles of clay (Schroedl 1986b:220; Sturtevant 1978:200). This tradition contrasts with the visible presence on the landscape of former Cherokee townhouses as described by Bartram during his tour of the southern Appalachian countryside. Perhaps this contrast represents the loss of a significant Cherokee ritual during the deerskin trade of the eighteenth century. Or maybe not all Cherokee communities performed communal rituals to end the tenure of a council house as an architectural landmark for a native township.

What impact did building and rebuilding Cherokee towns have upon the surrounding forest environment? Bartram (1955:296–298 [1791]) described the architecture of Cherokee townhouses and dwellings, and several archaeologists have referred to his accounts of architectural details (Schroedl 1986b:220–221; Waselkov and Braund 1995:84–85)—including his comments about the placement of inner support posts and rafters to hold up bark roofs. Apparently he saw (1955:296–297 [1791]) Cherokee townhouses that showed many elements of traditional architecture, although dwelling houses revealed a blend of Euroamerican and Native American influences (Schroedl 1986b:224–228; Waselkov and Braund 1995:183–186) —namely the log cabins built beside more traditional winter lodges. From his and other descriptions of Cherokee architecture and landscaping projects (see Hill 1997:68–74), it is apparent that gathering resources from the surrounding woods and gardens to build and sustain towns made a significant mark upon the forested landscape. Many historically known Cherokee names for specific places reflect characteristics of the local natural environment and its resources (see Goodwin 1977: 153–156), and it is likely that old settlements became valuable edge habitats in which to hunt deer and turkeys and gather nuts and berries.

Building and rebuilding the council house and village within the community centered at the Coweeta Creek site would have demanded considerable resources. The abandonment of Coweeta Creek and other towns may have marked the point at which dwindling local supplies of wood for architecture and firewood encouraged townspeople to move somewhere else.

What kinds of rituals were performed at Cherokee council houses and plazas? Bartram (1955:298–300 [1791]) described a ritual at the Cowee townhouse and the town common beside it; Cherokee communities likely held several of these gatherings every year (Waselkov and Braund 1995:85–86; see Adair 1930 [1775]; Corkran 1969; Wetmore 1983). Bartram (1955:284–285 [1791]) went straight to the townhouse at Whatoga after arriving there; Cherokee communities probably often received such visitors in these architectural spaces (Waselkov and Braund 1995:76–

77; see Faulkner 1978; Randolph 1973; Timberlake 1927). Members of a Cherokee community would rest in a townhouse upon their return to their hometown (see Hill 1997:73), thus renewing their places within the community (see Perdue 1998:35). It is likely that some old Cherokee men may have all but lived in townhouses (see Schroedl 1986b:224), given the involvement of many men in activities related to these architectural spaces and the historic link between women and households in this matrilineal society (see Perdue 1998:45).

The townhouse at Coweeta Creek was built and rebuilt at the same spot at least six times (K. T. Egloff 1971:51). Between it and the Coweeta Creek village was a communal plaza covered with lenses of clay and river sand (K. T. Egloff 1971:70). Artifacts and other materials found in the Coweeta Creek mound should help archaeologists reconstruct activities associated with townhouses and the events that occurred while they were being rebuilt (see VanDerwarker 1998; VanDerwarker and Detwiler 1999; G. D. Wilson et al. 1999).

What was the relationship between the Cherokee and the stone mounds or cairns found in some parts of the southern Appalachians? Bartram (1955:300 [1791]) noted the presence of stone mounds that seem to have been built many centuries earlier but that had become landmarks within the Cherokee landscape (Waselkov and Braund 1995:87). Are these related to the Swift Creek tradition of building stone mounds and cairns as has been described by archaeologists studying areas farther south (see M. Williams and Elliott 1998; M. Williams and Harris 1998)? Bartram also noted the visible presence of platform mounds in some Cherokee towns (Waselkov and Braund 1995:77). What different kinds of mounds were present in the Appalachian Summit at different points in the past (see Anderson et al. 1986; Heye et al. 1918; A. R. Kelly and de Baillou 1960; A. R. Kelly and Neitzel 1961; Lindauer and Blitz 1997; Setzler and Jennings 1941; C. Thomas 1894:333–350; Ward and Davis 1999:158–190)? The historic Cherokee certainly built townhouses on some mounds, but the mounds themselves and other landmarks that Bartram saw in southern Appalachia may have been more ancient additions to the landscape (Mooney 1887; Waselkov and Braund 1995:84).

How did members of one Cherokee township interact with other native towns in the greater southern Appalachians? Bartram (1955:298–300 [1791]) described ceremonial preparations for a ballgame against another town. Perhaps this ballgame was a form of ritual warfare that helped to keep towns at peace with each other (Waselkov and Braund 1995:85–86; see Vennum 1994:179–180, 213–235). English trader Alexander Longe (Corkran 1969:36–37) hinted that residents of several Cherokee towns cooperated to build a Cherokee council house, which seems to suggest that this kind of architectural space within a Cherokee town served as a setting for events at which people from many towns would gather. English diplomat

Henry Timberlake (1927:58–64; Randolph 1973) was welcomed at several Over-hill Cherokee towns along the lower Little Tennessee River with rituals at and beside council houses, and meetings of Cherokee leaders from different towns took place in these settings. Sir Alexander Cuming (1928:125–126) met with several Cherokee town leaders at the Keowee council house upon his arrival in Cherokee country, and his later meetings at Nequassee with representatives from different Cherokee towns likely occurred in a Cherokee council house. Agent George Chicken (1928:97–102) was present at the gatherings of leaders from several different Cherokee towns at Keowee and Tanasee for trade negotiations, and my guess is that meetings like these involving representatives from different Cherokee towns would have been held in and beside council houses. Ethnohistorian Charles Hudson (1990:94–101) has described meetings between members of the Juan Pardo expedition and native town leaders from what is now southwestern North Carolina in the late sixteenth century, and these kinds of meetings very likely took place at or beside public buildings similar to historic Cherokee council houses. Bartram (1955:297–300 [1791]) saw council houses where all of these kinds of events took place—including contemporary council houses and remnants of ancient town-houses still visible on the ground (Waselkov and Braund 1995:75–76). When leaders from different Cherokee towns met, it is likely that they would gather within or beside Cherokee council houses like the ones that Bartram saw (D. G. Moore 1990; Waselkov and Braund 1995:84).

What were the shapes and dimensions of Cherokee towns? Bartram (1955:284 [1791]) described Echoee and Nequassee as villages or hamlets but noted the presence of some one hundred houses at the Cherokee town of Cowee on both sides of the river (Waselkov and Braund 1995:77, 84). He described Cowee as a "capital" and characterized Echoee as a "hamlet." From these clues it becomes apparent that larger and perhaps older Cherokee towns in southern Appalachia may have been especially prominent regional centers among the Cherokee. Did these centers shift across the landscape of southern Appalachia through time? It is also interesting to note the presence of houses on both sides of the rivers running through the communities of Cowee and Keowee. What social distinctions might have paralleled these spatial distinctions within Cherokee towns? During the eighteenth century, many Cherokee households included both a summer house and a winter lodge, and Bartram remarked on this phenomenon at Cherokee towns (Waselkov and Braund 1995:184–185). This paired architectural pattern is visible in the archaeological record of eastern Tennessee and northern Georgia (see Faulkner 1978:91; Hally and Kelly 1998:56; Polhemus 1990:130; Schroedl 1989:354; Sullivan 1987:28, 1989:110, 1995:110). Was this pattern present in southwestern North Carolina, and when?

Through time, nucleated town plans—represented by the archaeological sites of

Warren Wilson and Coweeta Creek (Dickens 1978:131)—gave way to more dispersed arrangements of households (see Wilms 1974), and this pattern is evident at the Townson and Tuckasegee sites (Dickens 1978:131). When did this dispersal happen in different river valleys and what were its social and political implications?

What kinds of paths connected Cherokee towns and farmsteads? Bartram (1955: 281 [1791]) followed trails from Echoee to Cowee and described paths leading from Cherokee towns through gardens and past hamlets to other places within the mosaic woodland landscape of southern Appalachia at the end of the eighteenth century (Waselkov and Braund 1995:76, 77). How old were these trails? Were mounds placed at crossroads or other significant points along these paths?

Native trails and routes for water travel have relatively little archaeological visibility in the Southeast (see Tanner 1989). But does the placement of towns like Nacoochee, Nequassee, Cowee, Peachtree, Coweeta Creek, and others relate at all to gaps in the mountains or the geography of historically known trails (see Myer 1928)? What patterns of interaction were there among communities in the Chattahoochee, Tugalo, Tuckasegee, Hiwassee, Little Tennessee, and other valleys? Water travel would have been relatively easy *within* groups of towns but not nearly as easy *between* one group of towns and another. The mountain landscape certainly did not prevent exchange and interaction among people from different valleys, but the terrain would have guided it in some way. Topography may have enhanced social bonds among people living in groups of neighboring towns. Furthermore, it may have heightened the effects of any conflicts that arose among close neighbors within this landscape of narrow river valleys and rugged mountain ranges.

What was the place of traders and trading houses in Cherokee communities, both socially and spatially? Some archaeological excavations have uncovered remnants of trading posts near Cherokee communities dating to the eighteenth century, and indeed the Cherokee and many of their native neighbors actively sought and encouraged trade during the early and mid-eighteenth century (Braund 1993:26–39; J. Chapman 1985; Polhemus 1979; Schroedl 1986a:5–16). Historians have noted that different traders carved their own niches within the communities of their Cherokee constituents and that many successful traders formed kinship or other social bonds within one or several Cherokee communities (Corkran 1967:11–12; Hatley 1995:43–44; J. W. Martin 1994:311; Perdue 1998:81–85). Ethnohistorian and environmental historian Tom Hatley (1995:32–51) has written a cogent review of the changing role of English traders within Cherokee communities from the earliest trade in the late seventeenth century through the end of the eighteenth century. Hatley (1989, 1995) and geographer Douglas Wilms (1991:1–3) have chronicled some of the changes in the relationship between the Cherokee and their

southern Appalachian landscape introduced by opportunities and trends in the deerskin trade.

As they and geographer Gary Goodwin (1977:147–151; see also Dickens 1979: 26; Pillsbury 1983:59; Purrington 1983:150; Wilms 1974:51) have noted, settlement patterns in southern Appalachia changed dramatically due to the deerskin trade and the many forms of encounter and conflict that came with it and after it, when Cherokee communities tended to become more dispersed in their spatial layout and social fabric. Council houses still served as community centers even as households became more and more dispersed along the narrow river valleys of the Appalachians in southwestern North Carolina during the late eighteenth century. Meanwhile the social composition of native towns was changing as refugees from other native communities were moving to this relatively remote part of southeastern North America because of conflicts with European colonists. How do these changes compare to archaeologically visible changes in settlement patterns and public architecture throughout earlier centuries? How did new forms of trade change the ways that native towns and households within towns interacted with each other? How did ancient patterns of native interaction and exchange guide the ways that native people participated in the colonial trade in slaves and deerskins during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?

Indian agent George Chicken (1928:103; see also Cuming 1928:140; Davis 1990:31) traveled to the mountains for trade negotiations in the early eighteenth century, and it is clear that the Cherokee at times were actively interested in trade with the colonists. In time, Cherokee leaders even encouraged different colonial authorities to build forts and trading posts close to their communities. Native communities eventually became dependent upon this trade, which contributed to the breakdown of Cherokee and other native cultures and communities during the eighteenth century (Axtell 1997:69; J. N. Brown 1999:29; Corkran 1962:14; Goodwin 1977:113; Hill 1997:93; J. W. Martin 1994:316; Riggs 1989:328). The tactics and ethics of individual traders varied widely, and the policies of colonial authorities were often ineffective constraints upon the depredations of unscrupulous traders in the backcountry of southern Appalachia in the late eighteenth century (Adair 1930:242 [1775]; Axtell 1997:50; Bartram 1955:286 [1791]; Corkran 1962:34; Hatley 1995:50). How were these traders received within Cherokee towns and clans at different points during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries? Did traders live within or at the edges of Cherokee communities? Did some traders have places to live in multiple Cherokee towns?

Bartram offers some clues, but not all that many (Waselkov and Braund 1995: 77–79). He observed old trading posts near the former setting of the Lower Cherokee Town of Keowee in what is now northwestern South Carolina and a trader living just south of Echoee along the upper Little Tennessee River in southwestern

North Carolina. According to Bartram, the trader at Cowee lived within that town, across the river from the council house and mound at Cowee, and he was known for his upstanding conduct and generosity to the local native community. Archaeologists have studied trading posts built close to Cherokee communities in eastern Tennessee (see J. Chapman 1985:100–110; Polhemus 1979:276–285), but they have not excavated any in western North Carolina (but see M. A. Harmon 1983, 1986), even though it is clear that traders were active in the Middle, Valley, and Out towns during the eighteenth century (Corkran 1962:192, 1967:160; Crane 1981:129–132 [1928]; Cuming 1928:132–133; Hatley 1995:17–51).

What rituals of communal renewal were performed in Cherokee towns? Many native groups of southeastern North America celebrated harvest festivals and other rituals related to their farming calendar (Bartram 1955:399 [1791]; C. Hudson 1976:374–375; Swanton 1946:769–772). Native peoples of southwestern North Carolina certainly performed rituals that created opportunities for renewing social bonds within communities (Corkran 1969:14–27; Hill 1997:83–84; Wetmore 1983:47–51). The harvest and communal renewal ceremonies known collectively at that point as the Busk which Bartram described probably bore a close relationship to rites performed in Cherokee towns in southeastern Tennessee, northeastern Georgia, and the western part of the Carolinas during the eighteenth century. These likely took place within and beside Cherokee council houses like those at Cowee, Whatoga, and other towns in the southern Appalachian region.

Bartram depicted a vibrant landscape in the upper Little Tennessee Valley, one rich in resources, yet only fifteen years before his visit South Carolina militiamen, led by James Grant, had ravaged this countryside, burning villages and fields (Adair 1930:267–268 [1775]; Hatley 1995:119–140). The social bonds within Cherokee communities in southern Appalachia survived this and the many other conflicts that erupted during the French and Indian War in the 1750s and early 1760s (Hatley 1995:155–156), though the Cherokee communities that Bartram visited would not last much longer in the form in which he saw them. Soon after his visit, during the American Revolution and its tumultuous aftermath (Dickens 1967:5–18; Hatley 1995:191–215), colonial militias again sacked native towns and landscapes in western North Carolina. The social composition of Cherokee communities changed dramatically after the depredations of colonial militias from Tennessee, Virginia, Georgia, and the Carolinas from the late 1770s through the 1780s (Hatley 1995:216–241).

Bartram's journal is certainly not the only primary ethnohistoric source about southern Appalachian cultures and communities. Journals about brief encounters between Spaniards and native groups of greater southern Appalachia in the sixteenth century are also extant (Beck 1997; DePratter 1991, 1994; C. Hudson 1990). The literature about the Cherokee as a group recognizable by that name

comes mostly from English authors of the eighteenth or late seventeenth century (Baden 1983; DeVorsey 1971, 1998; Hatley 1995). During this period the French were also a significant presence throughout much of the Southeast and Midwest, and they sought to win the Cherokees as their allies and trading partners (Adair 1930:252–258 [1775]; Axtell 1997:64; Baden 1983:10–18; Hatley 1995:35). Several Christian missionaries visited native communities in the southern Appalachians and surrounding areas during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (J. N. Brown 1999:39; Schneider 1928; de Schwienitz 1928; Wilms 1991: 4–5). Yet few if any of these commentators on native cultures in the region match the rich comparative description that Bartram provided of the people and landscapes he observed.

Moreover, many ethnohistoric sources date relatively late in the time frame of Southeastern protohistory or even postdate that era. As in other parts of the Southeast there is a significant gap between the earliest European visitors to the southern Appalachians and the point at which colonists and colonial trade became a lasting presence within native communities and their ways of life.

The Comparative Perspective

Given this chronological gap in the ethnohistoric record about native cultures and landscapes in the Appalachian Summit, it is imperative that archaeologists take great care in making comparisons between ethnohistoric sources and archaeological patterns. Sites like Tuckasegee and Townson are windows upon eighteenth-century Cherokee culture (see Dickens 1967:17; Keel 1976:63–65), and thus they would make interesting comparisons with Bartram's descriptions of Cherokee households and towns. Sites like Coweeta Creek and others along the upper Little Tennessee likely represent Cherokee settlements dating to the seventeenth century, making them significant for efforts to understand native peoples of the southern Appalachians between the Spanish explorations and Bartram's visit to the Cherokee towns (see Dickens 1976:15; Hally 1994b:163). For archaeologists interested in these areas, Bartram's descriptions represent significant ethnohistoric material.

Several archaeologists and ethnohistorians have outlined problems in the application of ethnohistoric evidence toward interpreting patterns in archaeological data sets (Charlton 1981; Crumley 1974; Galloway 1989; Lightfoot 1995; Muller 1997; W. R. Wood 1990). One valuable point made by these and other scholars is that many descriptions of Native American communities and cultural practices were written after native groups had already experienced significant cultural change as a result of their encounters and interactions with Euroamerican groups, and thus these accounts are not necessarily applicable to archaeological data sets predating the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries (Galloway 1993). Another critique is that these characterizations of Native American lifeways and worldviews are biased by

the Euroamerican heritage of most of the authors. Archaeologists who borrow from the ethnohistoric record certainly need to evaluate their sources as critically and carefully as they evaluate the contexts from which their archaeological evidence comes (Galloway 1991). My own approach to applying ethnohistoric evidence to archaeological problems is to frame the ethnohistoric evidence as a set of hypotheses or possibilities against which archaeological evidence can be tested. Such an approach is helpful in studying native peoples of the seventeenth century. This time frame covers the period between the earliest European explorations of the inland Southeast and the eighteenth-century trade and warfare instigated by non-native colonists.

Several archaeologists (Beck 1997; Drooker 1997; Galloway 1995; D. G. Moore 1999; M. T. Smith 1987, 1989a, 1989b; 1992, 1994a, 1994b; Waselkov 1989a, 1989b, 1993, 1997) have made major contributions to the scholarly study of native peoples in the southern Appalachians and surrounding areas—including the Creeks, Cherokees, Catawbas, and others—during the decades between Spanish explorations of the inland Southeast and the eventual spread of English trade across formerly remote areas. Ethnohistoric sources from these different forms of cultural encounter and exchange are bookends bracketing many years of cultural history for which archaeological rather than written materials offer clues about native lifeways. Sites like Coweeta Creek should help archaeologists in their quest to understand cultural continuity and change throughout the seventeenth century (see B. J. Egloff 1967:9–10). This period was certainly one of "indirect contact" between native people in southwestern North Carolina and their new colonial neighbors (see M. T. Smith 1987:6–8). During this century the Cherokee became recognizable as a tribal community by that name in southern Appalachia near the headwaters of the Savannah (Hatley 1995:16), though at this time they were not the cohesive entity they became in the early nineteenth century. At this point or soon afterward, the Creek confederacy formed as a set of alliances between towns in Alabama and Georgia (Knight 1994b:388), perhaps similarly to the ways people in different towns and groups of towns became part of the greater Cherokee community.

Although he noticed some differences, Bartram did find broad similarities in the material culture and social dynamics of Cherokee and Creek communities. The coalescence of the greater Cherokee community as such may have been a historical process comparable to the genesis of the Choctaw tribal community from several distinct but linguistically and culturally related groups just before and after the appearance of Europeans in the Mississippian world (see Galloway 1995). The historical distinction and sometime rivalry between Creek and Cherokee groups may have developed only during the tumultuous eighteenth century, and it may have been related to the rivalries between different European groups and the native towns allied to European colonial communities (see Knight 1994b).

Nevertheless, Bartram did recognize differences between the languages spoken

by Cherokee and Creek people and the dialects of other native groups. The linguistic distinctions between the Creek and Cherokee are not closely correlated with differences in material culture or settlement patterns, however (see Hally 1994a: 172–173). The major differences lie in ecology and geography. During the eighteenth century, Creek towns were located along major rivers in Alabama and Georgia (Braund 1993; Dimmick 1989; Lolley 1996), whereas Cherokee communities were located in narrower river valleys of southwestern North Carolina and northwestern South Carolina and in neighboring areas of northeastern Georgia and southeastern Tennessee. Many aspects of the lifeways of different native Southeastern groups—their settlement patterns, foodways, architecture, and ritual practices —were rather similar (Swanton 1928:717). This congruence is found in the spatial layout of Mississippian and protohistoric towns, which are rather similar in many different places in the Midwest and Southeast (Hally and Kelly 1998:49–54; Lewis and Stout 1998:240–241; Schroedl 1998:73–89; Sullivan 1995:104–111). The layout of the native town at Coweeta Creek, for example (Ward and Davis 1999:185), is comparable in many respects to the layouts of Creek and Mississippian towns in other areas of southeastern North America.

Bartram's Contributions to Appalachian Summit Archaeology

The ethnohistoric material in Bartram's journal offers especially interesting clues about changes in the way that Cherokee communities were built, both literally and figuratively. He described the architecture of Cherokee dwellings and council houses, the arrangement of houses around and across the river from the Cowee mound, and the layout of former towns at Keowee and surrounding areas. There is also his description of the remnants of a townhouse near the headwaters of the Little Tennessee River itself, built atop a presumably more ancient mound.

Archaeologists know of several examples of townhouses at Cherokee towns, including the Coweeta Creek site (B. J. Egloff 1967:9–10; K. T. Egloff 1971:42–70; D. G. Moore 1990; Rodning 1996a, 1996b, 1999a, 1999b; Schroedl 1986a:534). This native architectural form may have developed during the sixteenth century or perhaps earlier, postdating the earth lodges and platform mounds as public architecture in the South Appalachian Mississippian tradition (Anderson 1994b:308–309; Crouch 1974; L. G. Ferguson 1971; Rudolph 1984:44). These communal council houses were generally larger than chiefly residences atop earlier platform mounds, and they likely reflect a relatively egalitarian social structure compared to that of earlier Mississippian chiefdoms (Anderson 1994b:302–309). Archaeological remnants of these council houses may be found at Chota, Toqua, Mialoquo, and Chattooga (J. Chapman 1985:110–114; Guthe 1977:215–217; Polhemus 1987: 242–243; Russ and Chapman 1984:51–54; Schroedl 1978, 1980, 1983, 1986b: 263–270, 1991, 1998:87; Schroedl and Riggs 1989, 1990, 1992).

Ethnohistoric sources offer some clues about how Cherokee townhouses were treated when their tenures as town centers were over, as does the archaeologically preserved townhouse at Coweeta Creek. Sturtevant (1978:200) has noted the reference by a visitor to the town of Toqua in eastern Tennessee of a ritual during which Cherokee groups would demolish an old council house and cover it with a mantle of clay. This seems to have been the case at Coweeta Creek, where former council houses were covered to create a surface for their successors, and where the sixth stage of the townhouse was dismantled and topped with a thick clay cap (Dickens 1978:123–126; B. J. Egloff 1967:9–10; K. T. Egloff 1971:58–61; D. G. Moore 1990; Rodning 1999b; Ward and Davis 1999:178–190).

Presumably this kind of ritual was not performed at the mound that Bartram found near the headwaters of the Little Tennessee River, nor in the abandoned Lower settlements in the Keowee River Valley. Throughout the eighteenth century Cherokees from the Lower towns moved north to the Middle towns or northwest to the Overhill settlements—hence the abandoned Lower Cherokee towns along the Keowee River and all the architectural remnants still visible on the landscape. Townhouses continued to serve as community centers and the architectural landmarks of towns throughout much of the eighteenth century, but perhaps some of the ritual traditions surrounding them were lost in the firestorm of cultural change within native communities of southeastern North America during that period.

Trade and warfare may not have been the only reasons Cherokee towns moved from place to place. Not everything Bartram saw in the southern Appalachians was a recent addition to the Cherokee cultural landscape. He found patches of old fields in the woods where gardens had been and abandoned towns where communities of people had lived at some point in the past (see Hammett 1992:11–23; Hill 1997:80–84; Waselkov and Braund 1995:76). He wrote that people periodically moved when resources in these patches dwindled (see Hill 1997:90–91; Waselkov 1997:188–193; Waselkov and Braund 1995:80). The southern Appalachian landscape that Bartram saw, then, reflected both recent and more ancient Cherokee lifeways. Whereas in earlier times Cherokee groups may have ritually ended the lives of old towns and council houses before moving away from them, such traditions may have faded during the eighteenth century.

Bartram did indeed visit native Southeastern people and places much changed by interaction and exchange with European groups. Yet for several reasons his journal and other reflections about his Southeastern travels are valuable resources for archaeologists studying earlier southern Appalachian groups. First, native communities in southwestern North Carolina experienced European contact differently than Piedmont and coastal groups, because they lived in rugged mountain areas distant from major colonial outposts and pathways of the seventeenth century. Second, eyewitness accounts of the cultural landscape in southwestern North Carolina before the eighteenth century are relatively rare (journals from the de Soto and

Pardo expeditions of the sixteenth century describe their explorations of parts of southern Appalachia but not the specific river valleys where historically known Cherokee towns were concentrated during the eighteenth century). Third, Bartram's journal offers vivid and even comparative descriptions of native architecture and characterizes the relationships between different towns and groups of towns spread across the southeastern landscape. Fourth, Bartram's depictions of the Southeast make some distinctions between recent and much older elements of the cultural landscape. Thus archaeologists can derive insights from his journal about what towns and their architecture looked like in the late eighteenth century, and can find clues in the southeastern landscape that Bartram described about what settlement patterns and architecture were like during the decades and perhaps even centuries before his visit. Whether as a point of comparison or contrast to archaeological patterns, the Bartram journals and other eighteenth-century ethnohistoric sources offer much for archaeologists to consider in their study of the southern Appalachian landscape of the seventeenth and earlier centuries.

Notes

1. There is currently a recreational path called the Bartram Trail that runs from Beegum Gap east of Dillard, Georgia, to Cheoah Bald just northeast of Robbinsville, North Carolina, and its seven different sections together create a trail that is some 81 miles long. The trail was established through the cooperative efforts of the U.S. Forest Service and the North Carolina Bartram Trail Society in 1977, and it generally follows the route along which Bartram traveled en route to Cowee and other Cherokee towns in southwestern North Carolina. It runs along the eastern edge of the Little Tennessee Valley across from the contemporary town of Otto and comes within two or three miles of the Coweeta Creek archaeological site, a major Cherokee town dating to some-

time in the seventeenth century (B. J. Egloff 1967; K. T. Egloff 1971; Rodning 1996a, 1996b, 1998a, 1998b, 1999a, 1999b; Ward and Davis 1999:178–190). See "One Tough Son of a Flower Picker," by T. Edward Nickens, reprinted in the September 1999 edition of *Wildlife in North Carolina*, a magazine published by the North Carolina Wildlife Resources Commission; also an article in the March 2001 issue of *National Geographic Magazine* about the travels of William Bartram across southeastern North America.

2. Much of this fieldwork was conducted as part of the Cherokee archaeological project by the UNC Research Laboratories of Anthropology (now known as the UNC Research Laboratories of Archaeology) at Chapel Hill (Coe 1961; Dickens 1976; Keel 1976; Ward and Davis 1999; Ward and Rodning 1997).

3. The Dillard mound (9RA3) in northern Georgia is close to a modern town by that name—the mound is some eight miles south of the Coweeta Creek site.

4. The map by colonial agent George Herbert (1730) shows a place called "Old Estatoe" close to the headwaters of the Little Tennessee River, along its east side (see Greene 1995, 1996). This map shows "Stecoe" just south of Old Estatoe and west of the river; another "Stecoe" is shown on maps along the Tuckasegee River.

5. Cowee is represented by archaeological site 31MA5.

6. Joree is likely represented by 31MA3 and the village of Echoee by 31MA20.

7. Brett Riggs (personal communication, 2001) associates "Old Estatoe" with the Dillard mound. The "Jore mountain" (Bartram 1955:287 [1791]) likely refers to one of the mountains west of Cowee, probably somewhere in what are now called the Nantahala Mountains.

8. The "Tanase river" (Bartram 1955:287 [1791]) flowed through Cowee, and this river is now known as the Little Tennessee River.

9. My observation of the Cowee mound from across the Little Tennessee River and photographs of it archived at the UNC Research Laboratories of Archaeology in Chapel Hill lead me to think this description is accurate—the artificial mound likely was built atop a natural platform.

10. David Hally (personal communication, 1999) has recommended comparisons between council houses at Cherokee towns in southern Appalachia and those at Creek towns farther south and west. It would also be interesting to compare the dimensions of Cherokee council houses dating to the eighteenth century with archaeologically known public buildings in southern Appalachia that predate the eighteenth century (Hally and Kelly 1998:51–52; Polhemus 1990:131–134; Schroedl 1998:69–81; Sullivan 1995:115–120; M. Williams 1994:192–193).

11. Nequassee is represented by a mound designated by site number 31MA2, which is still a prominent landmark in downtown Franklin, the current seat of Macon County (see Dickens 1967:13; Mooney 1900:337; Swanton 1952:216–217).

12. Whatoga is associated with an archaeological site designated 31MA4, an elusive site whose field notes indicate that the primary evidence of this mound are stories by local residents in areas around Franklin, who remembered a mound in the vicinity having been excavated by the Smithsonian Institution (see Dickens 1967:8; Swanton 1952:217; C. Thomas 1894:333–350).

13. Many names associated with historic Cherokee towns and other places in south-

ern Appalachia reflect influences from Iroquoian, Muskogean, and Catawban languages, and the etymology of some place names does not easily fit within current conceptions of any of these language groups (Booker et al. 1992).

14. There does not seem to be a historically known Cherokee town name that can be positively associated with the town represented by the Coweeta Creek archaeological site. However, Echoee was not far north of where Coweeta Creek meets the Little Tennessee River (see Goodwin 1977:121). Meanwhile, Tessentee old town and fields and Tessentee Creek were not far up the Little Tennessee River (see Corkran 1962:212). Other place names close to the confluence of Coweeta Creek and the Little Tennessee River are Techanto and Newuteah (B. J. Egloff 1967:19–26; B. A. Smith 1979:48–54).

15. David Hally (1993:164–165, 1994a:167–169, 1994b:246–247, 1996:97–98) has demonstrated patterns in the spacing of major mound centers across northern Georgia. Contemporary mounds less than 18 km apart are considered to represent greater and lesser centers within chiefdoms. Mounds spaced more than 32 km apart are considered to represent distinct polities.

16. Mark Williams (1994) and his colleagues have noted the movement of town communities from place to place within the Oconee Valley of northern Georgia from the eleventh through fifteenth centuries. These shifts across the landscape are related to sociopolitical dynamics within the Mississippian chiefdom in the Oconee province: the histories of individual mound centers such as Shinholser, Shoulderbone, Little River, Scull Shoals, and Dyar reflect cycling within the Oconee chiefdom and chiefdoms in neighboring regions (see Anderson 1994b; Hally 1993; Hally and Langford 1988:79–81; Hally and Rudolph 1986:63–80).

Between Contacts and Colonies

Archaeological Perspectives on the Protohistoric
Southeast

Edited by
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